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LOUIS LIGETI

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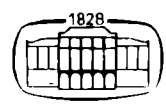

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LA VERSION MONGOLE DES *DOUZE ACTES DU BOUDDHA*

PAR

LOUIS LIGETI (Budapest)

I

Le manuscrit mongol des « Douze actes » rapporté de Pékin par A. Pozdneev, représentant un des textes mongols préclassiques ne manquait pas d'attirer l'attention des mongolisants. B. Ja. Vladimircov, N. N. Poppe, plus tard Marian Lewicki ont témoigné un intérêt particulier pour ce document important. Dès le début de mes études mongoles, j'ai pris, sur les pas de Vladimircov, un intérêt non moins vif aux textes mongols préclassiques. La bonne fortune m'a permis de rapporter de la Mongolie Intérieure un manuscrit qui comprend, en mongol préclassique, la version la plus ancienne actuellement connue du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*.[1]

En 1963 j'ai entrepris la publication d'une série de textes mongols préclassiques en transcription, en collaboration avec mes élèves, MM. G. Kara, A. Róna-Tas, L. Lőrincz et Mme. A. Sárközi. Entre 1963 et 1969 15 volumes de la série ont vu le jour; chaque volume était muni d'un titre et d'une introduction en hongrois. De 1971 à 1974 nous avons publié, avec le titre et l'introduction en français, en principe les mêmes textes revus et corrigés, dans une nouvelle série intitulée *Monumenta*

[1] Louis Ligeti, *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol.* Un document du moyen mongol. Partie Ire. Le manuscrit tibéto-mongol en reproduction phototypique avec une Introduction: *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* VI., Budapest 1948, Société Kőrösi Csoma; idem, *Sa-skya paṇḍita, Bölcs mondások kincsestára. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi. Sonom gara fordítása* [Trésor de pierres précieuses des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Sa-skya paṇḍita. Traduction de Sonom gara], dans *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* [Recueil des monuments de la langue mongole], vol. VI, Budapest 1965; idem, *Trésor des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Sa-skya paṇḍita. Traduction de Sonom gara: Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* IV., Budapest 1975; idem, *Trésor des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Sa-skya paṇḍita. Traduction de Sonom gara: Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum.* Vol. IV, Budapest 1973. L'ouvrage tibéto-mongol a été publié, d'après mon fac-similé, par James E. Bosson (guidé par M. Poppe), *A Treasury of Aphorism Jewels: The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa Skya Paṇḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian: Uralic and Altaic Series.* Volume 92, Indiana University Publications 1969. Des fragments en écriture 'phags-pa en ont été publiés par Pentti Aalto, *Fragmente des mongolischen Subhāṣitaratnanidhi in Quadratschrift: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* III, 1955, 279–290. Idem, *A Second Fragment of the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi in Mongolian Quadratic Script: JSFOu.* LXI, 1959, 1–21. J. E. Bosson, *A Rediscovered Xylographe Fragment from the Mongolian 'Phags-pa Version of the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi : Central Asiatic Journal* VI, 1961, 85–102. L. Ligeti, *Les fragments du Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol en écriture 'phags-pa. Mongol préclassique et moyen mongol: Acta Orientalis Hungarica* [= *AOH*] XVII, 1964, 239–292.

Linguae Mongolicae Collecta; les volumes I–VI en sont parus. En même temps nous avons lancé une autre nouvelle série intitulée *Indices Verborum Linguae Mongolicae Monumentis Traditorum*, vols. I–VI. Récemment, sous la direction du professeur G. Kara, ont paru les volumes VIII et IX des *Monumenta.*[2]

Entretemps je n'ai pas oublié les « Douze actes du Bouddha ». Il y a quelque vingt ans, j'ai pu consulter son manuscrit conservé dans la Bibliothèque de l'Université à Leningrad. Grâce à l'obligeance de mes confrères de Leningrad j'ai pu m'en procurer une excellente photocopie. Le manuscrit est tracé en écriture calligraphique, fort bien lisible; les illustrations occupant la moitié supérieure de chaque feuillet sont nettes et facilitent la compréhension des scènes choisies des « Actes du Bouddha ». C'est d'après la photocopie de Leningrad que j'ai publié la transcription de son texte, précédé d'un Avant-propos et d'une Introduction, en 1966. Dans la nouvelle série des monuments mongols, édités sous une forme revue,

[2] Les volumes de la série hongroise sont les suivants: (Les titres hongrois sont traduits en français.) I. L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques 1. XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Bp. 1963, 174 p. Idem, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise*, Bp. 1964, 156 p., III. Idem, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Bp. 1964, 233 p., IV. Idem, *Monuments préclassiques 2. (Du XIIIe au XVIe siècles)*, Bp. 1965, 188 p., V. Idem, *Monuments préclassiques. Textes des Yuan et des Ming en transcription classique*, Bp. 1967, 190 p., VI. Idem, *Trésor de pierres précieuses. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Sa-skya paṇḍita. Traduction de Sonom gara.* Bp. 1965, 131 p., VII. Idem, *La marche à la lumière. Bodhicaryāvatāra de Śāntideva. Traduction de Čhos-kyi 'od-zer*, Bp. 1966, 269 p., VIII. G. Kara, *Le livre des Cinq protections. Pañcarakṣā. Traduction remaniée d'Ayusi.* Bp. 1965, 155 p., IX. L. Ligeti, *Les douze actes du Bouddha de Čhos-kyi 'od-zer. Traduction de Šes-rab seṅ-ge.* Bp. 1966, 145 p., X. L. Lőrincz, *La descente aux enfers du moine Molon. Maudgalyāyanamatihṛdaya-sūtra. Œuvre d'un traducteur inconnu.* Bp. 1966, 131 p., XI. A. Róna-Tas, *Le libérateur. Thar-pa čhen-po. Traduction remaniée d'Ayusi.* Bp. 1967, 194 p., XII. L. Lőrincz, *Biographie de Milaraspa. Mi-la-ras-pa'i rnam-thar. Traduction de Čor-tu guisi.* Bp. 1967, 235 p., XIII–XIV. G. Kara, *Sūtra de la lumière d'or. Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasutrendrarāja. Texte de Yon-tan bzaṅ-po.* Bp. 1968, 224 et 221 p., XV. Alice Sárközi, *Monuments préclassiques 4.* Bp. 1969, 131 p. La nouvelle série des *Monumenta* comprend les volumes suivants: L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols.* Bp. 1971, 265 p., II. Idem, *Documents préclassiques 1. XIIIe et XIVe siècles.* Bp. 1972, 294 p., III. Idem, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie chinoise.* Bp. 1972, 170 p., IV. Idem, *Trésor des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Sa-skya paṇḍita. Traduction de Sonom gara.* Bp. 1973, 143 p., V. Idem, *Les douze actes du Bouddha. Arban qoyar jokiyangyui üiles de Čhos-kyi 'od-zer. Traduction de Šes-rab seṅ-ge.* Bp. 1974, 182 p., VI. Idem, *Histoire secrète des Mongols. Texte en écriture ouigoure, incorporé dans la Chronique Altan tobči de Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin.* Bp. 1974, 202 p., VIII. L. Lőrincz, *Molon toyin's Journey to the Hell. Altan gerel's Translation* 1. *Introduction*, 160 p., 2. *Facsimile*, 103 p. Bp. 1982, IX. G. Kara, *Le Sūtra de Vimalakīrti en mongol. Texte de Ergilu-a rin-čin. Ms. de Leningrad.* 1. *Introduction et transcription*, 126 p., 2. *Facsimile*, 153 p., Bp. 1982. Dans la série des *Indices Verborum* ont paru: I, L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques 1. XIIIe et XIVe siècles.* Première partie. Bp. 1970, 170 p., II, Idem, *Monuments préclassiques. 1. XIIIe et XIVe siècles.* Deuxième partie. Bp. 1972, 382 p., III, Idem, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise.* Bp. 1973, 244 p., IV, Idem, *Trésor des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Sa-skya paṇḍita. Traduction de Sonom gara.* Bp. 1975, 339 p., V, Idem, *Les douze actes du Bouddha. Arban qoyar jokiyangyui üiles de Čhos-kyi 'od-zer. Traduction de Šes-rab seṅ-ge.* Bp. 1974, 514 p.

le texte mongol a paru en 1974. L'*Index Verborum* du même texte a vu le jour à la même date.[3]

Parallèlement à mon édition, M. Poppe a réalisé son ancien projet en publiant, à son tour, le texte mongol des « Douze actes du Bouddha », suivi d'une traduction anglaise, de notes copieuses sur le texte mongol et de notes succinctes ajoutées à la traduction. Le volume comprend en outre un bon fac-similé du manuscrit de Leningrad.[4]

Dans ce qui suit, je compte reprendre certaines questions qui dépassaient les cadres de mon ancien travail, mais qui touchent de très près l'interprétation de la version mongole des « Douze actes », voire même les débuts de la littérature bouddhique mongole. Ce faisant je tiendrai compte des vues formulées par M. Poppe dans son édition importante.

Il convient de commencer nos remarques par le colophon mongol, qui ne cesse de poser des problèmes.

Le titre de l'ouvrage y apparaît sous la forme *Γ'ayiqamsiγ burqan-u arban qoyar ǰokiyangγui kemegdekü üiles*. Le colophon final des quatre chapitres offre le titre *Arban qoyar ǰokiyangγui üiles*. Sur la page de titre on lit *Arban qoyar ǰokiyangγui orosiba*. Enfin Vladimircov a retenu *Burqan baγsi-yin arban qoyar ǰokiyangγui*, titre inscrit sur la couverture du manuscrit. Les « Douze actes du Bouddha » et « The Twelve Deeds of Buddha » sont donc des variantes arbitraires mais pratiques.

Les problèmes du colophon se posent à propos des noms des personnes auxquelles on doit la traduction mongole du texte tibétain. Sous ce rapport Čhos-kyi 'od-zer même ne fait pas exception.[5] Ce lettré renommé, d'origine probablement

[3] Ligeti, L., *Čhos-kyi 'od-zer, Buddha tizenkét cselekedete*, dans *Mongol Nyelvemléktár*, vol. IX, Bp. 1966. Idem, *A propos de la version mongole des «Douze actes de Bouddha»: AOH* XX, 1967, 59–73. Idem, *Les douze actes du Bouddha*, dans *Monumenta*, vol. V, Bp. 1974. Idem, *Les douze actes du Bouddha*, dans *Indices Verborum*, vol. V, Bp. 1974.

[4] Nicholas Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha. A Mongolian Version of the Lalitavistara*. Mongolian Text, Notes, and English Translation: *Asiatische Forschungen*, Band 23. Wiesbaden 1967.

[5] Parmi ses traductions mongoles les mieux connues, il convient de rappeler ici les suivantes: 1. *Qutuγ-tu Pañcarakṣā kemekü Tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur* (Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, 16, 17; Aalto, *Asiatische Forschungen* X, pp. 129; Ligeti, *Catalogue* I, 57). Il est remarquable que dans le colophon d'un xylographe de Pékin les noms de Čhos-kyi 'od-zer et Šes-rab seṅ-ge vont de pair et les deux paraissent avoir été des traducteurs mongols, ce qui s'explique assez bien si l'on tient compte de l'espace chronologique qui a séparé l'un de l'autre. 2. *Čaγan linqua*, traduction rimée du fameux *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Elle ne nous est pas parvenue, mais le colophon d'un xylographe de Pékin nous en fournit un renseignement succinct (Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, p. 28). 3. *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi;* cette traduction ne nous est parvenue non plus (Vladimircov, *Pañcatantra*, p. 455). Le texte tibétain est attribué à Sa-skya paṇḍita; en réalité, il n'en était qu'un compilateur (Ligeti, *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, pp. VIII–IX). La traduction mongole de Sonom gara datant du XIVe siècle était-elle une œuvre indépendante ou seulement le remaniement de celle de Čhos-kyi 'od-zer? Aujourd'hui il est difficile de trancher la

tibétaine, qui a joué un rôle remarquable à la cour mongole des empereurs de la Chine, serait l'auteur du texte tibétain. Or Čhos-kyi 'od-zer passe pour un auteur bien connu des traductions mongoles faites à partir du tibétain; bien plus, la tradition mongole lui a attribué, à tort, l'invention de l'écriture mongole proprement dite, développée en fait à partir de l'écriture ouigoure. A part l'information fournie par notre colophon, nous ignorons tout de son activité qu'il aurait déployée comme auteur d'ouvrages tibétains. Il s'en suit que sa biographie authentique est encore à faire.

La personne et l'activité de Šes-rab seṅ-ge sont moins problématiques. Il était sûrement d'origine mongole et il appartenait au nombre des traducteurs d'ouvrages tibétains en langue mongole. Le peu d'information qu'on a sur son activité littéraire est solide, mais le tableau détaillé de sa vie et de son œuvre exige de nouvelles recherches.[6]

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question. Il est cependant à peu près sûr que l'ancienne version de Leningrad remonte, elle aussi, à la traduction de Sonom gara. 4. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Le texte tibétain Blo-ldan šes-rab a été traduit en mongol par Čhos-kyi 'od-zer, très probablement en 1305 (cf. Ligeti: *Nyelvemléktár* VII, 1966, p. 3). Le texte mongol proprement dit, suivi d'un commentaire traduit en mongol en 1311, a été imprimé en 1312. Une portion du texte mongol commenté nous est parvenue; elle fut publiée et commentée par F. W. Cleaves et par Haenisch; les deux travaux sont indépendants l'un de l'autre. La tradition du texte mongol est assez longue, mais bien attestée; cf. Ligeti, *A propos de quelques textes mongols préclassiques: AOH* XXIII, 1970, 251–284 et *Monumenta* II, pp. 115–134. 5. *Hymne de Mahākālī* nous est connu par trois fragments manuscrits. Cf, Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften*, pp. 226–229; Ligeti, *Monumenta* II, 1972, pp. 135–140. C'est le 3ᵉ fragment qui comprend le nom *ayaγ-a tegimlig Čosgi odsir* sans toutefois préciser (la 4ᵉ ligne du vers est fragmentaire) s'il figure en tant qu'auteur ou traducteur. 6. *Jirüken-ü tolta* aujourd'hui perdu, mais auquel fut substitué un travail de titre identique dû à Kun-dga' 'od-zer. C'est sans doute ce dernier ouvrage qui est responsable de la fausse tradition qui cherchait à voir dans Čhos-kyi 'od-zer le réformateur de l'écriture ouigoure et l'inventeur de l'alphabet mongol actuel. Cf. P. Pelliot, *Les systèmes d'écriture en usage chez les anciens Mongols: Asia Major* II, Leipzig 1925, pp. 284–289. Cf. encore D. Cêrênsodnom, *XIV zuuny üenin jaruu najragč Čojži-odsêr*, Ulaanbaatar 1969.

[6] M. Poppe a sûrement raison lorsqu'il cherche à fixer l'activité de traducteur de Šes-rab seṅ-ge sous le règne de Yisün temür (1324–1328). Le rôle que Esen (Yisün) temür, époux du même empereur mongol a joué dans l'encouragement de la traduction s'explique sans difficulté. En revanche, la date de 1333–1367 (règne de Toγan temür), proposée sous réserve par M. Heissig (*Blockdrucke* 209), paraît trop tardive. M. Poppe signale (*op. cit.*, p. 13) qu'un autre Sis-rab seṅ-ge a traduit «Varahi eke, Gurugulli ökin tngri». Mais il y a là une erreur: dans mon *Catalogue* (I, p. 28) les deux noms de divinité se rapportent aux peintures qu'on trouve sur la planche supérieure du volume. Le titre proprement dit se trouve à la fin des chapitres où il est épelé *Qutuγ-tu qoyar ügei tegsi sača teyin böged ilaγuγsan onul-un yeke qaγan*. Sur la traduction mongole du *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* due à Šes-rab seṅ-ge, voir Ts. Damdinsüren, *Two Mongolian Colophons to the Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra: AOH* XXXIII, 1979, pp. 39–58 et G. Kara, *Translator's Note to Professor Damdinsüren's Two Mongolian Colophons: AOH* XXXIII, pp. 59–63. La première version, celle de 29 chapitres porte le nom du traducteur Šes-rab seṅ-ge. La seconde version, celle de 21 chapitres, a deux variantes dont la première est incorporée dans le Kanǰur, la seconde est due à Jaya paṇḍita Nam-mkha' rgya-mcho et date du milieu du XVIᵉ siècle. M. Damdinsüren conteste les rapports

Le colophon contient encore un nom, celui de la personne qui a encouragé le traducteur à faire son travail. Au cours des époques ce nom été défiguré par la tradition lamaïque mongole, et l'activité pieuse y rattachée a été embrouillée à tel point qu'on ne pouvait plus reconnaître l'état primitif du texte, par ailleurs fort simple.[7]

Il convient de rappeler que les femmes des empereurs mongols Yuan apparaissaient souvent comme les protectrices de bonnes œuvres religieuses, d'abord en faveur des taoïstes, plus tard au profit du clergé bouddhiste.[8] Le

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qui existent entre les versions mongoles, y compris le rôle de la version de 31 chapitres qui remonte à un texte chinois. Son savant travail mériterait d'être repris, mais nous contenterons de dire deux mots sur le rôle de Esen temür. La traduction mongole de Šes-rab seṅ-ge remonte au XIVe siècle, mais le manuscrit reproduisant ce texte est relativement tardif et reflète déjà bien la tradition faussée. Nous avons toutefois: *Esen Temür tayuda duradqan ügüleldüjü: Šakyaliγ-ud-un toyin Širab sengge töbedčin uyiγurčin bičig-üd-eče mongγolčilan orčiγulju* «(Later) Šes-rab seṅ-ge of the Šākya (order) translated . . . from the Tibetan and Uigur scriptures into Mongolian, on the request of Esen temür tayuta». M. Damdinsüren suppose que *Tayuta* soit une forme viciée pour *tayiqu* «impératrice» (*op. cit.*, pp. 40 et 44). M. Kara (*op. cit.* 61) intrigué par les difficultés qu'implique la forme *Tayuta*, a cherché la solution en insistant sur certains problèmes graphiques et phonétiques.

[7] Cf. P. Aalto, *Qutuγ-tu Pañca rakṣā kemekü Tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur: Asiatische Forschungen*, Band I, Wiesbaden 1961, pp. 1–2, 128–129., *Prolegomena: Studia Orientalia* XIX, 12, Helsinki 1954, p. 38. W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke: Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, Bd. 2, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 82. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–16. Ligeti, *Monumenta* V, pp. 15–19. A ajouter encore: Ligeti, *La collection mongole Schilling von Canstadt: T'oung Pao* XXVII, 1930, pp. 128–132; Kara György, *Le livre des Cinq protections: Mongol Nyelvemléktár* VIII. Le traducteur et la personne encourageant la traduction des «Douze actes» sont identiques à ceux de la traduction mongole du *Pañcarakṣā*. Le colophon de ce dernier ouvrage nous a fourni un nouvel élément d'erreur, conduisant à des variantes dans les xylographes et manuscrits successifs. En voici quelques exemples: *Esen temür dayu-da duradqan ügülegsen* (Aalto), *Esen diyu-da duradqan ügüleldüjü* (Aalto), *Esen temür diba-tan* (Heissig). Sur l'autorité de ces variantes manifestement déformées on a cherché un titre *dayu* qui serait à lire *davu*, à la rigueur *dafu* et qui répondrait au chin. 大夫 *ta-fou* (Poppe). Sur le titre chinois, voir F. Aubin, *Index de «Un code des Yuan» de P. Ratchnevsky*, p. 476: *ta-fou* ou *yu-che ta-fou*, premier mandarin au *yu-che t'ai* ou dans un 行御史臺 *hing yu-che t'ai*. Cependant, l'identification des deux formes se heurte à une difficulté phonétique; cf. dans les mêmes textes mongols *Taidu* ou *Daidu* pour *Ta-tou*, Pékin des Yuan. La solution est tout autre. Il faut partir de la forme correcte du nom en question, citée par Vladimircov (*Sravniteljnaja grammatika*, p. 38) qui est *Esen temür deba-ta*. L'orthographe mongole *debata* estropiée ou mal lue comme *dayu-da*, *diyu-da*, *diba-ta(n)*, n'est autre chose que la translitération de la graphie tibétaine *de-ba-ta* qui rend tout simplement le skr. *devata* (masc.), *devatā* (fém.). C'est moins un titre qu'un attribut ayant le sens de «divinité»; cf. Edgerton, p. 270; par ailleurs, c'est un titre honorifique attribué aux personnages pieux. Le titre *devatā*, ignoré des lettrés mongols, fut remplacé dans le colophon du *Pañcarakṣā* par *kümün*, attribut insolite, voire inadmissible pour désigner la personne qui a encouragé le traducteur à l'œuvre.

[8] A titre d'exemple citons l'inscription de 1240, un peu anachronique car elle provient d'une époque qui précède considérablement l'avènement des Yuan. C'est une inscription chinoise pourvue d'une clause finale de trois lignes en langue mongole. L'inscription reproduit l'édit 懿旨 *(yi-tche)* de l'impératrice *Töregene*, issue de la tribu *Naiman*, épouse de l'empereur *Ögödei;* dans l'inscription

colophon nous en offre un exemple. L'impératrice en question y est mentionnée comme *bodistv ijayur-dai Esen temür qong qiu*. Dans le titre honorifique de l'impératrice, protectrice du traducteur, il convient de rappeler que *qutuy-dai* est un adjectif de forme féminine de l'époque et *qong qui*, transcription du chin. 皇后 *houang-heou* «impératrice» ne demande pas d'autres arguments pour prouver que nous avons là un titre de femme. Il en va autrement quant au nom propre. A la rigueur, *Esen temür* peut faire fonction d'un nom masculin. Cependant, parmi les impératrices Yuan il se trouvait plus d'une femme d'origine turque et à cette époque chez les Turcs les mêmes noms étaient portés indifféremment et par des hommes et par des femmes. A titre d'exemple, j'ai cité précédemment, comme noms féminins, *Buyan kälmiš* (nom d'origine ouigoure) et *Irinǰinbala* (d'origine tibéto-indienne). Le colophon du texte mongol a conservé une tradition verbale bien supérieure aux variantes tardives, discutées longuement par les mongolisants. Toujours est-il que le colophon date, avec le texte entier, du XVIIe siècle et rien ne garantit que la forme *Esen temür* soit absolument certaine. Il n'est donc pas exclu qu'il s'agisse là de *Yisün temür qongqiu*, l'épouse principale de Yisün temür ou T'ai-tsong, l'impératrice 八不罕 *Pa-pou-han* soit *Babuqan*, issue de la tribu *Qonggirat* (*Yuan che* 114, 7b).

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chinoise l'impératrice porte son titre mongol: *Ye-k'o ho-touen* ou *Yeke qadun*. L'édit émanant de l'impératrice ordonne la gravure sur bois de planches du Canon taoïque. Le don de Töregene n'était pas un geste isolé envers les taoïstes. Il est notoire qu'au temps de Ögödei il existait un temple taoïque à Karakoroum et en 1234 Töregene fit don d'une série complète du Canon taoïque à *Yin Tch'e-p'ing*, chef des Taoïstes *(ts'iuan-tchen)*. Il vaut retenir que Töregene et les empereurs mongols, en favorisant les taoïstes au détriment des bouddhistes, paraissent avoir imité les Kin. C'est du moins ce que nous suggère le fait que la Dame *Li*, concubine principale de *Tchang-tsong*, empereur de Kin, avait fait don d'un exemplaire du Canon taoïque à un temple taoïque du Chan-tong. Töregene a donc exercé plus d'une fois des actes pieux en faveur du taoïsme chinois, religion qui est restée sans écho chez les nouveaux conquérants nomades. Il est notoire que, dès le début, les khans mongols se sont montrés tolérants envers le clergé des religions étrangères: ils ont accordé des privilèges aux confucéens, taoïstes, bouddhistes et aux chrétiens (nestoriens). Il est pourtant assez curieux de voir que les diplômes de franchise bilingues (en chinois et en mongol) qui nous sont parvenus, sont accordés aux représentants de deux religions seulement, soit aux chefs des temples taoïques, soit aux préposés des temples et monastères bouddhiques. Cf. Ts'ai Mei-piao, *Yuan-tai pai-houa pei tai-lou*, Pékin 1955, planche II, F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1240: HJAS* XXII, 1960–61, pp. 62–75, planches I–II. Igor de Rachewiltz, *Some Remarks on Töregene's Edict of 1240 Papers on Far Eastern History*, 23 (March 1981), pp. 38–63. L. Ligeti, *Monumenta* III, pp. 20–98. Taoïstes et bouddhistes, rivaux acharnés, ont mené une lutte implacable pour s'assurer les bonnes grâces des khans mongols. Dans cette lutte les bouddhistes ont pris le dessus. Au cours des temps le bouddhisme a trouvé sa voie chez les Mongols. Il est vrai que la nouvelle religion devait son succès non pas aux bonzes chinois, mais bien plutôt aux moines ouigours. Quoi qu'il en soit, le bouddhisme mongol, un dérivé des sectes tibétains, s'est créé peu à peu une riche littérature religieuse et a érigé toute une série de temples et monastères. Il semble que le bouddhisme mongol a su trouver des protectrices dans la famille impériale et l'aristocratie mongoles. Cf. P. Ratchnevsky, *Die mongolischen Grosskhane und die buddhistische Kirche: Asiatica*, Leipzig 1954, pp. 489–504. G. Kara, *Knigi mongoljskich kočevnikov*. Moskva 1972.

« Les douze actes du Bouddha », ce titre de l'ouvrage nous pose en outre un problème auquel nous n'avons pas attaché jusqu'ici l'importance qu'il mérite. Il s'agit là d'un genre biographique bien déterminé qui remonte, par l'intermédiaire tibétain, à des modèles indiens. Nous y reviendrons plus loin.

C'est Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös qui le premier a fait connaître un exemple tibétain de cette catégorie biographique.[9] Le modèle tibétain examiné par Csoma se distingue des biographies traditionnelles, il est caractérisé par le fait que cette « Vie du Bouddha » est composée de « douze actes », douze périodes de la vie du Bouddha.

Voici les douze «actes», répondant à autant de chapitres de l'ouvrage, selon Csoma: 1. La descente des cieux. 2. Il entre dans les flancs d'une femme. 3. Sa naissance. 4. Son éducation, son apprentissage dans toutes sortes d'art. 5. Son mariage. 6. Il quitte sa maison et devient moine. 7. Il s'adonne à une pénitence dure. 8. Il vainc le Diable. 9. Il parvient au sommet de la perfection et devient Bouddha.

[9] Alexander Csoma Kőrösi, *Notices on the life of Shakya, extracted from the Tibetan authorities: Asiatic Researches* XX, 1839, pp. 285–317. Ce travail de Csoma ne figure pas dans le livre de Th. Duka (*Life and works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. A Biography compiled chiefly from hitherto Unpublished Data; with a brief notice of each of his published works and essays, as well as of his still extant manuscripts*, London 1885). En revanche, dans la version hongroise de Duka on retrouve ce travail au complet (cf. Duka Tivadar, *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor dolgozatai*, Budapest 1885, pp. 274–305). On le retrouve encore dans *The Life and Teachings of Buddha by Alexander Csoma Kőrösi* (Susil Gupta, India, Private Limited, Calcutta 1957), pp. 25–74. Le livre de Calcutta de 1957 a été traduit en hongrois par A. Bodor, augmenté d'une introduction et des notes en 1982 à Bucarest (*Kőrösi Csoma Sándor élete és tanításai*, 2e édition revue). Il est tentant de se demander si Csoma n'a pas disposé d'une source tibétaine directe pour rédiger son article sur les «Douze actes du Bouddha»? Il est peu probable que ce soit Csoma lui-même qui ait compilé le petit travail en partant des textes tibétains invoqués. Le *Lalitavistara* avec ses 27 chapitres *(le'u)* et 19 sections *(dam-pa)*, l'*Abhiniṣkramaṇa* et la «Vie du Bouddha» incorporée au *Vinayavastu*, sans chapitres, ont pu suggérer les «Douze actes du Bouddha». Il a dû exister, sous ce titre un texte exposant le même sujet en tibétain. Il est curieux de voir qu'un manuscrit sur la vie du Bouddha se trouve parmi les «Questions de Csoma». Il était rédigé par *Kun-dga' čhos-legs rdo-rje*, un des maîtres lamas de Csoma, composé à *Rjoṅ-khul*. Or cet opuscule n'a rien à voir avec l'article de Csoma invoqué plus haut. Il est intitulé *Ston-pa Šakya thub-pas daṅ-por thugs-bskyed-nas mthar saṅs-rgyas-nas čhos-kyi 'khor-lo bskor chul* «La manière comment le Maître Šākyamuni, d'abord plongé en méditation, ensuite parvenant à l'illumination a fini par mettre en mouvement la roue de la Doctrine»; à la fin du ms. le titre abrégé se lit: *Ston-pa'i mjad-pa'i skabs-la dris-pa'i lan* «Réponses aux questions sur les [dòuze] actes du Maître». A propos du travail de Kun-dga' čhos-legs, voir A. H. Francke, *Neues über Csoma de Kőrös: Ungarische Jahrbücher* VI, 1926, pp. 320–322 et VIII, 1928, pp. 375–377; L. Ligeti, *Ouvrages tibétains rédigés à l'usage de Csoma: T'oung Pao* XXX, 1933, pp. 26–36; Louis J. Nagy, *Tibetan Books and Manuscripts of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: BOH* V, 1942, pp. 29–56; J. Terjék, *Tibetan Compendia Written for Csoma de Kőrös by the Lamas of Zaṅs-dkar (Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences): Śatapitaka Series*, Vol. 231, New Delhi 1976. Avec une préface par Lokesh Chandra. (Pour le fac-similé, voir pp. 102-140.)

10. Il met en mouvement la roue de la doctrine. 11. Il est délivré de la souffrance. 12. Disposition de ses dépouilles mortelles.[10]

Pour l'histoire des douze actes, Csoma se réfère à plusieurs textes tibétains, avant tout à la version tibétaine du *Lalitavistara*, puis au *Mṅon-par 'byuṅ-ba*. Il rappelle en même temps que certains éléments de la vie légendaire du Bouddha se retrouvent dans de nombreux textes incorporés au Kanǰur, avant tout dans le 3e et 4e volumes du Vinaya, ainsi que dans beaucoup de śastra.[11]

Néanmoins aujourd'hui nous ne connaissons toujours pas le texte tibétain des « Douze actes du Bouddha » attribué à Čhos-kyi 'od-zer, source prétendue de la version mongole de Šes-rab seṅ-ge. Espérons que les recherches que M. G. Somlai poursuit actuellement sur l'histoire tibétaine des « Douze actes » nous fournira, entre autres, la clé de notre problème.

Cette fois nous nous contenterons d'examiner de plus près les actes 6–9 du texte mongol, les seuls connus de nos jours à travers quelques textes tibétains dont il a été question si souvent depuis Csoma.

La source principale reste encore toujours le *Lalitavistara*. L'auteur du texte tibétain (pour le moment il importe peu si c'était Čhos-kyi 'od-zer ou un autre) que Šes-rab seṅ-ge avait sous les yeux, a largement puisé à cette source; il avait emprunté des passages entiers sans la moindre modification. Dans d'autres cas non moins nombreux l'équivalence reste approximative. Enfin, non moins fréquemment on a l'impression que l'auteur tibétain tardif s'est contenté de reproduire son modèle en abrégé. Pourtant ce serait une erreur que de considérer la version tibétaine utilisée aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles comme un simple extrait du *Lalitavistara* tibétain. Il y a lieu de constater que la version tibétaine, incontestablement d'une étendue plus modeste que le Lv, comprend des passages non moins nombreux qui ont été empruntés à d'autres textes tibétains jusqu'ici non précisés. Dans ce qui suit nous y reviendrons à maintes reprises.

Voici maintenant quelques remarques sur le rapport entre les versions tibétaines des « Douze actes » et l'original également tibétain mais perdu, de notre texte qui ne

[10] A. Csoma Kőrösi, *Asiatic Researches* XX, pp. 283–286; les pages 286–296 offrent l'analyse de chacun des chapitres. Depuis Csoma le rôle que le Lalitavistara a joué dans la Légende du Bouddha n'est que trop bien connu. On ne pourrait affirmer la même chose quant au *Mṅon-par 'byuṅ-ba* (skr. *Abhiniṣkramaṇa*); à son propos voir mes brèves remarques dans *Monumenta*, V, p. 22.

[11] Mérite une attention particulière le renvoi de Csoma aux volumes III et IV du *Dulva;* Cf. Csoma: *Asiatic Researches* XX, pp. 65–78 et la réimpression de 1957, pp. 87–88; L. Feer, *Annales du Musée Guimet* II, 1881, pp. 169–182. Pratiquement, il s'agit des ff. 440–478 du vol. III et des ff. 1–52 du vol. IV; on y retrouve les éléments bien connus de la Légende du Bouddha. Csoma se réfère au Kanǰur (de Narthang) qu'il a étudié; dans le Kanǰur de Pėḳin les mêmes textes sont répartis entre les volumes IV et V du *Dulva*, comme *bam-po* LV–LXVII et LXVIII–CIX respectivement (*Catalogue Ōtani*, pp. 404–407). D'après le Catalogue de Beckh (pp. 1–2), le vol. IV comprend les *bam-po* LXVII–LXXXVII et le vol. V les *bam-po* LXXXVIII–CIX. Le *Catalogue mongol* (p. 308–309) suit cette dernière disposition des textes.

peut être abordé que par l'intermédaire de sa version mongole; la comparaison reste, même sur ce plan, incomplète car le texte (mongol) ne nous a conservé que les chapitres 6–9. Ces chapitres sont intitulés comme suit: 6. *Toyin bolju ger-tečegen yaruysan* «il quitte sa maison et devient moine»; 7. *Berke-eče qatayujiysan* «endurer les dures épreuves». 8. *Bodi jirüken-dür odču ridi qubilyan-i üjegülügsen* « Le départ à Bodhimaṇḍa et les miracles ici opérés». 9. *Simnus-i nomoyadqaysan* « La défaite du Diable».

Commençons par examiner le rapport qui existe entre notre texte et le *Čhos-'byuṅ* de Bu-ston.

Bu-ston Rin-čhen grub-pa (1290–1364), auteur du *Čhos- 'byuṅ čhen-mo,* nous intéresse de très près à deux titres : il était contemporain de l'auteur de notre texte tibétain perdu, ensuite, son œuvre, elle aussi, est fortement influencée par le *Lalitavistara.* En voici les chapitres en question: 6. La vie du bodhisattva au milieu des femmes nobles. 7. Départ du bodhisattva de son foyer. 8. Exercice de l'ascétisme. 9. Victoire sur le Diable.[12]

Le texte de Bu-ston est un abrégé par rapport à la version mongole, mais on y reconnaît souvent les paroles employées par les auteurs qui ont précédés ou suivis Bu-ston. Par ailleurs E. Obermiller, le traducteur de Bu-ston se réfère systématiquement aux passages correspondants du *Lalitavistara.* Il n'est pas pour nous surprendre que les mêmes passages réapparaissent assez souvent dans notre texte mongol.

Pour se faire une idée de la nature des correspondances, il paraît utile de considérer une histoire complète. A cet effet nous avons choisi les rencontres du bodhisattva avec la vieillesse, la maladie, la mort et avec le moine. Pour faciliter le contrôle des passages en question, nous donnerons d'abord le texte mongol de Šesrab seṅ-ge, réparti en 14 paragraphes, ensuite le passage correspondant de Bu-ston, pour des raisons pratiques dans la traduction de Obermiller; en notes nous citons le texte tibétain de Bu-ston et les variantes du Lv tibétain. Les voici :

[12] Dr. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston.* I. Part. *The Jewelry of Scriptures.* II. Part. *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet: Materialien zur Kunde des Budhismus.* 8. Heft, 10. Heft; Heidelberg 1931, 1932. La traduction de Obermiller repose sur un ancien xylographe conservé à Leningrad. Notre texte tibétain provient de l'édition du Prof. Dr Lokesh Chandra, *Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 24 *(ya),* New Delhi 1971. Les actes 6–9 se trouvent sur les ff. 752–765. La liste des leçons-variantes des deux éditions du texte tibétain reste à faire. Nous avons encore tenu compte de la rédaction analogue conservée dans le *Lalitavistara:* tel qu'elle est reproduite dans le *Tibetan Tripitaka,* Vol. 27. Cf. encore: Ph. Éd. Foucaux, *Rgya tch'er rol-pa. Développement des jeux, L'histoire du Bouddha Çakya-mouni,* traduit de la version tibétaine du Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, et revu d'après l'original sanscrit *(Lalitavistâra).* I. Texte tibétain, Paris 1947; II. Traduction française, Paris 1948. Ph.-Éd. Foucaux, *Le Lalita vistara, Développement des jeux. L'histoire de Çakya-mouni depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa prédication.* I. Traduction française, Paris 1884; II. Notes variantes et index, Paris 1892. *Annales du Musée Guimet,* Tome VI et XIX.

1 (8a, p. 60) *tendeče ... bodistv ... dorona-ṯu qaɣalɣ-a-bar ɣarču čečeglig-tür oḏqui tergegür-tür ariɣun oron-ṯaki nigen tngri-yin köbegün ebügen bolun qubilǰu iregsen-i : bodistv üǰeǰü medeged Sarati-ača asaɣur-un : | üsün-iyen saq̄al-iyan čayiiǰu : | ülemǰi masi bökeyigsen : | aman-ṯaki sidün-iyen baraǰu | asuru masi sarislaɣsan : | sudal gürel ile bolǰu : | sorbi berige sitügsen : | iɣ iɣ kemen qaniɣaǰu : | irkiraqui daɣutu ene yaɣun bui*

(Bu-ston II, 23) Then the Bodhisattva went out through the western gate, and saw there a man, subjected to the suffering of old age, | This apparition was produced by the Devaputras through the incitation of the Bodhisattva himself. | The latter asked Chandaka : | O, charioteer, who is this man, feeble and helpless? | His flesh and blood have dried up, he has but skin and sinew, | His hair is white, his teeth are scarce, his body meager, | He walks painfully and reeling and leans upon a staff.[13]

2 (6a, p. 61) *kemen asaɣbasu Sarati ügüler-ün: | ülemǰi ider čaɣ-taki erdem-iyen baraǰu : | öber-ün uruɣ-a ber siɣulaɣdaɣsan : | ükül-ṯür oyir-a boluɣsan : | ötelküi kemegdekü ene bui kemebesü :*

(p. 23) The charioteer replied : | This man, O Prince, is overcome by old age, | His senses are weakened, he is greatly suffering, | And is disrespected by his friends and has no protector, | Is unfit for action and cast out like a withered tree.[14]

[13] Le texte tibétain des «quatre rencontres», divisé en 14 paragraphes, sera donné dans les notes 13–26. Pour le texte nous avons suivi celui de *Bu-ston*, d'après *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, édité par le professeur Dr Lokesh Chandra (B, page, ligne). Nous avons signalé comme leçons-variantes, celles du *Rgya-čher rol-pa (Lalitavistara)* lorsqu'il s'agissait de passages identiques (ou légèrement différents). Nous nous sommes référés pour cet ouvrage à l'édition vieillie, mais commode et toujours intéressante de Foucaux qui a adopté le texte tibétain de Narthang (Canon en 100 volumes, le vol. II du *Mdo*, en 329 ff.) en même temps que celui d'un xylographe indépendant provenant du Tibet (= F); enfin nous avons signalé, pour le *Rgya-čher-rol-pa*, les leçons-variantes selon le *Tibetan Tripitaka* (= T). Voici maintenant le texte répondant au paragraphe **1**: *de-nas byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' šar sgo-nas thon-pa daṅ | ñid-kyi mthus lhas sprul-ba'i rgas-pa'i sdug-sṅal-gyis ñen-pa gzigs-te | 'dun-pa-la | kha-lo-bsgyur[a]-ba mi rid ñam čhuṅ-žiṅ || ša khrag skam-la rgyus lpags[b] ñi ches dkris || mgo dkar so rnal[c] lus ni rab skams[d]-la || 'khar-ba brten[e]-čiṅ mi bder[f] 'khyor gros-sù.* La correspondance entre B et Lv est partielle, voici le texte de ce dernier: *de-nas byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' ... šar phyogs-kyi sgo-nas skyed-mos chal-gyi sar byuṅ-ṅo || de-nas byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' ñid-kyi mthus gnas gcaṅ-ma'i ris-kyi lha'i bu-rnams-kyis mi rgan-po gtugs-pa | 'khogs-pa | lus-las rca rgyus 'thon-pa | so rgal-pa | lus gñer-mas gaṅ-ba | skra byi-ba | rgur-ba gduṅ rten-ltar dgu-pa | žom-pa | mkhar-ba-la rten-pa | mthu zad-pa | dar yal-ba | med-pa-nas sgra ñar-ñar-po 'byuṅ-ba | lus dgu-bas | mkhar-ba-la brten-nas yan-lag daṅ ñid lag thams-čad 'dar-ba žig lam kar bstan-par gyur-to || de-nas byaṅ-čhub sems-dpas šes bžin-du kha-lo-sgyur-ba-la 'di skad čes smras-so || kha-lo bsgyur[a]-ba mi rid ñam čhuṅ-žiṅ || ša khrag skam-la rgyus grags[b] ñi ćes dkris || mgo dkar so rgal[c] lus ni rab skem[d]-la || 'khar-ba brten[e]-čiṅ mi bder[f] 'khyor 'gros-su — [a]sgyur [b]grags [c]rnal [d]skem [e]rten [f]bde.* — B 754,2–4; cf. T 111a5–111b1; F 167: 3–12.

[14] **2:** *des[a] smras-pa || lha-čig mi 'di rga-ba'i[b] zil-gyis non || dbaṅ-po ñams-šiṅ sdug-bsṅal brcon stobs ñams || gñen-gyi skye-bos brñas[c]-šiṅ mgon med gyur || don bgyid mi nus nags khrod-šiṅ ltar bor.* — [a]T,F *kha-lo-sgyur-bas* [b]T,F *bas* [c]T *brñes* — B 754,4–5; cf. T 111b1–2; F 167: 13–15.

3 (8a-b, p. 61) *bodistv ügüler-ün | egünü uruɣ-un udum-ṯur eyin bolumu-uu : | ese bögesü yaǰar* (8b) *usun-u törö kemebesü :*

(p. 23) The Bodhisattva then said : |! Tell me, is this a characteristic of this man only, | Or does the whole of the living world undergo such a state? | Tell me quickly, how is the state of things, | And having heard, I shall duly reflect over the sense: [15]

4 (8b, p. 61) *Sarati ügüler-ün: | tngri minu a teyin busu bui: | degedü ečige eke činu terigülen: delekei-ṯekin amitan ele bügüden-e | tegsi kürteküi törö bui kemebesü:*

(p. 24) The charioteer answered: | O Prince, this is neither the property of his race, nor of his country only. | With all the living beings, youth gives way to decrepitude: | Thy father and mother and the host of relatives likewise | Cannot be delivered from the suffering of old age. | No other way exists for the living being: [16]

5 (p. 61) *qamuɣ-iyar ber nei ene mör-eče: | ɣarču ǰayilan ülü čidaqu bögesü: | qalaɣar ǰaɣur-a ǰalaɣu-ban ǰiɣaǰu: | ɣayiqaldun ǰiryaldun-u kereg inu nadur yaɣun bui : | tergen-i qariɣul Sarati a : tegüneče tonilqui uḏq-a-yi: | ɣaɣčaɣar saɣuǰu sedkisügei kemen: | qariǰu qarsi-ṯur-iyan orobai :*

(p. 24) O charioteer, fie on the minds of the stupid living beings, | They are infatuated with the pride of youth and have no look for (the coming) old age. | | I still go back, turn round the chariot quickly. | I too will be subjected to old age; what use is there | For me to be merry and amuse myself? | So saying he returned to the city. [17]

6 (p. 62) *tendeče basa nigen čaɣ-tur: | tegünčilen emün-e-ṯü qaɣalɣ-a-bar oḏqui | tergegür-ün dergede | enel-ün sinal-un kebteküi | ebečin kümün-i üǰeǰü asaɣur-un | öngge čirai-ban aldaǰu: | üsün-iyen sebsüyigsen | ütele ütele amisqun yadan ongɣoliǰu: | ülemǰi asuru masi turuɣsan: : | burtaɣ-tur budulǰu | | bosqui küčün baraɣsan: |* (9a) *kegeli-ben naridču: | genüɣči ene yaɣun bui | kemen asaɣbasu:*

(p. 24) Then he went out by the southern gate and, seeing a sick person, asked: | O charioteer, who is that man whose body is stiff and pallid, | Who is deprived of all

[15] **3:** *byaṅ-čhub sems-dpas smras-pa | 'di-yi čhos 'di rigs-kyi yin-nam 'on-tam či*[a] || *'gro-ba 'di kun-la yaṅ*[b] *'di srid-de smros-šig || chig 'di yaṅ-dag ǰi bžin myur-du smros-šig daṅ || thos-nas de-bžin don-la 'dir ni chul bžin bsam.* [a]T,F *ni* [b]F *laṅ* — B 754, 5–6; cf. T 111b2–3; F 167: 15–18.

[16] **4:** *des*[a] *smras-pa | lha 'di rigs čhos ma yin*[b] *yul-'khor čhos ma lags || skye-bo kun-gyi dar-la babs*[c]*-pa rga-bas 'joms || khyed*[d]*-kyi yab daṅ yum daṅ ñe-du gñen chogs kyaṅ || rga-las 'bros-pa'i mthar*[e] *thabs ni gžan ma mčhis.* — [a]T,F *kha-lo-sgyur-pas* [b]F *lags* [c]F *bab* [d]T,F *khyod* [e]T,F *thar 'gro-ba-yi* — B 754,6; cf. T 111b3–4; F 167: 18–22.

[17] **5:** *byaṅ-čhub*[a] *sems-dpas*[a] *smras-pa*[a] *kha-lo-sgyur-ba byis-pa'i skye-bo mi mkhas-pa'i || blo-ṅan gžon-pas rgyas-šiṅ myos-pas rga ma mthoṅ || ṅa ni slar 'gro ṅa-yi šiṅ-rta myur-du sgyur || ṅa yaṅ rga-la gnas-pas rce-dags či-žig bya žes-gsuṅs*[b] *log-go*[b]. — [a]T,F *deest* [b]T,F *deest*, à sa place le texte suit: *de-nas byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' šiṅ-rta'i mčhog de slar sgyur-te phyir groṅ-khyer-du žugs-so.* — B 754,7–755,1; cf. T 111b4–6; F 167: 22–168,2.

the senses and breathing hard, | Is swollen, and who, perfectly exhausted, sits | In his own urine and ordure, an object of disgust?[18]

7 (9a, pp. 62–63) *Sarati ügüler-ün:* | *erketen-ü küčün singtaraju:* | *ebedküi qadqulaqui-bar jobayuldaju:* | *erklig qayan-u jüg-tür jüglegsen :* | *ebedčin kemegdekü ene bui* | *kemen ügülebesü:*

(pp. 24–25) The charioteer replied: | This man, O Prince, is severly ill, | And, full of the fear, caused by this illness, is near to death; | He has not the bright appearance of the healthy, his strength is gone, | And he has neither protector, nor refuge, nor shelter, nor help.[19]

8 (p. 63) *bodistv ügüler-ün:* | *elegür taki jiryalang be jegüdün metü:* | *enelküi ber dayusquy-a berke masi ayul-tu:* | *eyimü-yi üjeju merged kerkijü :* | *ende jiryalang-i tayalaqui sedkil-i törögülkü: :* | *kemen ügüleju: tergen-i qariyul Sarati a kemen: qariju qarsi-tur-iyan orobai: :*

(p. 25) The Bodhisattva said: | The state of health is (ephemere) like enjoyment in a dream, And (on the contrary) the terror of illness is so great! | How can a wise man, having seen the state (of illness), | Indulge in pleasures or have the notion of something as being blissful? | (And, as before he returned to the city).[20]

9 (9a-b, pp. 63–64) *tendeče basa nigen čay-tur tegünčilen örön-e-tü qayaly-a-bar yarču odqui-tur Esrua tngri ükügsen kümün bolun qubilju: jarim anu uyilan: jarim anu ebčegüben* (9b) *deleddün jarim anu absan-tu oroyul-un: jarim anu üküdel-tür abču odqui terigüten-i üjegülügsen-tür: tegüni üjeju qan köbegün Sariti-ača asayur-un:* | *ülü ködel-ün gedergü kebteju:* | *olan-a dang-tur ergügülügsen:* | *üsün-iyen čučalju eldebčilen:* | *ukilayad arad-iyar dayayuluysan:* | *asuru olan-iyar küriyelegüljü:* | *abču odqui ene yayun bui kemen asaybasu*

[18] **6:** *yań*[a] *lho sgor*[b] *thon-pas*[c] *na-ba*[c] *gzigs-te*[c] *smras-pa*[d] | *kha-lo-sgyur-ba mi rcub lus-kyi mdog ńan-la* || *dbań-po thams-čad ñams-šiń dbugs 'byuń rab-tu dka'* || *yan-lag kun bskams*[e] *lto-bas dkrags-šiń ñam thag gyur* | *rań-gi gčin rtug smad-pa'i gnas-na 'dug 'di su.* T et F ont une courte introduction qui manque au **B**. — [a]T,F *deest* [b]T,F *sgo-nas* [c]T,F *deest* [d]T,F *smras-so* [e]T,F *skams.* Le début du passage est ainsi formulé: *... byań-čhub sems-dpa' dus gžań žig-na* | *bkod-pa čhen-pos groń-khyer-gyi lho phyogs-kyi sgo-nas skyed-mos chal-gyi sar žugs-pa dań* | *des lam-ka-na mi nad-kyis ñen-pa dmu rjin-čan lus ñam čhuń-ba* | *rań-gi gčin rkyag-tu byiń-ba* | *mgon med-pa* | *skyabs med-pa* | *šin-tu ša thań-bar dbugs dbyuń-žiń rňub dgos-pa-žig mthoń-ńo* | *mthoń-nas kyań yań byań-čhub sems-dpas šes bžin-du kha-lo-sgyur-ba-la 'di skad čes smras-so* || *kha-lo-sgyur-ba mi rcub lus-kyi mdog ńan-la,* etc. — **B** 755, 1–2; cf. T 111b6–112a1; F 168: 3–10.

[19] **7:** *des*[a] *smras-pa* | *lha-gčig*[b] *mi 'di šin-tu nad-kyis btab-pa-ste* || *nad-kyis 'jigs-pa ñe-bar mčhis-pas 'gum-la thug* | *nad-med gzi brjid ma mčhis stobs kyań rnam-par ñams* || *mgon dań skyabs dań gliń dań dpuń ma mčhis lags.* — [a]T,F *kha-lo-sgyur-bas* [b]T,F *čig* — **B** 765,2–3; cf. T 112a1–2; F 168: 11–13.

[20] **8:** *byań čhub sems-dpas smras-pa* | *nad-med-pa yań rmi-lam-na ni rce-dań mchuńs* || *nad-kyis 'jigs-pa 'di-lta*[a] *šin-tu mi bzad*[b]*-pa* || *skyes-bu mkhas-pas gnas*[c] *'di mthon*[d] *ji-ltar bur* || *rce-la dga' dań sdug-pa'i 'du šes bskyed*[e]*-par 'gyur;* dans T et F on lit encore: *dge-sloń-dag de-nas byań-čhub sems-dpa' šiń-rta mčhog de slar sgyur-te phyir yań groń-khyer-du žugs-so.* — [a]T *ltar* [b]T *zad* [c]T,F *gnas* [d]T,F *nas* [e]F *skyed.* — **B** 755,3–4; cf. T 112a2–4; F 168: 13–17.

(p. 25) Then as he went out through the western gate, he saw a dead body and asked again: | Who, O charioteer, is that man, | Whom they carry there on a bier, surrounding him, | Tearing out their hair and nails and scattering dust on their heads, | Uttering various sounds of lamentation and beating their breasts?[21]

10 (p. 64) *Sarati ügüler-ün: | uruγsida ečige eke terigüten: | üri sadud ed tavar kiged-i: | ülü olǰu üǰeküi: | ükübei kemekü ene bui kemebesü*

(p. 25) The charioteer answered: | This man, O Prince, has died here in Jambudvipa, | Henceforth he shall no more see his parents, his wife and children, | He has left his wealth, his home, and the circle of his friends, | He is now in another world and shall on more see those whom he knew.[22]

11 (p. 64) *bodistv ügüler-ün: | ötelküi nom-tu-yi ǰalaγu kemen: | ebedküi nom-tu-yi elegür kemen: | ükükü nom-tu-yi amidu kemen: | sedkigsen-ü qabiy-a inu ali bui: | taki ötelküi ükükü ügei bögesü ber: | tabun čoγčas-i minügei kemen eǰelegsen-iyer: | daγusquy-a berke tede ǰobalang-ud* (10a): | *daγaǰu yabuqu-yi čü yaγun ügületele: | qarin ǰiluγad Sarati a: || γasiγun ǰobalang-ača tonilqui: | γayiqamsiγ arγ-a-yi erisügei kemen: | qariǰu qarsi-tur-iyan orobai.*

(pp. 25–26) The Bodhisattva said: | Fie on the youth that is overpowered by decrepitude! | Fie on the health that is overpowered by illness! | Worthless for a sage is life that has no long duration, | And worthless is for the wise man the attachment to wordly pleasures: | O, that old age, illness, and death would not exist! | But great is the suffering that takes hold of the 5 groups of elements, | And what is there to say of old age, illness and death, which are persisting and continuous. | Enough, let us go back and reflect | Over the means how to attain Salvation.[23]

[21] **9:** *yaṅ nub-tu ši-ba gzigs-te smras-pa | kha-lo-sgyur-ba mi 'di khyogs-la blaṅs[a]-nas ni || mi-dag skra-ba-šig mgo-las-kyis 'thor-byed-čiṅ || sna-chogs-dag-gi chig ni brǰod-la braṅ brduṅ[b]-bas || kun-nas bskor-ba byas-te 'khyer-ba su-žig yin || des smras-pa.* T et F offrent un texte un peu développé qui rappelle notre version mongole: *dge-sloṅ-dag de-ltar byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' dus gžaṅ žig-na bkod-pa čhen-pos groṅ-khyer-gyi nub phyogs-kyi sgo-nas skyed-mos chal-gyi sar žugs-pa daṅ | des lam-ka-na mi ši-bar gyur-pa | khyogs-la žag-pa* (T *bžag-pa*) | *ras-kyi bla re phub-pa | ñe-du'i chogs-kyis bskor-te | kun kyaṅ ṅu-žin skad byuṅ-ste | ṅu-la smre-sṅags 'don-čiṅ skra bšig-la sa-yis 'thor-žiṅ bran-bar gyur-pa mtoṅ-ṅo || mthoṅ-nas kyaṅ yaṅ byaṅ-čhub sems-dpas šes bžin-du kha-lo-sgyur-pa-la 'di skad čes smras-so;* le reste est identique au B. — [a]T,F *bžag* [b]T,F *rduṅ* — B 755,4–5; cf. T 112a4–8; F 168: 17–169: 4.

[22] **10:** *des smras-pa | lha-čig[a] mi 'di 'jam-bu'i gliṅ-du gum-pa-ste || slan-čhad pha-ma mčhis braṅ-bu rnams mthoṅ mi 'gyur || loṅs-spyod khyim daṅ mja[b] gñen-chogs-rnams[c] spaṅs-nas ni || 'jig-rten pha-rol mčhis-te slan-čhad gñen mi thoṅ* — [a]T *žig* [b]T *mja'-bšes* [c]T *gñen-chogs* — B 755,5–6; cf. T 112a8–112b1; F 169: 4–7.

[23] **11:** *byaṅ-čhub sems-dpas smras-pa | rga-bas gnod-par 'gyur-ba'i gžon-pa čir mi ruṅ || sna-chogs nad-kyis gnod 'gyur nad-med čir mi ruṅ || riṅ-du mi gnas-gson-pa[a] mkhas-la čir mi ruṅ || dga'[b]-la čhags-pa skyes-bu mkhas-la čir mi ruṅ || gal-te rga-med na-[c] med 'čhi-ba-med 'gyur kyaṅ || 'on-kyaṅ phuṅ-po lṅa 'jin bdug-sṅal yin-na[d] || rga na[e] 'čhi-ba rtag-tu 'braṅ-ba smos či dgos || legs-par slar ldog[f] rab-tu thar-bar bya-bar[g] bsam.* T et F ajoutent encore: *dge-sloṅ-dag de-nas byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' šiṅ-rta mčhog de slar brlog-*

12 (p. 65) *tendeče basa nigen čaγ-tur ümedü qaγalγ-a-bar γarču odqui tergegür-tür nigen toyin kümün-i üǰeǰü uridu yosuγar medeged Sarati-ača asaγur-un:* | *amurlingγuy-ača ber amurliγsan sedkil-iyer:* | *yabur-un nidün-iyen qabar-un üǰügür-tür bayuluγsan:* | *al karš-a emüsčü: γar-a badir bariγsan : omoγ ügei* | *amurlingγui yabudal-tu ene ken bolbai kemen asaγbasu:*

(p. 26) (And having once more returned to the city, he again went out, this time) by the northern gate. Then he saw a mendicant monk and asked: | Who, O charioteer, is this man with a calm and tranquil mind, | Who goes with downcast eyes, looking only a *yuga*-length before himself, | Clad in a mantle of reddish hue and walking in perfect peace, | Bearing an alms-bowl and free from arrogance and conceit?[24]

13 (p. 65) *Sarati ügüler-ün:* | *tngri minu a ene kemebesü: tačiyangγu-yin ǰirγa-lang-i tebčiǰü:* | *degedü amurliγsan qutuγ-i erir-ün:* | *γayča binvad-tur dulduyiduγ-či toyin kemegdekü ene bui kemebesü:*

(p. 26) The charioteer answered: | This man, O Prince, is called a mendicant monk. | He has abandoned all desires and undergoes the strictest discipline, | He has embraced religious life and seeks quiescence for himself, | Is free from passion and hatred, and wanders, living in alms.[25]

14 (p. 65) *bodistv ügüler-ün:* | *ünen sayitur ügülebei či :* | *bi ber egüni küsemüi:* | *aquy-a kilbar ečüs-tür :* | *quruγ-i olγaγuluγči:* | (p. 66) *öber-tür ba busud-ḍa tusa-tu:* | *toyin bolquy-yi ertenü:* | *qutuγ-ḍan-a sayisiyaγdaγsan törö bui kemen* | *toyin-u ǰüg-tür ǰiluγaban tataγulǰu:* | *ariγun vinay-yin yabudal-i keleldüǰü:* | *ger-ḍeče ger ügei γarquy-yi küseǰü:* | *qariǰu qarsi-ṭur-iyan orobai : :*

(pp. 26–27) To this the Bodhisattva said: | Well hast thou spoken, this pleases me; | Religious life has been always praised by the wise, | In it lies the welfare of oneself and other living beings, | And its result is a blissful existence, full of beatitude and immortality. | Thereupon the Bodhisattva returned to his home.[26]

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ste phyir yaṅ groṅ-khyer-du ǰugs-so. — [a]T *gson-gson-pa* [b]T,F *rga-la* [c]T *nad* [d]T,F *-no* [e]T,F *bya-bar* [f]T,F *brlog* [g]T,F *bya-ba* — B 755,6–756,1; cf. T 112b1–4; F 169:7–13.

[24] **12:** *yaṅ byaṅ sgor dge-sloṅ gzigs-te smras-pa* | *kha-lo-sgyur-ba skyes-bu sems ǰi-rab ǰi-ǰiṅ* || *mig phab 'gro-la gña-šiṅ gaṅ-cam lta byed-čiṅ* || *dur smrig gos gyon šin-tu rab-tu ǰi-bar spyod* || *lhuṅ-bzed thogs-nas mi rgod ma kheṅs su-ǰig yin.* Le début du paragraphe, dans T et F, est plus long: *dge-sloṅ-dag de-ltar byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' dus gźaṅ ǰig-na groṅ-khyer-gyi byaṅ phyogs sgo-nas skyed-mos chal-gyi sar ǰugs-pa daṅ byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa'i mthus lha'i bu de-dag ñid-kyis lam-ka der dge-sloṅ ǰig mṅon-par sprul-pa daṅ* | . . . *'di skad ces smras-so* et ainsi de suite. — B 756,1–2; cf. T 112b4–113a1; F 169:13–170:3.

[25] **13:** *des*[a] *smras-pa lha-gčig*[b] *mi 'di dge-sloṅ ǰes ni bgyi-ba lags* || *'dod-pa'i dga'-ba spaṅs-šiṅ šin-tu dul-bar spyod* || *bdag-ñid ǰi-ba chol-ǰiṅ rab-tu byuṅ-bar gyur* || *'dod-čhags ǰe sdaṅ bral-ba*[c] *bsod-ñoms spyod-čiṅ rgyu* — [a]T,F *kha-lo-sgyur-bas* [b]T,F *-čig* T,F *-bar* — B 756,2–3; cf. T 113a1–2; F 170:3–6.

[26] **14:** *byaṅ-čhub sems-dpas smras-pa* || *'di ni dge-bar legs smras ṅa yaṅ 'dod-pa-ste* || *rab-tu byuṅ-ba mkhas-pa-rnams-kyis rtag-tu bsṅags* || *de ni bdag-la phan-ǰiṅ sems-čan gźan-la'aṅ phan* || *'che-ba bde-ǰiṅ*

C'est par ces paroles que se termine le 6e chapitre, du moins selon Obermiller. A vrai dire, dans sa traduction seuls les chapitres sont numérotés (1–12), les titres mis entre parenthèses y ont été ajoutés sans doute ultérieurement.

En tout état de cause, la comparaison des 14 paragraphes nous a fourni des renseignements fort utiles. La vie du Bouddha dans la rédaction de Bu-ston paraît continuer la tradition du *Lalitavistara*. Son texte en est un abrégé, ce qui n'a pas empêché Bu-ston d'emprunter à son modèle des passages entiers, tant en prose qu'en vers. Les passages empruntés ont presque toujours maintenu mot à mot la rédaction primitive. La version mongole de Šes-rab seṅ-ge nous suggère de chercher la même tradition pour son texte tibétain aujourd'hui perdu. Et l'on peut constater dès maintenant que les correspondances textuelles qui se présentent entre le *Lalitavistara* et le texte tibétain traduit par Šes-rab seṅ-ge nous permettent de supposer un texte tibétain intermédiaire.

Mais il y a lieu de se demander si la répartition des douzes actes, adoptée par Obermiller est-elle authentique? Si oui, est-il permis d'en conclure à un décalage entre les actes successifs dans les deux ouvrages? Toutefois le texte mongol, dans son chapitre 6, comprend encore le départ du Bodhisattva de son foyer. En revanche, le texte de Bu-ston, dans la disposition d'Obermiller, ne consacre pas de chapitre à part au séjour du Bodhisattva à Bodhimaṇḍa comme le fait le texte mongol où le ch. 8 entier relate cet événement important. Dans le texte tibétain les actes de Bodhimaṇḍa sont incorporés, sous une forme abrégée, au ch. 8, fort court en soi. Or, dans le texte tibétain de Bu-ston les chapitres ne portent ni chiffres, ni titres. Toutefois le procédé d'Obermiller n'est pas tout à fait sans fondement. Bu-ston a consacré, à la fin de la première partie de son œuvre ici considérée, une section aux actes du Bouddha, d'où il ressort que la théorie des douze actes (tib. *mjad bču-gñis*) est enracinée dans la philosophie bouddhique (mahāyāniste) et qu'elle a été traitée et commentée maintes fois. Au cours des dicussions portant sur des nuances subtiles on a cherché même à distinguer entre les actes à attribuer au Bodhisattva et ceux du Bouddha. Parmi les exemples cités par Bu-ston il se trouve deux ouvrages où les actes sont définis dans les détails. A vrai dire, ils sont énumérés assez sommairement, sans se tenir strictement au chiffre douze; les stances qui les comprennent, ne sont rien d'autre que des listes d'inventaire.

L'un des deux ouvrages est intitulé *Rin-po-čhe'i phreṅ-ba'i rgya-čher bšad-pa* (skr. *Ratnāvalīṭikā*),[27] l'autre est *Rgyud bla-ma* (skr. *Uttaratantra*).[28]

ñams mthun 'čhi-med 'bras-bur 'gyur || de-nas[a] *byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa'*[b] *naṅ-du*[c] — [c]T, F *dge* [b]T,F *dge-sloṅ-dag de-nas* [c]T,F *sems-dpas šiṅ-rta mčhog de slar bsgyur-te phyir yaṅ groṅ-khyer-du* [d]T,C *-du* — B 756,3–4; cf. T 113a2–4; F 170:6–10.

[27] A propos de cet ouvrage voir *Bu-ston*, Part 24, p. 738,1 et suiv.: *gšegs daṅ bltams daṅ rol-pa-daṅ | khab-nas 'byuṅ daṅ dka'-spyod daṅ | byaṅ-čhub čhad-du bdud-sde 'joms | čhos-kyi 'khor-lo bskor-ba daṅ | lha-rnams kun-nas babs-pa daṅ | de bžin-du ni mi mya-ṅan-las | 'das-pa bston-pa'i mjad-pa yin* «(The

L'histoire de la vie du Bouddha examinée par A. Schiefner appartient aux œuvres consacrées aux Douze actes du Bouddha. Elle est due à Rin-čhen čhos-gyi rgyal-po, fut rédigée en 1734 et imprimée à Pékin en 1776. C'est une compilation tardive, mais elle mérite une attention particulière puisque son auteur a puisé à des sources anciennes, dans la plupart des cas fort bien connues.

L'auteur dit s'être appuyé sur les ouvrages suivants: 1° Les quatre sections de *Vinaya* (citées par Csoma); 2° *Ratnakūṭa;* 3° *Buddhāvataṃsaka;* 4° *Lalitavistara;* 5° *Abhiniṣkramaṇa -sūtra;* 6° *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra;* 7° plusieurs *sūtra* et *tantra* qui ont rapport à l'histoire de la vie du Bouddha. L'ouvrage est composé de 13 chapitres dont douze correspondent aux douze actes du Bouddha. Le 13e est consacré à la propagation de la doctrine après la mort du Bouddha.

Schiefner insiste sur le fait que les actes 1–10 sont relatés essentiellement d'après le *Lalitavistara,* et l'apport des autres textes paraît fort modeste. En tout cas les chapitres (ou actes du Bouddha) 1–10 sont reproduits sous une forme abrégée, en regard des chapitres 11–12, longuement discutés.

Les chapitres répondant à notre texte mongol sont consacrés aux faits et gestes du Bouddha bien connus : ch. 6 : Fuite de sa maison; ch. 7 : Pénitence dure; ch. 8 : Départ pour *Bodhimaṇḍa;* ch. 9 : Défaite du Démon. Les chapitres sont bien

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Buddhas) guided by mercy, manifest (their achievements) | The coming (into this world), birth, enjoyment of life, | Departure from home, practise of ascetism, | The proceeding toward Enlightenment, | The victory over the Evil One and his hosts, | The exposition of the Doctrine, | The descent from the abode of the gods, | And, in a like way, the passing away into Nirvana» (Obermiller, *op. cit.,* pp. 133–134). Sur l'ouvrage en question, voir P. Cordier, *Catalogue* III, p. 422, *Mdo-'grel* XCIV, n° 3 et *Catalogue Tōhoku,* p. 635, n° 4159.

[29] *Bu-ston,* Part 24, f. 740, 2 et suiv.: *thugs-rje čhen-pos jig-rten mkhyen | 'jig-rten kun-la gzigs-nas ni | čhos-kyi sku-las ma g-yos-par || sprul-pa'i raṅ bžin sna-chogs-kyis | skye-ba mṅon-par skye-ba daṅ | dga'-ldan gnas ni 'pho-ba daṅ || lhums-su žugs daṅ bltams-pa daṅ || bzo-yi gnas-la mkhas-pa daṅ | bcun-mo'i 'khor dgyes rol-pa daṅ || ṅes-'byuṅ dka'-ba spyod-pa daṅ || byaṅ-čhub-sñiṅ-por gšegs-pa daṅ || 'dud-sde 'joms daṅ rjogs-par ni || byaṅ-čhub čhos-kyi 'khor-lo daṅ | mya-ṅan 'das-par gšegs mjad-rnams | yoṅs-su sna-dag žiṅ-rnams-su || srid-pa ji-srid gnas-par gnas-par ston.* «The Wisdom of the Universe, having mercifully looked down upon all living beings, | Has, without changing His Cosmical Essence, | Manifested Himself in the form of diverse incarnations. | He assumed the birth (in an individual form), | Descended from the region of Tuṣita, | Entered His mother's womb, became born, | Showed His skill in arts and sports, | Led a merry life amongst women, | Then, departed (from home), practised ascetism, | Came to Bodhimaṇḍa, vanquished the Evil One and his hosts, | Attained Supreme Enlightenment, | Turned the Wheel of the Doctrine, And passed away into Nirvana. | These acts He demonstrated in the impure spheres, | As long as He was abiding in this world». (Obermiller, *op. cit.,* I, p. 136). Cf. P. Cordier, *Catalogue* III, pp. 373–374 (tome XLIV, 1–7); *Catalogue Tōhoku,* pp. 609–610. E. Obermiller, *The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation, being a Manuel of Buddhist Monism. The Work of Ārya-Maitreya with a Commentary by Āryāsaṅga,* translated from the Tibetan, with introduction and notes: *Acta Orientalia* IX, 1931, pp. 81–306. Sur les douze actes, voir pp. 254–255 (The 12 Acts of the Buddha as a mere Manifestation of His Apparitional Body).

délimités les uns des autres (contrairement à ceux de Bu-ston). Pour en rester au ch. 6, on constatera qu'il se termine par le départ du Bodhisattva de son foyer alors que le texte mongol ajoute encore l'histoire des débuts de sa vie de moine. On a vu que Bu-ston, dans le système d'Obermiller, se contentant de raconter dans le même chapitre la vie du Bodhisattva à son foyer, réservait l'histoire de son départ au chapitre suivant.

Selon Schiefner (*op. cit.*, p. 239), le ch. 6 correspond au ch. 14 et à une partie du ch. 15 du Lv. Cette correspondance est pourtant assez limitée, elle est infirmée par des détails ignorés dans le *Lalitavistara*. On n'a qu'à rappeler la visite du Bodhisattva au village de l'agriculture. En route vers le village il rencontra 500 gardiens de trésor, à longue barbe et ongles qui lui offrirent leur trésor, mais le Bodhisattva renonça aux trésors et il les immergea dans l'océan. En continuant sa route il arriva au village de l'agriculture où il croisa des laboureurs ayant les mains, les pieds découverts, le corps inondé de sueur; en même temps il vit des bœufs aiguillonnés par des touches, le dos saignant, affamés, assoiffés. Touché profondément par ce spectacle, le Bodhisattva affranchit les laboureurs de la servitude et ordonna de lâcher les bœufs torturés, éreintés, pour qu'ils broutent librement et qu'ils mènent une vie à leur aise. Avant de rentrer à sa maison il tomba sur le champ des cadavres en état de décomposition. Après ces expériences douloureuses il entra en méditation à l'ombre d'un arbre *jambou*.[29]

Une partie des scènes rédigées sous cette forme est étrangère à la tradition du *Lalitavistara;* la méditation sous l'arbre *jambou* est bien mentionnée, brièvement, dans un autre passage du *Lalitavistara*; à cet endroit on lit deux mots sur la visite du jeune prince dans le village de l'agriculture (Foucaux I, 115; II, 125).[30] Le récit de

[29] A. Schiefner, *Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çâkya-muni's, des Begründers des Buddhatums*, im Auszüge mitgeteilt: *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, tome VI, 1851, pp. 231–332. É. Senart, *Essai sur la Légende du Bouddha, son caractère et ses origines*², Paris 1882, p. 295, estime que l'histoire du «Village de l'agriculture» reflète une tradition populaire. Les compilations parues après celle de Rin-čhen čhos-kyi rgyal-po n'ont point manqué de reproduire les 12 actes du Bouddha. Parmi les ouvrages les plus célèbres de cet ordre, il convient de rappeler le *Šes-bya kun-khyab* dû à Koṅ-sprul mtha'-yas (1813–1899). Cf. *Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, Parts 1–3, edited by Prof. Dr. Lokesh Chandra, with an Introduction by E. Gene Smith, New Delhi 1970. Voir II, 7: *Ston pa'i skus zhiṅ 'dir mdzad pa bcu gñis bstan pa bśad-pa* «How the miraculous emanation body performed the twelwe great actions of spiritual heroism». Les douze actes, suivis de brefs commentaires sont énumérés aux ff. 298–310.

[30] Le Lv situe la scène dans l'enfance du Bouddha: *dge-sloṅ gžon-nu de-bas kyaṅ ya zad skyes-nas | dus gžan žig-na gžon-nu de | gžon-nu gžan-dag-daṅ | gžaṅ blon-gyi bu-dag-daṅ lhan čig-tu žiṅ-pa'i groṅ lta žiṅ doṅ-ste | groṅ bltas-nas žuṅ blas-kyi mtha'i skyed-mos chal žig-tu phyin-no || de-na byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' gčig-pu gñis-su med-pa pha zad 'khyam-žiṅ soṅ-soṅ-ba daṅ | jam-bu'i šiṅ ljon-pa mjes-pa blta-na sdug-pa žig mthoṅ-nas | byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' de'i grib-ma-la skyil-mo kruṅ-du bčas-te 'dug-go* (Foucaux I, p. 115). «Bhikchous, l'enfant, ayant encore grandi, alla une autre fois avec d'autres enfants et des fils de

Rin-čhen čhos-gyi rgyal-po sur les premières expériences du Bodhisattva remonte très probablement au *Vinayavastu* où l'on retrouve les mêmes événements racontés sous une forme détaillée. Par ailleurs le passage en question est bien connu depuis longtemps; déjà W. Rockhill en a fait état en relatant la vie légendaire du Bouddha.[31]

Le passage additionnel ajouté aux « quatre rencontres » manque aussi bien dans l'*Abhiniṣkramaṇa* que dans le texte tibétain traduit par Šes-rab seṅ-ge.

Concernant l'histoire de la vie du Bouddha nous tiendrons compte, au besoin, outre l'œuvre de Bu-ston et la compilation de Rin-čhen čhos-gyi rgyal-po, encore des textes tibétains suivants (ici encore nous nous occuperons exclusivement des portions contenant les chapitres (actes) 6-9 conservés par la version mongole fragmentaire) :

1° *Vinayavastu*, tib. *'Dul-ba gži*, incorporé au Kanǰur. Les renseignements que Csoma et, sur ses traces, Feer ont fournis sur le Canon tibétain sont basés sur l'édition de Narthang (au sujet de cette édition, voir les remarques de H. Eimer, vol. 1, pp. 199–205). Nous avons préféré à l'édition de Narthang, par ailleurs fort importante, celle de Pékin car c'est sur cette rédaction que repose le texte tibétain du Kanǰur publié dans le *Tibetan Tripitaka*, et aussi la version mongole imprimée.

Dans le Kanǰur de Pékin, le *'Dul-ba gži* est réparti entre les vols. 94-97 (pour le Kanǰur mongol imprimé, ce sont les vols. 93-97); l'ouvrage compte 109 chapitres *(bam-po)* dépourvus de titre. Cf. Otani, pp. 399-407 (avec références aux passages correspondants de Yi-tsing, Fa-hien, Hiuan-tsang, etc.). Nous citerons les passages discutés d'après le *Tibetan Tripitaka*, vol. 27, pp. 198-228. Le *'Dul-ba gži* forme les vols. 1-5 du Kanǰur de Berlin, catalogué par Beckh (pp. 1-2). Il est notoire que dans l'édition de Narthang le même ouvrage occupe les quatre premiers volumes du Kanǰur. Quant à l'édition de Derge, le nombre des volumes y reste quatre et ils sont publiés à la tête du Canon tibétain. Cela est confirmée par l'exemplaire conservé au Tōhoku (p. 1) et l'édition de Urga (Bethlenfalvy, pp. 1-2). Les rédactions où les vols. 1-4 sont consacrés à *Vinayavastu*, reflètent assez bien la tradition conservée par

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conseillers voir le village de l'agriculture. Et après avoir vu le village, il entra dans un bois, à l'extrémité des champs cultivés. Là le Bôdhisattva, tout seul, sans second, après avoir un peu erré de côté et de l'autre, ayant vu un arbre Djambou, beau et agréable à voir, s'assit sous son ombrage les jambes croisées» (Foucaux II, p. 125).

[31] W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order*, derived from Tibetan works in the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur, followed by notices on the early history of Tibet and Khotan. London [1888], pp. 22–23. Rockhill reproduit l'histoire de la visite du Bodhisattva dans le village de l'agriculture d'après le *Vinayavastu*. Ed. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, London 1975, pp. 41–43. Thomas discute assez longuement la visite au village de l'agriculture que le Bouddha avait fait encore comme jeune garçon et ses «quatre rencontres» survenues bien plus tard. Thomas en distingue au moins quatre variantes.

l'édition de Narthang, analysée par Csoma. Dans cette édition on trouve les actes 6-9 du Bouddha à la fin du vol. 3 et au début du vol. 4; dans l'édition rouge de Pékin ces actes sont rangés dans les vols. 96 et 97 (le Kanǰur de Berlin les réunit au seul vol. 4). Il convient de faire remarquer que les vols. 3 et 4, examinés par Csoma, comptent 478 et 470 ff. respectivement. Le Kanǰur de Derge, selon le témoignage de l'exemplaire de Tōhoku et l'édition de Urga, comprend 293 et 302 ff. Il n'est pas étonnant que le Kanǰur rouge de Pékin, rédaction indépendante des trois éditions ici considérées, compte 275 et 277 ff.[32]

Il convient de faire remarquer que la Vie du Bouddha incorporée au *Vinayavastu* n'en est qu'une partie, une partie sans doute importante, mais qui ne forme pas une unité indépendante. Il n'est que trop naturel qu'à son début, et surtout à sa fin, elle comporte des éléments qui sont inconnus dans les autres rédactions consacrées à la vie légendaire du Bouddha.

2° *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, tib. *Mṅon-par 'byuṅ-ba'i mdo*. Cette vie du Bouddha est encore conservée dans le Kanǰur. Chez Csoma, c'est le vol. 26 du *Mdo* qui renferme cet ouvrage sans chapitres, ni titres. A l'avis de Csoma, ce travail est au fond la reprise du *Dulva* et du *Lalitavistara;* Feer (*op. cit.*, p. 277) estime qu'il est en majeure partie « la reproduction textuelle du Dulva ». Dans l'édition de Derge il est incorporé au vol. 72; l'ouvrage lui-même compte 125 ff. aussi bien dans l'exemplaire de Tōhoku que dans l'édition de Urga. Les vols. du *Mdo* (et ceux des autres sections) ne sont pas numérotés dans l'édition de Derge. Selon le Kanǰur de Berlin c'est le vol. 28 qui comprend l'*Abhiniṣkramaṇa;* pour Beckh (p. 62) cet ouvrage rappelle le *Lalitavistara*. Cette fois encore nous citerons ce travail d'après l'édition de Pékin où il forme la première pièce du vol. 39. La fuite de la maison paternelle jusqu'à la victoire sur le Démon comprend les ff. 14-24.[33]

3° *Buddhacarita nāma mahākāvya*, tib. *Saṅs-rgyas-kyi spyod-pa žes-bya-ba'i sñan-[d]ṅag[s] čhen-po*, œuvre de Aśvaghoṣa, conservée dans le Tanǰur. Dans l'édition rouge de Pékin elle est enregistrée comme le vol. 94 de la section *Mdo-'grel*;

[32] Csoma—Feer, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–179. Hakuji Ui et autres, *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* and *Bstan-ḥgyur)* Sendai Japan, 1934. Géza Bethlenfalvy, *A Catalogue of the Urga Kanjur*, in Prof. Raghuvira Collection at the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi 1980. H. Beckh, *Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1914. *A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripitaka*, edited in Peking during the K'anghsi era, and at present kept in the Library of the Otani Daigaku Kyoto, in which the contents of each sutra are collated with their corresponding parts in the existing Sanskrit, Pali and Chinese texts, and in which page references to the Narthang and the Derge edition of the Tripitaka are also entered. Kyoto 1932. Daisetz T. Suzuki, *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, Peking Edition — kept in the Otani University, Kyoto. Reprinted under the supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto, Vol. 42. *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, ḤDul-ba* II. Tokyo—Kyoto 1957.

[33] Édition de Narthang: Csoma—Feer, p. 277; édition de Derge: Tohoku, p. 58, Urga, pp. 75—76; Kanǰur de Berlin, p. 62; édition de Pékin: Catalogue Otani, p. 375.

d'après l'édition de Derge c'est le vol. 274. Le texte tibétain couvre assez mal le texte sanskrit actuellement connu. Cette biographie versifiée a été longuement discutée; elle fut traduite de bonne heure aussi en chinois. Le texte tibétain versifié offre des ressemblances remarquables avec les textes prosaïques consacrés à l'histoire de la vie du Bouddha.[34]

Les actes 6-9 sont présentés par les livres (chants) III-XIII.

4° *Lalitavistara*, tib. *Rgya-čher rol-pa*. L'essentiel a été dit à son propos en discutant les «quatre rencontres» de Bu-ston. Le *Lalitavistara*, modèle fort populaire des œuvres tibétaines bouddhiques a certainement influencé l'auteur du texte tibétain dont Šes-rab seṅ-ge a tiré la version mongole. Il reste toujours à savoir si l'influence, parfois écrasante du *Lalitavistara* s'exerçait directement ou bien par l'intermédiaire d'un ou de plusieurs textes tibétains exposés à la même influence. Il ne fait aucun doute que le texte tibétain traduit par Šes-rab seṅ-ge a utilisé, outre le Lv, bien d'autres ouvrages jusqu'ici non identifiés.[35]

Les actes 6-9 se trouvent dans le *Tibetan Tripitaka*, Vol. 27, pp. 198-228; pour les mêmes textes, voir Foucaux I, pp. 165-261; II, pp. 180-327. Cf. encore Csoma—Feer, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-231 (surtout pp. 227-229); édition de Tōhoku, p. 23, Urga, p. 31; Beckh, pp. 26-28 (avec la table des matières des 27 *le'u*).

Mais où en sommes-nous avec les textes mongols parallèles?

Il est notoire que les sources principales de l'histoire légendaire de la vie du Bouddha sont traduites en mongol. Ainsi le *Lalitavistara* (largement utilisé par M. Poppe), le *Abhiniṣkramaṇa*, le *Vinayavastu* sont accessibles sans difficultés, avant tout dans le Kanjur mongol imprimé, grâce à la réédition du prof. Lokesh Chandra. En principe on peut compter même avec la version mongole du *Buddhacarita*, bien que le Tanjur mongol imprimé, dont il fait partie, soit fort rare, et par conséquent moins connu.

[34] E. Cowell. *The Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha*, translated from the Sanskrit: *The Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. XLIX, Oxford 1894, pp. 1–206, surtout pp. 56–147. S. Beal, *The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, A Life of Buddha by Aśvaghosha Bodhisattva*, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A. D. 420. *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIX, Oxford 1883, pp. 1–338, surtout pp. 29–156. Fr. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghoṣa*. Tibetisch und deutsch. I. Teil, Leipzig 1926, II. Teil, Leipzig 1928. Fr. Weller, *Untersuchung über die textgeschichtliche Entwicklung des tibetischen Buddhacarita*, Berlin 1980. Dans cette dernière étude, Fr. Weller a comparé le texte sanskrit à la version tibétaine incorporée au Tanjur, d'après les éditions de Narthang, Chone, Derge et de Pékin. Pour l'édition de Pékin, voir P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale* III, p. 421, Paris 1914. L'édition de Derge: *Catalogue du Tōhoku*, p. 634, n° 4156, *Tibetan Tripitaka*, Vol. 129 (Tokyo—Kyoto 1957), pp. 120–130. Cf. encore: Dr. Biswanath Bhattarcarya, *Aśvaghoṣa: A Critical Study*, Santiniketan 1976.

[35] Les actes 6–9 se trouvent dans le *Tibetan Tripitaka*, Vol. 27, pp. 198–228; pour les mêmes textes voir Foucaux I, pp. 165–261; II, pp. 180–327. Cf. encore Csoma—Feer, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–231 (surtout pp. 227–229); édition Tōhoku, p. 23, édition Urga, p. 31; Beckh, pp. 26–28 (avec une table des matières des 27 *le'u*). Cf. encore la note 12.

On a vu que les ouvrages intitulés «Douze actes du Bouddha», consacrés à la légende du Bouddha, actuellement connus sont peu nombreux en tibétain; cette catégorie d'ouvrages semble également assez rare en mongol. Je ne saurais en mentionner que quelques manuscrits.

Nous devons la première information à ce sujet à J. Klaproth. Les douze actes du Bouddha, d'après un ouvrage mongol autrement non précisé sont énumérés par lui comme suit: 1° ses origines dans le royaume des dieux; 2° son entrée aux flancs de sa mère terrestre; 3° sa naissance; 4° sa jeunesse; son perfectionnement en sagesse; 5° mariage et vie princière; 6° renoncement à la vie laïque; 7° vie ascétique; 8° sous un figuier il obtient, après des pénitences sévères, l'état de la sainteté; 9° il entre au temple de Varanasi pour enseigner; 10° défaite des six chefs *ters*, adorateurs du feu; 11° sa mort; 12° funérailles pour ses restes terrestres.

Malgré plusieurs détails fortement altérés on reconnaît sans peine la tradition authentique des douzes actes. Après la liste sommaire des douze actes, Klaproth raconte en détail l'histoire de la vie du Bouddha. Pour rester dans les cadres des actes 6-9, il convient de rappeler que le texte mongol que suit Klaproth (directement ou par l'intermédiaire d'un lama mongol lettré) nous fournit des renseignements intéressants. Les « quatre rencontres » sont exposées cette fois par une femme dans les douleurs, un vieillard, un malade et un mort. Le cocher ou l'écuyer *Sarati* ou *Sariti* (dans certains textes mongols *Šariti*), s'appelle ici « Oberhofmeister » *Šari*. Pour le nom de la rivière *Nairañjana* (ou *Nairanča*) nous avons *Arnazana* ou *Narazana* (fausses leçons d'une forme écrite), ce qui dénonce un intermédiaire oïrate ou kalmouk. On y lit, après le séjour aux bords de la rivière Nairañjana, le récit sur l'aumône de la soupe au lait, sur les 500 vaches. Rappelons encore quelques détails moins connus : ainsi la visite du prince des singes, l'histoire de l'éléphant enragé. Autant de détails qui mériteraient un examen approfondi. Quant aux différences qui séparent ce texte des autres légendes traditionnelles, le plus remarquable est sans doute le manque de l'attaque de Māra et de son armée contre le Bodhisattva; elle est remplacée par la défaite des six infidèles *(ters-üd-ün jiryuyan baysi)*, histoire très populaire dans la tradition bouddhique mongole. Pour le reste, il faut renvoyer au résumé de Klaproth riche en surprises.

J'ajouterai encore que les formes des noms propres figurant dans le récit de Klaproth militent en faveur d'un texte rédigé en oïrate (*z* au lieu d'un *j*). Dommage que le texte de Klaproth ait disparu.[36]

Et pourtant l'information fournie par Klaproth sur la vie légendaire du Bouddha n'est pas la seule. Inspiré par les traces oïrates indiquées par Klaproth à son insu, nous avons consulté la biographie de Zaya paṇḍita. Or, dans la liste bibliographi-

[36] J. Klaproth, *Asia polyglotta*², Paris 1831, pp. 121–144, tirées d'un autre ouvrage et imprimées après la p. 384. Travail supplémentaire, intitulé «Leben des Buddha nach mongolischen Nachrichten».

que des traductions de Zaya paṇḍita, ajoutée à la fin de la biographie et attribuée à Ratnabhadra, on trouve les ouvrages suivants qui peuvent être rattachés aux problèmes de la légende du Bouddha. Il convient de remarquer que dans la liste on a soigneusement indiqué, paralèllement, les titres tibétains des ouvrages dont la traduction oïrate avait été effectuée. Nous avons trois traductions : 1° *Burqan-u jayun töröl-ün toyuji*, en tibétain *Thub-pa'i skyes-rabs brgya-ba* (p. 328); 2° *Sigemuni-yin bütügel*, tib. *Šā-kya thub-pa'i sgrub-thabs* (p. 330); 3° *Burqan-u arban qoyar jokiyal-un maytayal*, tib. *Thub-pa'i mjad-pa bču-gñis-kyi bstod-pa* (p. 332). Dans la liste bibliographique contenant les traductions des disciples de Zaya paṇḍita on trouve deux titres qui peuvent nous intéresser de plus près : 1° *Burqan-u arban qoyar jokiyal*, tib. *Thub-pa'i mjad-pa bču-gñis* (p. 333); 2° *Arban qoyar jokiyal-un sudur*, tib. *Mjad-pa bču-gñis-kyi-mdo* (p. 334).[37] Toutefois, les ouvrages indiqués par la biographie de Zaya paṇḍita paraissent aujourd'hui inaccessibles sinon perdus.

Il n'en reste pas moins que la liste des travaux consacrés à la légende du Bouddha peut être augmentée de trois manuscrits mongols conservés à Leningrad; je dois les informations relatives à ceux-ci à M. Kara qui m'a obligeamment communiqué ses fiches qu'il avait préparées à Leningrad. Les trois manuscrits sont les suivants : 1° ms kalmouk, intitulé *Šākyamüniyin arban zokōl kigēd xoyōr ilöü ödür bolyoyči orošibo*, conservé à la bibliothèque de l'Université; cote LGU Kalm. E 1; extrait d'un ouvrage sur les douze actes du Bouddha; 2° *Amṯatai bumba ṉeretei sudur*, conservé à la bibliothèque de l'Institut Oriental de l'Académie; cote LO IVAN Mong. E 19; 3° *Sigemuni-yin arban qoyar jokiyaysan inu*, ms conservé à la bibliothèque de l'Institut Oriental; cote LO IVAN Mong. C 92; 10 ff. Ici encore nous avons affaire à un extrait qui comprend la liste des douze actes ainsi définis : I° *tengri-eče bayuju iregsen jokiyangyui;* II° *umai-ṯur oroysan jokiyangyui;* III° *törögsen jokiyangyui;* IVe *uran meregen* (sic) *bolugsan* (sic) *jokiyangyui;* V[e] *qatud nököd-lüge činggeldügsen;* VI° *mayad yaruysan jokiyangyui;* VII° *qaṯayujil yabudal-iyar yabuysan jokiyangyui;* VIII° *bodi modun-u dere-ged* (sic) *oduyad üneger toyuluysan burqan boluysan jokiyangyui;* IXe *Vara-ngsan* (sic) *balayasundur nom-un kürdün-i orčiyuluysan jokiyangyui;* X° *jiryuyan buruyu baysi-nar-i ḏaruyad tengri kümün-ü takiqu-yin oron bolugsan* (sic) *jokiyangyui;* XIe *nirvan bolugsan* (sic) *jokiyangyui;* XII *hey-e kegür-i nayiman* (sic) *qubi bolugsan* (sic) *jokiyangyui-luy-a arban qoyar jokiyangyui : ede buyu.*[38] Il est intéressant de voir que

[37] Če. Damdinsüreng, *Mongyol uran jokiyal-un degeji jayun bilig orosibai: Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum*, tomus XIV, Ulayan bayatur 1959, pp. 320–334 *(Radnabadara-yin jokiyaysan Zay-a bandida-yin namtar «Saran-u gerel» kemegdekü orosiba).*

[38] Les fiches de M. Kara contiennent des renseigments précis dont voici les plus importants: 1° ms LGU Kalm. E 1. Ms en écriture oïrate, sur papier russe avec filigrane, qui a dû être écrit à la fin du XVIIIe

les douze actes énumérés dans ce ms se rattachent étroitement à la liste publiée par Klaproth.

En dernière analyse on peut constater que sous les Yuan les textes intitulés « Douze actes du Bouddha » devaient être familiers aussi bien en tibétain qu'en mongol, et la popularité de ces textes bouddhiques a survécu à la chute de la dynastie mongole en Chine. Les anciens textes mongols sont avant tout des traductions, mais leur histoire prouve abondamment que les anciennes rédactions ont été soignées par plusieurs mains et qu'elles nous sont parvenues sous une forme améliorée ou, simplement, modifiée. Même l'époque des Yuan ne fait pas exception à cet égard : sous la courte durée de la dynastie, certaines versions mongoles ont déjà connu des textes remaniés.

II

Le texte mongol de Šes-rab seṅ-ge constitue avant tout un monument important de l'histoire de la langue et de la littérature mongoles, qui soulève encore aujourd'hui bon nombre de problèmes.

A leur sujet je tenterais de formuler, dans ce qui suit, quelques remarques. Un groupe de ces questions touche l'interprétation verbale du texte mongol.

En ce qui concerne l'interprétation du texte mongol, M. Poppe a largement facilité notre tâche : il nous a fourni un travail de premier ordre. Sa traduction est impeccable dans son ensemble, et restera pour longtemps la seule authentique. Si pourtant nous avons risqué d'y apporter quelques précisions, c'est que les textes tibétains consultés nous ont suggéré certaines améliorations. M. Poppe a vu très justement que la traduction de Šes-rab seṅ-ge suivait souvent de très près la version mongole du *Lalitavistara*; or l'original tibétain de ce dernier nous permet de saisir de près l'interprétation des passages mongols parfois ambigus.

Je tiens à souligner dès maintenant que les passages identiques du *Lalitavistara* et de la version mongole de Šes-rab seṅ-ge posent un double problème : l'identité des passages tibétains s'explique tout autrement que l'identité des passages mongols.

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siècle, à l'encre de Chine, au calame, 183 ff. Collection de *jātakas* provenant de sources diverses composés de 125 portions. Incipit, après un préambule en sanskrit: *ilayun tögüsün üleqsen coqtu ilayuqsan Šāk ya čidaqči Šākya arslan Šākyayin χān ali töüni zokōl tobčiyin tödüi ögüüleküi.* Colophon (endommagé), f. 183a: rédigé par *Ratnabhadra*, écrit sur planches *(samardan)* par *Rgya-mcho dpal;* écrit sur papier par *Sutu kā baqši; Oyirod tümendü delgeren tügēji.* 2° LO IVAN Mong. E 19, ms Jährig, ancienne cote I, 81. Ouvrage versifié, intitulé par Jährig «Erscheinung des Schigemunih auf der Erde». L'histoire proprement dite débute au f. 9b, et elle est terminée par la vie de moine du Bodhisattva. 3° LO IVAN Mong. C 92, ms mongol sur papier russe, probablement de la fin du XVIIIe siècle; écriture dénonçant une influence bouriate, parfois oïrate. Sûr la page de titre, en caractères gothiques: «*Arban chojar sokijahgoi*».

Nous reviendrons à cette question plus loin. Voici d'abord quelques exemples caractéristiques de l'interprétation verbale.

2a *tngri-ner-ün öngge-tü kačalindaka-tur adal-i jögelen köbšeg*[39] *oron.* P (p. 111) traduit : « a soft bed as tender as the *kāčilindika* stuff and of heavenly color »; j'entends plutôt : « lit mou semblable au *kačalindaka* coloré des dieux ». Cf. *Lalitavistara* (= Lv), tibétain (= tib.) : *mal-čha lha'i ras-bčos-bu bzaṅ-po phra-ba-du ma btiṅ-ba | 'jam-pa'i ka-ca-lindi'i gos ltar reg-na bde-ba | yan-lag dam-pas sbras-pa'i mal bzaṅ-po* (F I, 147) « son lit était garni d'un tissu divin, beau, fin, et doux au toucher comme un vêtement de Katchalindi » (F II, 159). Cf. encore Lv skr. « un lit à la surface excellente, bien garni de plusieurs étoffes divines, douces au toucher comme un vêtement de Katchilindi » (F 148). Ce n'est donc pas la couleur *(öngge)*, mais l'étoffe de Kačilindi qui est « divine ». C'est ce que nous affirme le Lv mong. : *tngri-ner-ün öngge-tü narin sayin bös debüsügsen : kalindaka-dur adali jögelen köbšig kürbesü jiryalang-tu degedü bölög-iyer čimegsen sayin oron* (122a19–22) « un lit garni d'un tissu divin, coloré, fin, beau, au toucher doux comme le *kalindaka*, décoré dans toutes ses parties supérieures ». Cf. encore Lv skr. « un lit à la surface excellente, bien garni de plusieurs étoffes divines, douces au toucher comme un vêtement de Katchilindi, ayant ses parties excellentes décorées » (F 148).[40]

6a *qamuγ nom-ud oγtaryu-yin činar-tu büküy-yi . . . üjegülüged.* P (p. 24) lit : *qamuγ nom-ud-un oγtaryu-yin činar-tu bügüde-yi . . . üjegülüged*, traduction : « let us listen to you true laws » (p. 114). Je comprends : « [Dipaṁkara buddha] ayant montré que toutes les lois sont de nature céleste ». Le ms porte nettement *nom-ud* et *büküy-yi*. Le passage correspondant manque dans Lv.

9a *elegür taki jiryalang be jegüdün metü.* P (p. 81) lit *elegür-deki* et traduit en conséquence « pertaining to health, the one which is in [good] health » et il rend la ligne complète par « Even the happiness of being healthy is like a dream ». En fait il

[39] J'ai adopté la leçon *köbšeg* au lieu de mon ancien *gübseg*. P lit correctement *köbseg* (pour *köbšeg*) se réclamant du tat. Kaz. *küpšäk*; la voyelle *ü*, en première syllabe, garantit l'ancien *ö*. Le mot ouigour est attesté sous la forme *kövšäk* «mou, tendre» (*DTS* 320); Kāšγ. a *kävšäk* «weich» et *kövšäk* (Brock. 106, 118; *DTS* 304, 311). Sur *kevšek, köpšek, kövšek, gevšek* dans les dialectes actuels, voir Clauson, *ED* p. 691. Le mot *köbšeg*, avec le hendiadyoin *jögelen köbšeg* est rare dans le mongol médiéval. Il est remarquable que le même *hend.* revient dans le passage correspondant du Lv mong. (122a20). Le passage, rédigé en prose, du Lv mong. apparaît dans notre texte sous une forme fortement abrégée, mais la présence du *hend.* rare, dans les deux textes, n'est guère un fait du hasard.

[40] Le nom d'étoffe *kačalindika* revient dans notre texte, sous la même forme, encore au f. 49a *(kačalindika-tur adali)*. C'est un des rares cas où le tib. maintient le terme indien, sans le traduire; cf. *ka-ca-lin-di* «dress made of a heavenly stuff, i.e. the finest kind of silk which is used for presentation at an interview, or when making an application for any favour, etc; name of a very fine cloth or linen made of *Kācilindi*» (Das, p. 8). D'après Sumatiratna (I, p. 16), tib. *ka-ci-linda* ~ mong. *kacilinda bös*. Dans Lv mong. *kalindaka* est aberrant (probablement un *lapsus*), la seconde fois le mot y apparaît (205b3) sous sa forme régulière *kačalindaka*.

faut lire *taki*, traduisant le tib. *yaṅ* « again, once more; likewise; also, further; so then; even (emph.) » (Jaeschke 505). Le même passage se retrouve une fois de plus dans le Lv tib. *nad-med-pa yaṅ rmi-lam-na ni rce-daṅ mchuṅs* (F I, 168) « La santé est donc comme le jeu d'un rêve » (F II, 183; mot à mot : « même la santé est semblable au jeu [qu'on voit] dans un rêve »). C'est ce que nous affirme le Lv mong. : *elegür ḏaki jiryalang be jegüdün-dür nayadqaqui-dur adali* (140b20–21). Par ailleurs le sens « even » adopté par M. Poppe pour *taki* est correct, seulement il doit être rattaché à «santé» *(elegür)* et non pas à «bonheur» *(jiryalang)*. Le mot *taki* « même » n'est pas enregistré dans les grands dictionnaires (Kowalewski, Lessing), mais il est bien attesté dans les textes mongols préclassiques (souvent sous la forme *taqi*) et dans les autres monuments du moyen mongol. Le mot mongol est sans doute d'origine turque; cf. *taqï* « and, furthermore; also; and again; too » (Clauson, *ED*, 466).[41]

12b *yeke gerel-i talbiju : yirtinčü-ṯeki qarangyus-i arilyaqui.* P lit par inadvertance *ger-i* au lieu de *gerel-i* et il traduit en conséquence : « leaving the great house, cleansed away the great darkness in the world » (p. 19), alors qu'il faut entendre « émettant une lumière intense, il a dissipé les obscurités dans le monde ». Cf. Lv tib. *rmi-lam-na 'od rab bkyi-bas jig-rten-na | mun-pa mun-nag čhen-po rnam-par bsal-ba* (F I, 175–176) « il rêve qu'une lumière vive, en se répandant dans le monde, dissipe

[41] La particule *taki* revient encore dans d'autres passages de notre texte. Ainsi nous avons 9b: *taki ötelküi üküküi ügei bögesü be* «even if there were not any old age or death?» (P, p. 117); Lv mong. *ḏaki ker ber ötelküi ebedküi üküküi ügei bögesü ber* (141a24–25), Lv tib. *gal-te rga-med nad-med 'chi-ba-med 'gyur kyaṅ* (F p. 169), «s'il n'y avait ni vieillesse, ni maladie, ni mort!» (F II, p. 184) — 18a: *kemekü taki yayun üge* «How can there [even] be mention?» (P, p. 122, p. 167: lit. «what word»); «Même à en parler, à quoi sert-il?» — 18b: *tačiyaqu-yi taki yayun ügületele* «What is there to be said about [the fact that] this saint does not feel any lust» (P, p.122), «à quoi bon même de parler de la passion?» — 27b: *ṅgri-ner noyir-i bayul-bayu: | taki ber bodistv-un čoy-iyar darubasu: | teyin dayudan qayilan ungsibasu ber: | taki nigeken ber serigči ügei* «Did the gods send down sleep, | or did the Bodhisattva overhalm [everyone] with his grandeur? Although I was calling, crying and shouting, | not a single [person] awakened (P, p. 129), plus exactement: «les dieux les ont-ils plongés en sommeil, bien plus, ont-ils été dominés par la splendeur du Bodhisattva? j'ai en beau parler haut, crier, brailler, pas un seul ne s' est éveillé»; 47a: *ṅgri-ner-tür be taki delekei-ṯür: | deger-e oytaryui-ṯur be taki qarsis-tur: | tegün-lüge adali ken be ügei* «There is no one like him, | either among the gods or in the world, in the upper sky or in the palaces» (P, p. 146), ou encore: «il n'y a personne qui lui soit pareil, ni parmi les dieux, ni à plus forte raison, sur la terre, ni au ciel en haut, ni à plus forte raison, dans les palais». Voici un exemple choisi au hasard dans les autres textes préclassiques: Srn 365: *eḏ nököd ügei taqi bolbasu: | sečen amaray nökör-tü ele bolbasu :| aduyusun taqi üile-yi bütügen bögetele : | kümün törölki-ten-i taqi ügületele yayun* «Quand bien même tu n'aurais pas de fortune et une foule de serviteurs, si tu as un ami, compagnon intelligent, en ce cas l'animal même fait ce qu'il doit, quel besoin y a-t-il, à plus forte raison, de parler des êtres humains?»; tib. *nor daṅ 'khor g-yog med-na yaṅ | mja'o blo-ldan grogs yod-na | dud-'gros kyaṅ ni don grub-na | miyi 'gro-bas smos či dgos;* cf. *Monumenta* IV, 115. Pour d'autres exemples, voir *Indices* IV, pp. 276–277 (s. v. *taqï*) et p. 278 (s.v. *takï*); *Indices* II, 133 *(taqi)*, 207 *(taqi)*, 209 *(taqi)*.

entièrement les ténèbres profonds» (F II, 189); Lv mong. *jegüdün-degen gerel-i sayitur talbiɣulǰu yirtinčü-dekin-e yeke balar qarangɣui teyin böged arilǰu* (144b8–10).[42]

17a *üküdel-ün dumda sayur-un bayasqulang kerkin törömüi.* P (p. 122) lit *sanvar-un* au lieu de *sayur-un* et il traduit : « how will the joy of *saṃvara* be born [to these] amidst [this] graveyard? » J'entends : « Comment peut-il y avoir de la joie pour toi tandis que tu demeures ici au milieu d'un cimetière? » Cette phrase se retrouve dans

[42] Les lumières émises par le Bodhisattva étaient de plusieurs sortes. En voici une: (51a–b) *tendeče bodistv-bodistv-i duradqui neretü gerel-i talbiǰu : arban jüg-ün oɣtaryu-yin kiǰayar dorona bükü burqan-nuɣud-un ulus-taki bodistv-nar-i duradqaysan-iyar: doron-a jüg-eče J̌iryalang-i ǰokiyayči neretü* [:] *toɣan-ača nögčigsen bodistv-nar-lu-ɣ-a nigen-e bodistv-i takiqu-yin tulada ireǰü,* traduit par P (p. 149): «After that the Bodhisattva emitted a beam which is called "Reminder for a Bodhisattva". In consequence of the reminder made for the Bodhisattvas who dwelt in the region of Buddhas which is the eastern horizon of the ten cardinal points, there came the Bodhisattva who was called "Creator of Happiness", accompanied by countless [other] Bodhisattvas, in order to whorship the Bodhisattva». Le même passage se trouve dans le Lv tib.: *Byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' skul-ba žes-bya-ba'i 'od 'byuṅ-nas | 'od des phyogs bču kun-tu graṅs med | dpag-tu med-pa | čhos-kyi dbyiṅs-kyis klas-pa | nam-mkha'i mthas gtugs-pa'i saṅs-rgyas-kyi žiṅ thams-čad sna-bar gyur-to || de-nas šar phyogs-na de-bžin gšegs-pa dri-ma med-pa'i 'od-kyi saṅs-rgyas kyi žiṅ jig-rten-gyi khams dri-ma med-pa byaṅ-čhub sem-dpa' sems-dpa' čhen-po Bde-ba bkod-pa žes-bya-ba 'od des bskul-bas | byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' bgraṅ-ba-las 'das-pa-dag-gis yoṅ-su bskor-čiṅ mdun-du bdar-te | byaṅ-čhub-kyi sñiṅ-po ga-la-ba daṅ | byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' ga-la-ba der soṅ-ste phyin-nas | byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa'-la mčhod-pa'i las-kyi phyir* (F I, 255: 5–13) «[le Bodhisattva] répandit cette lumière qu'on appelle Exhortation du Bodhisattva, et par cette lumière, aux dix points de l'espace, de toutes parts, les innombrables et incommensurables champs de Bouddha, entourés des éléments des substances *(dharmas)*, enveloppés par la limite du ciel, furent tous illuminés. Alors, à l'horizon oriental, dans la région sans tache du monde, (qui est celle) de Tathâgata Vimalaprabha [éclat sans tache], dans le champ du Bouddha, un Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Lalitavyoûha [exercice des jeux], excité par cette lumière, entouré et précédé d'une foule de Bôdhisattvas dépassant le calcul, s'étant approché de l'endroit où était Bôdhimaṇḍa et de la place où se trouvait le Bôdhisattva ... en vue de l'œuvre du sacrifice» (F II, 279). Cf. Lv mong.: *Bôdhi-satuva duradqaqui neretü gerel-i talbiǰu: tere gerel-iyer arban jüg-ün oɣtaryu-yin kiǰayar dorona qamuɣ-ača toɣolasi ügei čaɣlasi ügei nom-un činar oɣtaryu-yin kiǰayar dorona bükü burqan-u qamuɣ oron-i geyigülbei: tendeče dorona jüg-deki tegünčilen iregsen kkir ügei gerel burqan-u oron kkir ügei yirtinču-dür J̌iryalang-i ǰokiyayči neretü bôdhi-satuva ma-hā-satuva tere gerel-i duradqaydaysan-iyar toɣan-ača nögčigsen bodhi-satuva-nar-iyar: oɣoɣata küriyelegülǰü esergü qanduɣul-un : Bôdhi-jirüken qamiɣ-a kiged bôdhi-satuva qamiɣ-a bükü tende kürčü ireǰü: bôdhi-satuva-dur takil üiledkü-yin tulada* (284b9–22). Lv skr.: «il lança le rayon de lumière nommé: Exhortation du Bôdhisattva; et, par ce rayon, de toutes parts, aux dix points de l'espace, furent éclairés tous les champs de Bouddha incommensurables, innombrables, qui ont pour limite les éléments de l'atmosphère et sont formés des meilleurs éléments des substances. Alors, dans la région orientale, dans la partie du monde sans tache du Tathâgata Vimalaprabhâsa, (surtout) du champ du Bouddha, un Bôdhisattva nommé Lalitavyoûha, excité par cette lumière, entouré et précédé d'une foule de Bôdhisattva dépassant tout calcul, s'étant approché de l'endroit où était Bodhimaṇḍa et de la place où était le Bôdhisattva, afin de rendre hommage au Bôdhisattva» (F, p. 249). Pour d'autres passages contenant l'expression *gerel-i talbiǰu*, voir *Indices* V, pp. 412–413.

le Lv tib. : *dur-khrod bus 'dir žugs-pas gyur lags-na | | khyod ni ji-ltar dgyes skye-bar 'gyur* (F I, 180). Traduction : « Comment peut-il y avoir de la joie pour toi tandis que tu demeures ici au milieu d'un cimetière? » (F II, 107); Lv mong. : *üküdel-ün dumda sayur-un bayasqulang kerken törömüi* (149b14–15).[43]

17b *ǰarim-ud anu gedergü unaǰu alčayiqun.* P (p. 32) lit *alǰiyaqun* qu'il traduit (p. 122) : « some of them were lying on their backs and were tired ». Le ms porte nettement *alčayiqun* qui veut dire « étendre (les jambes) » (Kow. I, p. 92), « for the legs to be spread apart, to spread the legs apart, straddle » (Less., p. 28). Il faut donc traduire : « quelques-unes sont tombées sur le dos et avaient les jambes écartées ». Au même passage on lit Lv tib. : *kha-čig ni rkan-pa phral* (F I, 161), « quelques-unes [ont] les pieds détachés (F II, 198); Lv mong. *ǰarim anu köl-iyen alčiyaqun* (150a2–3); Lv skr. « quelques-unes ont les pieds écartés » (F p. 181).[44]

20a *edeger ǰiryalang-ud bügüde: namur-un egülen-tür adali orosil ügei ebdereg-či bui: qooro-yin nabčin-tur adali ǰobalang-i törögülüg-či bui.* P (p. 33) lit *qiuru* au lieu de *qooro;* il traduit (p. 123) : « All these joys are impermanent, like autumnal clouds, and fail to pieces [easily]. Like leaves of the creaper, they give birth to suffering ». Le Lv tib. couvre assez vaguement notre texte : *nam-mkha' glog-ltar riṅ-du mi gnas-na | dug-daṅ bčas-pa'i snod-ltar 'gyur-ba'i sdug-bsṅal-čan | 'khri-šiṅ ma-lu-ta ltar mi bde-ba 'byin-pa* (F I, 183) « comme l'éclair au ciel, ils ne durent guère; comme un vase où se trouve du poison, ils amènent des changements de misère; comme la liane Mâlouta, ils apportent la souffrance » (F II, 202–203). En mong. : *oytaryui-daki egülen metü egüri ülü orosiyči qoor-a-tu saba metü yegüdkeküi ǰobalang-tu orolduysan maluta modun amul ügey-yi yaryayči* (Lv 154b27–30). Ce passage mongol est cité par P (p. 88). La leçon *qiuru* est indéfendable (cf. Bawden: BSOAS

[43] En mong. lit. le mot *üküdel* a le sens de «cadavre, corps mort» (Kow. I, 567), «dead body, corps» (Less. 1003). Dans le mongol médiéval, ainsi dans notre texte aussi, *üküdel* signifie «cimetière»: *üküdel-tür abču oḍqui* «porter au cimetière» (9b), *üküdel-tür oyoruysan* «jeter au cimetière» (11b, deux fois), *üküdel-teki čidkür* «démon de cimetière» (39a, deux fois), *üküdel-teki orliyasun* «linceul se trouvant au cimetière» (42a). Cf. Lv mong. *üküdel-teki oriyasun* (13aa), *üküdel-deki čidkür* (187b); Abhiniṣkramaṇa *üküdel-ün deger-e-eče* (36b25; ici-même *ükeger* «cadavre»); Vinayavastu a, au même sens, *ükeger-ün oron* (268b). Cf. tib. *dur-khrod* «a cemetery or any place where the deads are disposed of (being buried, cremated, or else cut into pieces for distribution to birds, dogs, etc.)» (Das, p. 630); Sumatiratna: tib, *dur-khrod,* mong. *ükeger-ün oron (yajar)* (I, p. 1004).

[44] La dernière visite du Bodhisattva dans son harem, le spectacle décevant des jeunes femmes endormies sont racontés d'une manière détaillée dans les textes apparentés: *Abhiniṣkramaṇa* (f. 36a) *yar kiged köl-nügüd-iyen sungyaǰu unayaysan; Vinayavastu* (f. 268b) *yar kiged köl-iyen ǰigüged unaqu bolumui.* Cf. encore *Budhacarita:* «their limbs and gestures became distorted», Cowell (p. 56) se réfère à la description des femmes endormies dans le *Rāmāyana;* «hands and feet etwined together» (Beal, p. 55). Pour l'équivalent tibétain du mot mongol, voir *'phral* (pf. *phral*) «to separate» (Das, p. 854); Sumatiratna (II, p. 137): tib. *phral,* mong *qayačiqu* («to separate; to be separated», Less. 905), *darbayimui* («to be wide, stay open, gape, of mouth», Less. 232), *salyaqu* (to separate, divide, to take apart», Less. 665).

XXXII, 1969, p. 636) et *qooro-yin nabčin* n'a rien à voir avec *maluta modun* (ou tib. *'khri-šiṅ*). La comparaison est assez connue, elle revient encore dans un autre passage du Lv : tib. *srid gsum mi brten ston-ka'i sprin-daṅ 'dra . . . 'gro-ba'i che-'gro nam-mkha'i glog 'dra | 'dod-pa'i yon-tan mya-ṅan gnod-pa maṅ ral-gri'i so 'dra dug-sdoṅ lo-ma mchuṅs | ṅan skyugs snod ltar 'phags-pa'i skye-bos spaṅs* (F I, 155–156) « les trois mondes sont instables et pareils au nuage d'automne . . . La vie d'une créature est pareille à l'éclair des cieux . . . Les qualités du désir sont la douleur et les vexations nombreuses . . ., elles sont semblables au tranchant de l'épée, pareilles à la feuille d'un arbre vénéneux; comme un vase impur, elles sont abandonnées par l'homme respectable » (F II, 169–170); Lv mong. *γurban sansar orosil ügei namur-un čaγ-taki egülen metü: . . . amitan amin oγtaryui-dur gibelküi gilbelgen metü: . . . küsekü jiryalang-ud ildün-ü ir kiged qooro-yin nabčin-dur adali . . . mayui bögeljisü-tü saba metü qutuγ-tan aran tebčimüi* (128a25–128b12). On voit bien que notre *qooro-yin nabčin* répond à *dug-stoṅ lo-ma* « feuille d'un (arbre) vénéneux ».[45]

20b *tömüge kiged dörüm-e temür-lüge ayuqu metü gilbelgen.* P (p. 124) «a frightening radiance with pickaxes and red-hot iron». Ici c'est *dörüm-e temür* qui pose un problème. D'abord j'ai lu *dürüm-e (?) temür* (*Nyelvemléktár* IX, 60). P (p. 107, note 59r) a ramené le dérivé *dörüme* au verbe qu'il a lu *dör-*, corrigeant la leçon *türte-*, adoptée par Kowalewski (III, 1952) (on sait que Kow. ne distingue pas entre *ü* et *ö* en première syllabe) en *dörde-;* P s'est réclamé du témoignage des dialectes actuels: bour. *dür-*, *düre-*, alar *dör-*, kalm. *dör-* «to burn». Le Lv mong. a pour ce

[45] C'est sans doute à cette métaphore que fait allusion le passage suivant de notre texte: *küsekü jiryalang-ud ildü-tür qooro-tur adali: | olan qoor-tu olan jobalang-ud-i törögülügči bui* (5a) «les plaisirs du désir sont semblables au glaive et au poison, qui font naître de nombreuses souffrances pernicieuses». Le témoignage du Lv mong. est dans ce cas formel: (128b7–10) *küsekü jiryalang-ud ildün-ü ir kiged qoor-a-yin nabčin-dur adali : olan qoor-tur* (sic) *jobalang-ud-i törögülügči bui;* Lv tib. *'dod-pa'i yon-tan mya-ṅan gnod-pa maṅ | 'jigs-bčas rtag-tu dgra byed ñon moṅs-bčas || ral-gri'i so 'dra dug-sdod lo-ma mchuṅs* (F I, 156: 5–7) «Les qualités du désir sont la douleur et les vexations nombreuses, toujours accompagnées de craintes, d'inimitiés et de misères; elles sont semblables au tranchant de l'épée, pareilles à la feuille d'un arbre vénéneux» (F II, 169–170); Lv skr. «Accompagnées de craintes, accompagnées de combats, toujours produisant des inimitiés, les qualités du désir amènent les douleurs et les misères, pareilles au tranchant de l'épée, semblable à une feuille vénéneuse. . .» (F, p. 154, stance 73). Pour le texte tibétain, voir encore *Tibetan Tripitaka*, p. 196 (104b8–105a1 et suiv.). La traduction «qualités» adoptée par F pour le tib. *yon-tan* n'est pas exacte. Par ailleurs ce passage comprend une suite de métaphores dont il vaut la peine de rappeler la suivante: *rtag-tu 'jigs-pa'i rgyu byed sdug-bsṅal ron | srid-pa'i 'khri-šiṅ 'phel-bar byed* (F I, 156: 9–10; T p. 195: 102b1–2) «elles produisent toujours la liane des désirs de la vie» (F II, p. 170). Une fois de plus, la traduction n'est pas exacte, «la liane de la vie» rend le tib. *srid-pa'i 'khri-šiṅ*. Mais *'khri-šiṅ* veut dire l'arbre *maluta*, du passage cité par P, traduit en mong. par: *aburida ayul-un siltayan | boluyad jobalang-un ündüsün sansar-un quričal-tu modun-i orolduysan nemegülügči bui* (128b14–16) «qui fait toujours croître la liane *maluta* sensuelle du *saṁsāra*, cause de la crainte, racine des douleurs». Voir encore le Lv skr. «produisant des causes de crainte; toujours racines de douleurs; faisant croître la liane du désir de la vie» (F, p. 154, st. 74).

passage, *tömüge kiged bučiluγsan temür dörügsen ayuqu metü gilbelgen* (157b 4–5); ce qui reproduit le Lv tib. *lčags lkog bskol glog-gi chegs-ltar rab-tu 'bar-ba* (F I, 188) «[une pluie de] fers enflammés comme une multitude d'éclairs étincellants» (F II, 207). Cf. Lv skr. «un bloc de fer brûlant, brillant de l'éclat de l'éclair». Le même mot mongol revient encore dans le *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (II, 14): *γurban mingγan yirtinčü qotala-dur ünüstekün: | qamuγ degedü ünür-iyer burqan-nuγud-un bey-e: | arčimal törüm-e altan-dur adali: | gegegen-iyer gilbel-ün büküi teden-dür sürčisügei* (éd. Ligeti, dans *Nyelvemléktár* VII, pp. 22–23). Le même texte remonte au tib. *stoṅ gsum kun-tu dri daṅ-ldan-pa-yi | dri mčhog-rnams-kyis thub dbaṅ kun-gyi sku | gser sbyaṅs bco-ma byi dor byas-pa 'od-čhags 'bar-ba de-dag byug-par bgyi* (éd. Fr. Weller, *Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanǰurtextes*, p. 8). Dans le texte sanskrit, la stance est traduite ainsi par L. Finot (p. 31): «Avec des parfums exquis dont l'arôme pénètre l'immensité de l'univers, j'oins les corps de tous les Bouddhas, étincellants comme l'or épuré, poli, lustré.» De la Vallée Poussain le traduit comme suit (p. 10): «avec les meilleurs parfums, dont la suavité se répand dans les trois mille mondes, j'oins le corps des Rois-Bouddhas; ces corps brillent comme l'or passé à la flamme, frotté à la pierre, lavé par l'acide». L'interprétation de M. Poppe est donc correcte, le mong. *dörü-* a en effet le sens «faire fondre, passer à la flamme». Cf. mong. *bučalγa-* «to boil, bring to the boiling point» (Less. 129); tib. *bco-ma* «warm, boiled», *'chod-pa* «to boil» (pf. *bcos*, f. *bco*), *bco* «distilling; also refining», *gser gcos* «purified gold» (Das, 1005, 1045). Cf. encore Sumatiratna II, p. 528: tib. *bco-ma*, skr. *tapata* «bien épuré», mong. *bolγumar, bolγumal, sayin ariluγsan* «bien épuré» (mong. lit. *bolγumal altan* «purified gold», Less, 117).[46]

[46] Le mot a été signalé par G. Kara dans le *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* mongol, traduction de *Yon-tan bzaṅ-po*, sous la forme *dörüm-e*, dans *dörüm-e altan* «or pur» (*Mongol Nyelvemléktár* XIV, pp. 150, 151, la seconde fois on a *döröm-e altan*; cf. sa glosse dans *MNyT* XIII, p. 14). On peut encore ajouter: *doṛüm-e altan-ṯur adali* (*MNyT* XIV, p. 204; K. lit *toṛöm-e*). En tibétain on a *gco-ma'i gser*. L'expression revient dans les passages suivants: *rgyal-ba'i sku-mdog gco-ma'i gser dra-ste* (Nobel, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama sūtra, Die tibetischen Übersetzungen* I, Leiden–Stuttgart 1944, p. 175: 1) ~ mong. *doṛüm-e altan-ṯur adali : ilaγuγsan-u bey-e* (Kara: *MNyT* XIV, 205); 2° *gco-ma'i gser-ltar rab-tu snaṅ-ba'i sku* (Nobel, *op. cit.*, p. 36–22) ~ mong. *bolbasun altan-ṯur adali sayitur geyigülügči beyeṯü* (Kara: *MNyT* XIII, p. 162: 2); 3° dans la liste des choses précieuses, répétée, on a deux fois tib. *sa-le sbram*, rendant imparfaitement le mong. *dörüm-e altan*; cf. tib. *sa-le-sbram* «fine grains of gold found in sand; natural gold picked up in pieces, not obtained from melting» (Das, p. 1263). Le mot réapparaît dans la traduction chinoise de *Yi-tsing*, faite sur le sanskrit et dans la version tibétaine de la rédaction chinoise. Cf. Nobel, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*. I. *I-tsing's chinesische Version*, Leiden 1958; II. *Die tibetische Übersetzung*, Leiden 1958. Ici nous avons 1° dans la traduction chinoise, d'après Nobel: «Der Glanz (ihres) Körpers strahlt überallhin, wie geschmolzenes Gold ist (der Körper) und hat nichts, was ihm gleicht» (I, p. 159); tib. *kha-dog bzaṅ-po gser-daṅ 'dra-bar mjes | šin-tu sbyaṅs-pa'i gser-daṅ 'dra-ba'i sku* (II, p. 133, st. 25). Le tib. *sbyaṅs-pa'i gser* signifie, à la rigueur, «or épuré»; cf. *sbyoṅ-ba* «1. to clean, remove by cleaning, clear away; 2. to make away, to substract» (Das, p. 940); 2° dans la liste stéréotype des choses précieuses,

21a *kög dayun*. La ligne où se trouve le mot *kög* est trop serrée, c'est pourquoi le *-g* final rétréci rappelle en quelque sorte un *i* final, ce qui a amené P à lire ce mot comme *küi*. A l'appui de sa leçon il s'est référé au bar., kirg. (=kzk.) *küi* «die Stimme, der Ton, die Melodie», mais cette forme secondaire et de date relativement récente, remonte à *küg, kög*. Cf. chor *küg* «der Lärm, Ton» (Radl. II, 1426), koïb. *kög* «der Ton, das Geräusch, die laute Stimme, der Gesang, die Melodie» (Radl. II, 1231). Le mong. *kög* est un emprunt au turc *kög* (*DTS* 311), *kūg* (Clauson, *ED* 709; la voyelle *ü*, dans les anciens recoupements, ne me paraît pas toujours assurée) qui, à son tour, est un emprunt fait au chinois moyen. Par ailleurs la leçon *kög dayun* est confirmée par un autre passage de notre texte.[47]

Nobel traduit le mot chinois simplement par «or» (I, pp. 267, 311), mais le texte tibétain en offre, du moins une fois (p. 227), *gser-gyi ri-bo*, ce qui signifie, en tant que nom propre, «the golden mountain situated beyond the mountain of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, where the tree of gold called *Sa-le-dam* abonds» (Das, p. 1310).

Dernièrement P. Zieme a montré que quelques fragments ouigours offrent le mot *törüm-e*, au sens de «Entstandenes, Geschöpf», dérivé du verbe *törü-* «entstehen» qui pourrait être rattaché au mot mongol ici discuté; cf. P. Zieme, *Ein Hochzeitsegen uigurischer Christen: Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica*, vol. 14, 1981, p. 228. Le mot *törüm-e* dans le fragment édité par P. Zieme, ainsi que le recoupement tiré du *ETŞ* (13: 198) sont en effet les dérivés du *törü-*, mais c'est un mot turc homophone qui n'a rien à voir avec le mot mongol. Il n'en est pas de même du recoupement provenant d'un texte ouigour inédit, retrouvé par M. Zieme: *[üküš] tavar-liγ : [ük]üš yim ičim-lig: törüm-e tong altun-luγ : üküš tälim äd tavar yivig tišig-lig: ärtingü mängi-lig uluγ kölük-kä kölündäči-lär-ning aras-inta toγγalï tapliγ ärsär : anï üzä ymä munčolayu oq qïlïnč-lïγ örtüg-lärin kšanti qïlγu-luq ärür : örtmägülük kizlämäglük ärür : ang kin-ingä ymä qïlmaγu-luq ärür* «[Wer ...] den Wunsch hat, unter denjenigen wiedergeboren zu werden, die das [reiche, mit] Habe ausgestattete, mit vielen Speisen und Getränken ausgestattete, aus gediegenem, kompaktem Gold bestehende, mit viel Habe und Ausrüstung versehene äusserst selige Grosse Fahrzeug besteigen, der soll darum in solcherlei Weise um die Taten-Bedeckungen *kšanti* machen, (nichts von seinen Taten) verbringen». L'interprétation de M. Zieme est très engageant. On serait disposé à voir dans *tong törüm-e* un *hend.* au sens de «solide» («gediegen»); cf. turc *tong* (Kāšγ. et QB) «solid (not hollow)», *tong qamïš* «solid reed», *tong yüräk* «stout hearted», Clauson, *ED* 513. L'interprétation du mot ouigour, pauvrement attesté, n'est guère conciliable avec celle du tibétain qu'on vient de voir plus haut. A ce sujet voir encore Sumatiratna II, p. 519: tib. *gco-ma'i gser* ~ mong. *sïjir altan* (*sïjir alta* «pure gold», *sïjir* «pure, refined [gold]», Less. 722; le mot mongol remonte à **sidir;* cf. ouig. *sitir* < sogd. *styr*, Clauson, *ED* 802), *dorüm-e altan, bolγamal altan* (*bolγamal* «cooked; cured; purified, refined, etc.», *bolγumal altan* «purifed gold», Less. 117).

[47] Cf. f. 46b: *ɪngri-ner-ün quγur dayun-u kög jokiyaju* «(les filles des dieux)» faisaient la musique au violon des dieux». Le mot revient encore au f. 28a: *γayiqamsiγ ɪngri-ner-ün kög-iyer . nayadqayulju* «et on jouait des mélodies admirables des dieux». Dans les textes mongols apparentés on peut choisir au hasard: *jayun jüil kög dayun yaryalduju* «on a émis cent espèces de musique» (Lv 168a9); *öngge bey-e sayitan qatun böjig quγur γuγur kiged kög dayun-iyar bôdhi-satuva-yi kündülen takiγulju sayulγabai* «des femmes aux corps passionnés ont retenu respectueusement le Bodhisattva avec danse, musique et chants» (Ak 34b22-24); *biba kiged: bilir: kürel kenggerge kiged: sonosqu metü sayin dayun terigüten kög dayun-u ayimay-ud-i sayitur dayurisqayad : bürin tegüs-iyer sayun abai* «harpes et chalumeaux, tambours de bronze, belles voix agréables à entendre, et d'autres sortes de musique et de chant ont

23a *Kabalvas-tu.* C'est le nom bien connu de la ville de *Kapilavastu;* cf. Edgerton, pp. 167–168. L'orthographe ouigoure adoptée dans les mots d'origine ouigoure des anciens textes mongols veut que, dans le corps du mot, après un *z* ouigour (en fonction de *s*) le mot soit coupé en deux; à ce sujet voir mes remarques dans *AOH* V, 1955, p. 318 (*šas-ïn, süs-üg, tus-a,* etc.). L'orthographe *Kabalvas-tu (balγasun)* est bien attestée encore dans d'autres textes mongols.[48] Avec le temps l'orthographe primitive du nom a subi une altération: le signe *v* a été interprété comme un *y*, plus exactement comme le signe de la voyelle *i*, et les signes *a* + *s* (*s* pour le *z* ouigour) ont fini par aboutir à un *-γ* final. On avait donc *Kabaliγ-tu*, leçon adoptée aussi par M. Poppe. Il y a plus: la syllabe *-tu*, écrite séparément, commençait à être interprétée comme un suffixe qui ne fait pas partie intégrante du nom de la ville, d'où a surgi la leçon surprenante mais non moins erronée *Kabalvas*. C'est ce que nous trouvons maintes fois dans notre texte (21b9, 22b25, 23b5, 29a18, 30a19). Au fond c'est donc l'orthographe *Kabalvas* qui a donné *Kabaliγ*. La prétendue forme *Kabaliγ* a été «corrigée» en *Kabalig;* cette dernière forme a fait fortune, grâce au dictionnaire de Kowalewski.

23a *Čakravarti qaγan bolqu kemen ügülegsen:* | *ali tere arsi-nar-un üge ber qudal bolbai:* | *Kabalvas-tu kemegdegsen ber öljei qutuγ-ačaγan nuγuraju:* | *Šakiliγ-ud-un altan uruγ ber tasuran odumui.* P (p. 35) lit *uquraju* au lieu de *nuγuraju* qu'il explique par mong. lit. *uquri-* «gratter la terre avec un rateau, marcher en reculons, aller en arrière; se rétracter» (Kow. I, 362), «to stop back, retreat; to go back on one's word or promise» (Less. 893). Je préfère à cette leçon *nuγura-* «to bend, stoop, to warp; to be folded, to weaken, soften» (Less. 596). P traduit (p. 125): «What you said about becoming a Cakravartin king [seems that] | all these words of the hermits were untrue, | that which is called Kapilavastu, renouncing its bliss and happiness, | the kingly clan of the Śākyas will be extinct». On retrouve la stance, sous une forme un peu modifiée, dans le Lv mong.: *ali tere ene delekei-dür Bala-Cakravad-i bolqu kemen ügülegsen tere arsi-nar-un üge qudal bolbai: :* || *buyan-u yeke qanul moḍun či maγad γarbasu ele:* | *γaǰar-ḍaki Šakyalig-ud ber küčün aqu küčün-ečeben nuγuraju:* | *qaγan-u qarsi-ḍaki ene altan uruγ ber tasuran odumui* (161b8–13). Cette version

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résonné et ils étaient présents tous, au complet» (Vv 267a5–8). L'expression est attestée encore au mong.lit.: *kög nayir* « chant, musique, harmonie », *kög* « son, voix » (Kow. III, 2623), *kög daγu* « singing, music », *kög* « tune, music » (Less. 476).

[48] Dans notre texte on a: *Kabalvas (Kabalvas balγasun* 21b, 22b, 29a, *Kabalvas balγasun-ṭaki* 21a, *Kabalvas* 29a), *Kabalvas-un (Kabalvas-un jirγalang-un linqu-a* 30b), *Kabalvas-tu* (23a), *Kabilvas* (*Kabilvas balγasun-ṭakin-i* 15b), *Kabilvas-tur* (23b). Le Lv offre le même tableau: *Kabalvas-tu* (*Kabalvas-tu yeke balγasun-daki* 157b, *Kabalvas-tu yeke balγasun* 158a, 158b). Dans les autres textes on a: Abhiniṣkramaṇa: *Kabalvas-tu balγasun* (22b, deux fois), *Kabalvas balγasun* (20b, 22a); Vinayavastu: *Kabalig balγasun* (242b), *Kabalig-un sitügen* (243a, 265b; mong.lit. *sitügen* « place or object of religious veneration », Less. 721), *Kabalig balγasun* (242b), *Kabaliγ-un sitügen* (253b).

remonte au Lv tib. *Gaṅ-gis sa 'dir 'Khor-lo-stobs-čan-du || luṅ-bstan draṅ-sroṅ chig ni deṅ brjun 'gyur || bsod-nams sdoṅ-po čhen-po khyod byuṅ-na || sa 'dir Šā-kya'i stobs ni stobs ma mčhis || rgyal-po'i pho-braṅ 'khor 'dir gduṅ yaṅ 'čhad* (F I, 194: 11–14) «La prédiction des Richis est aujourd'hui devenue fausse, qui annonçait que tu serais ici, sur cette terre, un Tchakrabala. Grand arbre de vertu, si tu t'en vas, la force des Çākyas n'est plus une force sur cette terre, la famille du roi est ici frappée et détruite» (F II, 213). Cf. Lv skr. «Elle est devenue fausse aujourd'hui, la prédiction des Richis qui annonçaient que tu serais un Tchakrabala. Elle n'est plus une force sur cette terre, la force des Çākyas; la race est éteinte dans la famille du roi» (F p. 195; la fin de la st. 89 et le début de la st. 90). Il faut remarquer que le verbe *nuɣura-* (avec voyelle *a* en troisième syllabe) apparaît dans les deux versions, en revanche son modèle tibétain ne s'est pas maintenu. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'il doit signifier « affaiblir — disparaître »; cf. encore ord. *nuɣuɣra-* « se plier, se replier sur soi-même, devenir conciliant, adopter une attitude moins raide; avoir passé la période aiguë, devenir moins intense, s'améliorer » (Most. 500).

26a *deger-eče čečeg-üd oroju.* P (p. 37) *tngri-eče čečeg-üd oroju* « flowers rained from the sky » (p. 128). Notre texte a ce sens: « des fleurs sont tombées par le haut ». La version proposée par P (mais non attestée par le ms) est en soi possible. Le passage manque au Lv.

27b *qarsi-ṯača ɣarču bodistv.* P (p. 38): *qarsi-dača qariju bodisdv* « the Bodhisattva came back from palace» (p. 129); recte: «le Bodhisattva est sorti du palais ». Le passage manque au Lv.

28b *oron lagšan belge-tü.* P (p. 40): *oron laksa belgetü* « with the marks of a superior being » (p. 31), d'après son mot à mot: « with organs and *lakṣana* marks »; M. P admet que ce serait une tautologie (p. 168, note 185). Je comprends le passage: « celui qui possède *lakṣana* d'*ūrnā* ». A ce sujet le Lv est formel: *smin legs smin mchams-par-na | dri-med mjod-spu gnas-pa-po* (F I, 203) « aux beaux sourcils au milieu desquels est la tache Oûrṇa sans tache » (F II, 221); Lv mong. *anisq-a ǰaɣur-a-yin ǰabsar-ḍaki kkir ügei sang-un üsün orosiɣsan metü* (168b23–25). Par ailleurs, la lamentation de Göbika où elle évoque la grandeur de son époux perdu, renferme certains noms des 32 *lagšan* et des 80 *nayiraɣ* du Bouddha. Cf. *infra* 54a.

31a *yaɣun ber ügei oron-i bütügeküi nom.* P (p. 133): « the doctrine which lays a foundation of possessing nothing ». P semble avoir hésité à adopter cette interprétation; cf. p. 93, note 26. En effet, c'est un terme technique de la philosophie bouddhique jusqu'ici non identifié. Notre passage se retrouve, cette fois encore, sous une forme un peu plus longue, dans Lv tib.: *či-yaṅ-med-pa'i skye-mčhed brtul-žags daṅ mthun-pa'i čhos* (F I, 206); « la doctrine qui consiste dans la pauvreté et la restriction des sens » (F II, 227); Lv mong.: *[tere tidsi-ner-e] yaɣuqan ber ügei oron-u törö yabudal-luɣ-a adali nom-i nomlan* (171b2–3); Lv skr. «[il enseignait à ses disciples] la loi qui conduit à la pauvreté accompagnée de la restriction des sens » (F

205). Pour saisir le sens du passage, cf. tib. *skye-mčhed* « the sources and laces of origine of the senses ». On en distingue quatre sortes: 1° *nam-mkha' yas skye-mčhed* « a world as infinite as the sky », 2° *rnam-šes mtha'-yas skye-mčhed* (« a world as formless as consciousness », 3° *či-yaṅ-med-pa'i skye-mčhed* « a world as unlimited as void », 4° *'du-šes-med 'du-šes-med min skye-mčhed* « a world where there is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness » (Das, p. 105). Dans cette liste notre terme est le 3ᵉ.[49]

34b *Gay-a üǰügür-e tarqaɣdaɣun-ṯur orolduɣsan.* La leçon *marɣaɣdaɣun* proposée par P (p. 44) est graphiquement inadmissible; il en est de même si on le fait dériver du verbe *marɣa-* « to debate, to dispute ». Nous avons ici *tarqaɣdaɣun* « renoncement ». Cf. Lv tib. *Ri Ga-ya'i rce-mo der byaṅ-čhub -sems-dpas spyoṅ-ba'i phyir gnas-te* (F I, 215) « le Bodhisattva [étant arrivé dans le pays de Magadha], auprès du mont Gaya, il demeura sur le sommet de cette montagne, en vue de renoncement » (F II, 236). Cf. Lv mong. *Gay-a aɣula-yin üǰügür-e tende basa bôdhisatuva tarqaɣdaɣun-u tulada aǰu saɣun bülüge* (172a14–16). Sur le mong. *tarqaɣdaɣun* « renoncement », voir *infra*, 35b. Le tib. *spoṅ-ba* « cessation, abandoning», dérivé du verbe *spoṅ-ba* «to abandon, renounce, leave, deliver up; to reject; throw out » (Das, p. 802).

35a *tendeče bosču köl-iyer-iyen irgen bitün yabuɣad: (Urubilu-a-yin) saɣuqu balɣasun qamiɣ-a bükü tere ǰüg odbasu.* Selon la traduction de P (p. 137): « After that, he rose and went on foot, wandering among people, and when he had gone in the direction of the city in which the king *Uruvil-v-a* lived, there he saw ». P lit (p. 96) *Urubilu-a qan* qu'il considère, à juste titre, incompréhensible, puisque dans la ville

[49] Ces termes sont incorporés dans le *Mahāvyutpatti* (pp. 114-115). Voici les équivalents tibétains : n° 1492 *de-rnam-pa thams-čad-du gzugs-kyi bdu-šes-rnams-las yaṅ-dag-par 'das-te thog-ma'i 'du-šes-rnams nub-par gyur-čiṅ sna-chogs-pa'i 'du šes-rnams yid-la mi-byed-pas nam-mkha' mtha'-yas-so šes nam-mkha' mtha'-yas skyes-mčhed rjogs-par byas-te;* n° 1493 *de rnam-pa thams-čad-du nam-mkha' mtha-yas skye-mčhed-las yaṅ-dag-par 'das-te rnam-par šes-pas mtha'-yas-so sñam-nas rnam-šes mtha'-yas skye-mčhed rjogs-par byas-te gnas-so;* n° 1494 *de rnam-pa thams-čad rnam-par šes mtha'-yas skye-mčhed-las yaṅ-dag-par 'das-te či yaṅ med-pa'i skye-mčhed rjogs-par byas-te gnas-so;* n° 1495 *de rnam-pa thams-čad-du či yaṅ med-pa'i skye-mčhed-las yaṅ-dag-par 'das-nas 'du-šes-med 'du-šes-med-min skye-mčhed rjogs-par byas-te gnas-so.* Mme Alice Sárközi a, dans la version mongole du *Mvp* dont elle a préparé l'édition, les correspondances suivantes: n° 1492 *tede bügüde-dür öngge kemen sedkiküi-nuɣud sönükü boluɣad eldeb sedkiküi-nuɣud-i sedkil-dür üiledkü-yin tula kiǰaɣalal ügei oɣtarɣui buyu kemen sedkiǰü kiǰaɣalal ügei oɣtarɣui kemen törön tügekü-yi tegüskeǰü orosiɣsan bolai;* n° 1493 *tede ǰüil bügüde-dür kiǰaɣalal ügei oɣtarɣui törön tügeküy-eče üneger nögčiǰü teyin böged törön tügekü-yi tegüskeǰü orosiɣsan bolai;* n° 1494 *tede ǰüil bügüde-dür kiǰaɣalal ügei teyin medeküi törön tügekü-eče üneger nögčiǰü yaɣun ügei törön tügeküy-yi tegüskeǰü orosiɣsan bolai;* n° 1495 *tede ǰüil bügüde-dür yaɣun ber ügei törön tügeküy-eče üneger nögčiǰü sedkiküi ügei ber busu törön tügeküy-i tegüskeǰü orosiɣsan bolai.* Dans une variante du *Mvp* (le ms de Leningrad), l'expression *törön tügeküi*, équivalent mongol du tib. *skye-mčhed*, est rendu par le mong. *erketen* (« organs of the body, organs of senses », Less. 330). Mme Sárközi a adopté l'interprétation « sens-field » pour le mong. *törön tügeküi*.

de *Urubilu-a* vivait un ascétique *(jaṭila)* et non pas un roi. Le passage mongol est altéré: *Urubilu-a-yin* est interpolé ultérieurement et le mot *sayuqu* est précédé d'un astérisque, par conséquent, on peut comprendre *Urubilu-a-yin balyasun* et cependant ce n'est pas l'état authentique de la rédaction primitive. On a en effet dans le passage correspondant du Lv tib.: *rkaṅ-gis yul rgyu-žiṅ | sde-dpon-gyi groṅ Lteṅ-rgyas ga-la-ba der soṅ-ste phyin-pa* (F I, 217), «(le Bodhisattva) traversa le pays à pied, et étant arrivé à Ourouvilva, le village du chef» (F II, 238); Lv mong.: *tendeče tere köl-iyeren irgen-i bitün yabuyad Urubilu-a-yin Sinavani balyasun qamiy-a bükü tende oduyad kürbesü* (178b28–29); Lv skr. «ensuite, en errant (pour recueillir des aumônes) parmi les gens, il alla à pied là où se trouvait la ville Sinavani d'Ouroubilu-a». Il ne peut faire aucun doute que *sayuqu*, dans notre texte, remonte à *Sinavani*.[50]

[50] Le nom du village situé près de la ville de *Uruvilvā* reste problématique. A vrai dire, la tradition concernant les événements qui se sont déroulés dans ce village est assez vague. Rockhill (*The Life of the Buddha*, p. 30, note 1) a déjà montré la confusion qui règne autour des noms propres qui figurent à ce propos. Or, dans notre texte le nom du village est reproduit sous une forme ambiguë; le signe *y* de l'écriture mongole peut être interprété, à la rigueur, aussi comme *v*. M. Poppe a choisi la forme possible *Sinayani (lectio facilior)*, moi-même j'ai opté pour *Sinavani*, sans être trop sûr de mon choix. Depuis plus d'un siècle on cherche à identifier ce village à *Sināni*. Dans notre texte ce nom revient deux fois. A son arrivée dans ce village, nous lisons : *bodistv šamtabš kiged karš-a degel-i emüsčü Sinavani-yin balyasun-tur binvad yuyun oroysan* « Le bodhisattva ayant mis la chemise et la robe de moine est allé au village pour quêter de l'aumone » (f. 43a). A son départ on nous dit : *tendeče bodistv tere binvad-i abuyad : Sinavaṇi balyasun-ača yarču odču* « après cela, le bodhisattva recevant l'aumône (il s'agit de l'aumône offert par les deux jeunes filles du village) est parti du village *Sinavaṇi* (f. 44a) (entre parenthèses il convient de faire remarquer que *balyasun* signifie à la fois « ville » et « village »). Le Lv ignore le nom du village, et il semble que le bodhisattva ait reçu le fameux aumône dans la ville de *Uruvilvā*; la jeune fille s'appelant *Sujātā* (mong. *Sučati* < ouig.) était la fille du villageois *Nandika*. En outre, le village est nommé dans l'*Abhiniṣkramaṇa* où on lit: *tendeče bodhi-satuva ulam jayayan-u böke küčün kiged kičiyenggü-yi ünen mayad-iyar egüskejü: jerge-ber Sitavani balyasun-dur odbai: Sitavani balyasun-dur Nayiranča müren-ü kijayar-a bükü-dür sayuju Diu-a neretü biraman bôdhi-satuva-yin erten-ü nökör boluysan tere Sitavani balyasun-dur bülüge: tere kümün bôdhi-satuva-yi berke-eče qatayujiysan-i üjejü balyasun-daki Nandi Nandabali nereten qoyar ökid-tür ügüler-ün* (54a13–22) «Ensuite le Bodhisattva commença à récupérer peu à peu la force solide de la vie, il alla aussitôt à la ville de *Sitavani*. Dans la ville de *Sitavani*, sur les bords de la rivière *Nairanča* se trouvait un brahman appelé *Deva* qui était un compagnon d'autrefois du bodhisattva. Il se trouvait dans la ville de *Sitavani*. Cet homme voyait les austérités pratiquées par le bodhisattva, il s'adressa aux jeunes filles appelées *Nandi* et *Nandabali* du village». En tibétain: *de-nas byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' rims-kyis las-kyi stobs-ldan daṅ | mthu daṅ | brcon- 'grus yaṅ-dag-par bskyed-nas rim-gyis Sde-čan-gyi groṅ-khyer-du gšegs-so || de ni groṅ-khyer Sde-čaṅ žes-bya-ba-na Ne-raṅ-ja-nā'i čhu-bo'i 'gran bžugs-pa | bram-ze Lha žes-bya-ba byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa'i sṅon-gyi grogs-pa bšes-su gyur-pa de Sde-čan-gyi groṅ-khyer-na gnas-pa daṅ | des byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa'i dka'-ba spyod-pa mjad-pa mthoṅ-nas | groṅ-ba'i bu-mo Dga'-mo daṅ Dga'-stobs-ma gñis-la smras-pa* (*Tibetan Tripitaka*, vol. 39, p. 19: ff. 42a8–42b2). Dans le *Vinayavastu* on lit au même sujet: *bôdhi-satuva ber jerge-ber bey-e-yin küčün kiged : auy-a ba : kičiyenggü-yin küčün-i üneger törögüljü bür-ün: jerge-ber-iyen Ayimay-tu balayad-tur ajirabai : tendeče Balayad-un noyan-tu kemegdekü tegün-dür qoyar ökin bui bülüge: Nandi kiged Ba-la-nandi*

35b *dotor-a ünen-iyer ayuluyčid-ḍa ünen ǰokis-tu oron bui : bi ber ende aǰu : tarqaydayun-i bütügen orol-dusuyai.* Traduction de P (p. 137): « This is a place suitable to those who engage in meditation. I shall stay here and try to renounce [everything]! ». La traduction est correcte, c'est seulement le mot *tarqaydayun* qui demande une explication. Poppe (p. 97), parti du sens « that which is to be scattered, i.e. to be rejected », interprète ce verbe, combiné avec *bütüge-*, comme « to renounce». Si l'on laisse hors de jeu le verbe *bütüge-*, *tarqaydayun* lui seul signifie « renoncement ». On n'a qu'à consulter le texte tibétain correspondant: Lv *sa-phyogs 'di ni mñam-žiṅ ñams dga'-ba | naṅ-du yaṅ-dag 'ǰog-ḍaṅ mthun-pa-ste | rigs-kyi bu spoṅ-ba don-du gñer-ba-la ni 'dis čhog-go | bdag kyaṅ spoṅ-ba don-du gñer-ba yin-gyis | bdag 'di-ñid-du gnas-par bya'o sñam-mo* (F I, 217), « cette partie de la terre est unie et délicieuse, elle convient pour qu'on s'y fixe; pour un fils de famille dont le but est le renoncement, il suffit de ce pays; et mon but étant le renoncement, je demeurerai donc ici même » (F II, 238). Lv mong. *ene eteged-ün yaǰar kemebesü: sedkil-dür tayalaydaqu metü tegsi metü boluyad : dotoraban ünen-iyer ayuluyčid-ḍa ünen ǰokistu iǰayur-tan-a köbegün tarqaydayun-u asiylan kereglegči-dür ene ber bolqu bolai: bi ber egün-dür kü orosin sayusuyai* (179a4–10). Cf. *supra*, 34b.

36b *Sarva-artha-sidi bodistv.* Chez P (p. 46), *sayin arta sidi bodisdv* « the good Bodhisattva Arthasiddhi » (p. 138). Le ms porte nettement *Sarva*, la leçon *sayin* est un *lapsus*. Par ailleurs le même nom revient au f. 26b sous une forme correcte, p. 536. Le nom sanskrit est traduit en tibétain par *Don-thams-čad-grub-pa* (F II, 246).

39a *ṉemüri dalda ülü eriküi.* P (p. 48) lit *amuri dalda ülü eriküi* qu'il traduit (p. 140) par « not seek peace and shelter ». Dans le ms le signe *n* est pourvu d'un point, la leçon *ṉemüri* est donc sûre; cf. mong. lit. *nemüri* « shelter, cover (as against wind and rain) » (Less., p. 574), *nemüri dalda*, id. (ibid.). Le Lv rend le hend. par un seul mot:

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qoyar ökin bolai (291b17–23). Le village porte ici le nom mongol *Ayimay-tu* qui est la traduction du tibétain *Sde-čan* (ou de son nom sanskrit?); dans les lignes suivant ce passage, le nom de *Nairañjanā*, respecté même par les textes tibétains, s'appelle, de son nom mongol, *Tergetü müren*. A ce propos il convient de faire remarquer que le traducteur de notre texte mongol a restitué la forme « indienne » comme nom d'un endroit d'une expression tibétaine dans un tout autre passage. Voici le passage en question : Lv mong. *ali tere erte minu you-a öngge čirai ǰögelen ǰilmayan tere ber ene metü öbesüben qatayu sirigün tarqaydaqun-i üüledügsen-iyer ügei bolbai: Sinavani balyasun-a bükün oyir-a orčin-nuyud ber namay-yi ene metü ügüleldür-ün* (184a16–22); Lv. tib. *gaṅ-sṅon ṅa kha-dog mjes-šiṅ 'jam-par gyur-pa de yaṅ 'di-ltar bdag-ñid spoṅ-ba rcub-por btaṅ-bas med-par gyur-to || ṅa'i spyod-yul-gyi groṅ-na gnas-pa'i skye-bo ñen kor-ba-rnams kyaṅ ṅa-la 'di-ltar* (F I, p. 225: 4-6) « tout ce que j'avais autrefois de couleurs belles et agréables s'étaient fanées, m'avaient abandonné, étaient disparues. Et les gens de voisinage qui demeurent dans la ville de mon district, se disaient » (F II, 249); Lv skr. « Et la couleur belle, délicate et brillante qui était la mienne, elle aussi disparut, et cela par l'effet du rude abandon de moi-même qui me dominait, et les gens qui demeuraient dans le village voisin du lieu où j'étais pensaient . . . » (F p. 221). La traduction du tib. *spyod-yul* par le mong. *Sinavani* est évidemment arbitraire, sinon une interprétation personnelle.

tib. *skyb ma bcal-to* (F I, 227) «il ne chercha d'abri» (F II, 249); Lv mong. *daldalaysan ügei* (187a27).

42b *lab: bodistv terigülen tabun bančaki toyid-ḍa arča-yin ür-e terigüten-i lab barin aysan* « ayant donné des grains de genièvre, etc. en aumône » au Bodhisattva et aux cinq moins *bančaki*, et

44b *tngrį kümün-e takiydaqui lab-un oron bui* « c'est le lieu de l'aumône, honoré par les dieux et par les hommes ». Le mot *lab* est resté, dans les deux cas, sans traduction chez P. Voir mes remarques à ce sujet dans *BOH* XXIII, 1978, pp. 226–238.[51]

44b *tende sayuju egeči döi qoyar ökid(-i) ülemji masi nigülesküi sedkil-iyer sütü amusun-i kereg-iyer iden soyurqaju.* P (p. 52) a lu *egeči-dür*, mais il voyait bien que cette leçon ne donnait pas de sens satisfaisant et il a proposé de l'émender en *egeči düü* (p. 100) qu'il a traduit (p. 144): « whereupon he sat down and, thinking with great compassion on the two sisters, he daigned to eat as much milk millet as he needed ». Dans le passage correspondant du Lv il s'agit d'une seule jeune fille, de *Sujātā* ou *Legs-skyes-ma: byaṅ-čhub-sems-dpa' de-la 'dug-ste | groṅ-pa'i bu-mo Legs-skyes-ma-la sñin-rce-ba ñe-bar bzuṅ-nas | ji-cam dgos-par 'o-thug sbraṅ-rci-čan de thuṅs-so* (F I, 236), « le Bodhisattva s'y étant assis se rappela avec une grande affection la jeune fille du village, Soujâtâ, et mangea à loisir la soupe de lait au miel » (F II, 260); Lv mong. *tende bodhi-satuva sayuju balyasun-daki Sujati ökin-i ülemji masi nigülesküi-ber ečilen barilju kereg-iyer bal-tu sün amusun iden soyurqabai* (194a24–27). La traduction de M. Poppe est impeccable, seulement il faut lire *egeči döi* au lieu de *egeči-dür* (> *-ḍüü*), sans correction, car c'est ce que le ms nous offre. Le mot *döi* « sœur cadette » est bien attesté dans le mongol médiéval. Le mot se trouve déjà dans l'*Histoire secrète* (II, 23b § 85) comme *döyyi*. La transcription *touei-yi* permettrait la restitution aussi bien comme *düyyi* que *döyyi*, mais dans un autre passage (V, 38b § 165) la transcription *to-yi* milite sans équivoque en faveur de *döyi* (pour le texte mongol, voir Ligeti, *Monumenta* IV, pp. 51, 117). Sur le mot mongol: Cleaves: *HJAS* XIII, p. 119, note 129.[52]

[51] Cf. encore P. Zieme, *Uigurisch* lab *'Spende': Altorientalische Forschungen* VI, 1979, pp. 275-277. Le mot ouigour peut remonter, par l'intermédiaire d'une forme iranienne (ou prakrite) aujourd'hui non attestée, au skr. *labhā* « meeting with, finding, obtaining, getting, attaining; acquisition gain, profit, etc.». Le mot ouigour est enregistré dans *DTS* (p. 333) sous la forme erronée *lep* (avec renvoi au skr. *labhā*, suivi d'un point d'interrogation), au sens de « précisément, exactement, justement ». Le même mot apparaît dans le dictionnaire ouigour de A. Caferoğlu (*Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 1968, p. 125) comme *lab* « emin, saglam, muhakkak », dérivé du mong. Il s'agit en effet, dans les deux cas, du mong. *lab* « sure[ly], positive[ly], definite[ly]; certain[ly] » (Less. 513). Le mot, sous cette forme et dans ce sens, n'est pas attesté dans les textes ouigours. Le terme invoqué par les deux dictionnaires est en réalité *lab* « aumône ».

[52] Notre texte n'ignore pas le nom de la jeune fille *Sujātā*, en mongol sous la forme *Sučati*, mais ici elle ne joue aucun rôle dans l'histoire de la soupe au lait offerte au Bodhisattva. *Sučatii neretei ökin* (41b; p.

46b *olan mingγan öngge-ḍen degel-ün dalbal-i dalbalǰaγulǰu.* P (p. 53) lit ce passage comme suit: *olan mingγan öngge-ten takil-un talbil-i talbilčaγulǰu,* qu'il traduit (p. 145): « Offerings of many thousands of colors were set out ». Le ms offre dans les trois cas un *e* ['] et non pas un *i* [y]; enfin, le signe *č* peut être lu aussi comme *ǰ*. Nous avons donc *degel* « habit, vêtement, habillement » (Kow. III, 1740), *dalbalǰa-* « to wave, swag, float (as a flag mane, or sail) », *dalbalγ-a* « flag; sail; wrestler's costume » (Less., p. 225); cf. encore *darbalǰa-* «flotter (drapeau, voile)», *darbalγ-a* «voile, drapeau, girouette», *darba-* «flotter au gré du vent; battre les ailes» (Kow. III, 1679, 1680). Le même passage est traduit ainsi dans le Lv tib. *gos brgya-ston-gi g-yab-mo ni 'dor* (F I, 240), «des vêtements furent étalés par centaines de mille» (F II, 263). Le tib. *g-yab-mo* ou *yab-mo* «the act on fanning, waving, also anything waved to and fro, as a fan, punkah, or beaten as a cymbal» (Das, p. 112, *gos-kyi yab-mo byed-pa* «to beckon by wairy with one's coat») répond au mong.

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127) était la maîtresse de la servante nommée *Ḍari*, morte, dont le linceul a été ramassé au cimetière par le Bodhisattva. D'ailleurs les deux jeunes filles, sœurs cadette et aînée, figurent dans notre texte mongol sous les noms *Nandi* et *Nandibali* (ff. 43a et 44b; *Monumenta* V, pp. 129-130), ce sont elles qui nourrissent le Bodhisattva amaigri avec la soupe au lait; cette histoire y est longuement racontée. A ce sujet notre texte suit une autre tradition que le Lv. Ainsi qu'on vient de voir, dans le Lv, la même tâche est accomplie par *Sučati*, fille du chef du village *Uruvilvā*, appelé *Nandika*. Toujours d'après le Lv, dix jeunes filles du village ont pris soin du Bodhisattva affaibli : *Balā, Balaguptā, Supṛyā, Vijayasenā, Atimuktakamalā, Sundarī, Kumbakārī, Uluvilikā, Jātilikā* et *Sujātā* (F. II, p. 228); en tibétain : *Stobs-ldan-ma, Stobs-bed-ma, Šin-tu sdug, Sde-las rnam-par rgyal, A-ti-muk-ṭa-ka'i phreṅ-ba, Mjes-ma, Rja-byed-ma, Skra-lčaṅ lo-rgyas, Legs-skyes-ma* (F I, 232, F II, 255); en mongol *Balī, Balīgûbta, Adibiriy-a* (?), *Sin-a-vijay-a, Ati-muktaka-malī, Sundarī, Kumbakarī, Antakabusi-yi, J̌atali, Sujati* (Lv mong. 191a7–9). Cette liste est absente dans notre texte, en revanche, il y est question des dix jeunes filles (*Nandibali terigüten arban ökid;* f. 42b; *Monumenta* V, p. 128). Selon le *Abhiniṣkramaṇa*, les deux jeunes filles *Nandi* et *Nandibali* jouent le rôle principal dans l'épisode. Le récit de leur histoire diffère sur certains points de celui du Lv. Ainsi, d'après Ak (54a-b) elles sont encouragées par le brahman *Deva (Diu-a neretü biraman)*, personnage inconnu dans notre texte et le Lv. On ne trouve pas de correspondance mot à mot entre les deux textes. En revanche, on lit dans les deux textes comment elles ont préparé la soupe au lait pour le Bodhisattva : elles ont donné le lait de mille vaches à boire à 500 vaches, le lait de 500 vaches à 250 vaches et ainsi de suite jusqu'à 20 vaches (notre texte descend jusqu'à 5 vaches; cf. ff. 43a-b; Ak f. 54b). Le Vv reproduit au fond la même tradition que le Ak, toutefois sous une forme bien plus développée. Ici encore, ce sont les deux jeunes filles qui entrent en scène, *Nandi* et *Balanandi (Nandi kiged: Ba-la-nandi qoyar ökin)*. Ici encore, on lit l'histoire des mille vaches et l'on finit par préparer le lait tiré de 8 vaches; cf. Vv IV, 291a-292b, ff. 592-584. On retrouve les traces du même épisode dans le *Buddhacarita*. La version mongole ne m'est pas accessible, mais la traduction tibétaine nous fournit une information à ce sujet; une information assez pauvre : elle se contente de rappeler le nom de *Dga'-stobs-ma (Nandabalā)*, fille du chef bouvier, envoyée par les dieux; cf. Weller II., p. 210 (XII, 108d). Le même passage, dans la traduction chinoise de *Dharmarakṣa* comprend le nom *Nandā*, appelée dans la stance *Nandā Balada* (*Balaga* ou *Baladhva*); cf. S. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-145 (st. 1018 et 1019). Toutes ces formes paraissent remonter au skr. *Nandabalā* (Cowell, traduction, p. 135 : XII, 106).

dalbal < *darbal*. Cf. encore Lv skr. «au milieu des milliers de vêtements flottants» F 236).[53]

47b *eldeb erdeni sigidkegsen dabtamal altan keseg-i bayiɣulǰu: altan linqus(-i) ǰergelebei*. P (p. 53) lit *kasar-i* au lieu de *keseg-i* et il traduit (p. 116): « built an altar of wrought gold inlad with many kinds of jewels, and set rows of golden lotus flowers ». Pour appuyer sa traduction il identifie son passage modifié *dabtamal altan kasar* au *dabtamal altan qabtasun* « wrought golden bords » tiré du Lv qui fournit pour ce passage la version mongole suivante: *qamuɣ erdenis-i sigidkegsen Jambu müren-ü dabtamal altan qabtasun kiged altan sečig-üd: Jambu müren-ü altan linqus-iyar bürigsen bolɣabai* (200a12–15) Ce passage remonte au tib. *Jam-bu'i čhu-bo'i gser-gyi glegs-na rin-po-čhe thams-čad-kyis spras-pa-dag-gis ni khebs-par byas* (F I, 244) « le parent de toutes les précieuses feuilles d'or des fleuves du Djambou, de franges d'or, et le couvrent des lotus d'or des fleuves du Djambou. » (F II, 268) Or il est certain que le prétendu *kasar* et le *qabtasun* sont la traduction d'un seul et même mot tibétain. C'est le tib. *glegs-ma* qui veut dire « table; plate; board; any flat piece » (Das, p. 260). Le dictionnaire tibéto-mongol de Sumatiratna (I, p. 360) nous offre tib. *glegs-bu*, mong *qabtasu* [« des planches pour emballer entre elles les effets », tib. *glegs-pa*, Kow. II, 761] et *keseg* [« morceau, partie, lambeau, fragment », Kow. III, 2436]. Ye-šes rdo-rǰe, dans son dictionnaire tibéto-mongol nous dit de même: tib. *glegs-bu*, mong. *he-seg, gab-tha-sa*. Il s'en suit que la leçon *kasar* est indéfendable et que le skr. *kasāri* « the northern altar in Agni sacrifice » suggéré par M. Hurwitz, n'a rien à faire ici.

48b *Suvarn-a-birabi*. La femme de Kālika, roi des *nāga* s'appelle en effet *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (Edgerton, p. 181), mais notre texte milite en faveur de *Suvarṇaprabha* et c'est en effet la forme que nous offre Foucaux (II, p. 272). Ce nom a le sens « brillant comme l'or », traduit par le tib. *Dam-pa gser-'od*.[55]

[53] Ajoutons le Lv mong. *ǰaɣun mingɣan degel-i dalbalǰaɣulǰu* (147a31). Il est intéressant de voir que le même verbe revient encore, dans notre texte, sous la forme *darbalǰa-:* (29b) *urtu-da darbalǰaqui degel-ten:* P (p. 31) traduit correctement : « Those wearing robes that flew in the wind ». Le mot provient de la lamentation de *Gopika*, lorsque *Sarati*, l'écuyer (au début, « cocher ») rentré à la maison avec le cheval, raconte la fuite du Bodhisattva. Cette histoire versifiée manque au Lv, ce qui revient à dire que le passage du f. 29 (avec *darbalǰa-*) provient d'une autre source que le passage du f. 46b (avec *dalbalǰa-*). L'une des deux variantes remonte directement à un antécédent mongol. Laquelle?

[54] La leçon correcte m'a intrigué dès le début. Dans le *MNyT* IX, p. 108 j'ai proposé de lire *altan keseg-i* en plaçant après la leçon *keseg* un point d'interrogation; dans la seconde édition, influencée par la leçon de M. Poppe, j'ai adopté *kisar-i* (p. 135). Compte tenu du passage correspondant du Lv tib., il ne peut faire aucun doute que la leçon correcte doit être *keseg* même si nous admettons que la graphie du ms est ambiguë.

[55] Le tib. *klu'i rgyal-po Nag-po'i čhuṅ-ma Dam-pa gser-'od čes-bya-ba* (F I, 15-16) « l'épouse du roi des Nâgas Kâlika, nommé Souvarṇaprabhâ (brillante comme l'or) (F II, 272; traduction et interprétation à la fois). Lv skr. « la première des épouses de Kâlika, le roi des Nâgas, nommée

49a *debserküy-e oronggi-tu.* Le ms porte nettement *oronggi-tu.* et non pas *oringgi-tu.* Dans la version mongole du Lv on trouve *debsiyerküy-e* répondant à notre *debserküy-e.* Le *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* mongol nous offre *ḏebsegerkü orongɣatu* (tib. *g-yas 'khyil*); cf. Ligeti: *Monumenta* IV, p. 74, 195d; *Indices* IV, p. 88). Le mong. précl. *debsiyer-* répond au mong. lit. *jöbsiyer-* « faire le tour en marchant de gauche à droite; salut respectueux qui consiste à marcher autour d'une personne ou d'un objet » (tib. *g-yas-su 'khor-ba, g-yas-su 'khyil-ba* (Kow. III, 2310). Selon le *Tsi-yao* (n° 108) un des 80 *nayiraɣ* du Bouddha s'appelle *jöbsiyerkü ajiraɣči* « celui qui marche à droite » (skr. *pradakṣiṇāvarta-gāmī*, tib. *g-yas phyogs-su ldog-čiṅ gšegs-pa*; cf. Mvp. n° 283). Sumatiratna (II, p. 861) traduit le tib. *g-yas-su 'khyil* par le mong. *jöbsiyerenggüi ergigsen* et le tib. *g-yas 'khyil* par le mong. *jöb ergigsen.* Le mong. *jöbsiyer- (<jöbseger-)* est un dérivé de *jöb* « juste, droit; côté droite » (Less., p. 1072: « correct, true, right; the right or correct side »). Quant à l'initiale *d- > j-*, dans *debsiyer- > jöbsiyer-*, voir Vladimircov, *Sravn. gramm.*, pp. 389–390. En ce qui concerne *oranggi*, jusqu'ici non attesté, il est sûrement authentique et doit avoir le même sens que *orongɣa*, c'est-à-dire « tour, mouvement tournant », d'où « cep, vigne » (Kow. I, 449). Les formes *oronggi* et *orongɣa* remontent au verbe *oro-* « tourner, aller en rond » (cf. *orči-, oriya-*, etc.) < *horo-*; cf. ma. *foro-*, nanaï *poro-*. Le passage en question est donc formulé ainsi: *toɣos-un küjügün-ṯür adali sedkil-ṯür jokis-ḏu öngge ünür sayitu debserküy(-e) oronggi-tu kačalindika-ṯur adali kürteküi-ṯür jögelen ebesün*; dans la traduction de P (p. 147): « grass which gave forth a beautiful scent, and has a color as pleasant to the mind as [the color of the feathers of] a peacock's neck, which had tendrils winding in the direction from the left to the right and which was as soft to touch as the kācalindika textils ». On retrouve ce passage cette fois encore dans le Lv tib.: *. . .rcva sṅo-ba | 'jam-pa | šin-tu gžon-pa | ñams dka'-ba | lčaṅ-lor 'khril-bar 'dug-pa | g-yas-su 'khyil-ba | rma-bya'i mgrin-pa lta-bu | ka-ca-linda'i gos-ltar reg-na bde-ba | dri rab-tu žim-pa | kha-dog daṅ-ldan-pa | yid-du 'oṅ-ba-cag rṅa-žiṅ 'dug-pa mthoṅ-ṅo* (F I, 250), « . . . une herbe verte, douce, très tendre, agréable, nattée en tresse, tournée à droite, pareille au cou du paon, douce au toucher comme un vêtement de Kâtchalindi, à l'odeur très suave et nuancée » (F II, 273). Le même texte au Lv mong.: *taɣus-un küjügün-dür adali sedkil-dür jokistu asuru sayin ünür öngge tegüsügsen kačilindaka dur adali kürteküi-dür jögelen jilmaɣan asuru jalaɣu sedkil-dür taɣalaɣdaqu metü salburaɣsan orong-ɣa-tu üsün metü debsiyerküy-e uryuɣsan köke ebesün-i qaddun büküy-yi üjebei* (205a31–205b1–6). Cf. encore Lv skr. « [Svastika l'herbager qui] coupait des gazons

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Souvarṇaprabhâsâ » (F p. 243), Lv mong. *Kiliki* [lire Kaliki] *luus-un qaɣan-u gergei Utami Suvar-n-a-brabi neretü* (204b8–9); selon le traducteur mongol, le tib. *dam-pa* faisait partie du nom de l'épouse du roi des nāgas, il l'a restitué en conséquence en « indien » : *Utami*, ce qui répond au skr. *uttama* (cf. *Mvp.* 162, p. 162, n° 1339 : *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*, tib. *Gser-'od dam-pa*).

verts, tendres, tout nouveaux, agréables, réunis en tresses, tournés à droite, pareils au cou des paons, doux au toucher comme (l'étoffe) Kâtchilindi, à l'odeur douce, colorés et réjouissant l'esprit» (F 244–245).

50a *Suvastig ker ber minu qutuɣ-i jiɣturiɣul-basu bolqu bögesü.* P (p. 55) lit *jiduriɣulbasu* qu'il traduit par «to open (tr.)» et rattache au khalkha *zudruul-*, id. (p. 103). Cependant le ms offre incontestablement *jiɣduriɣulbasu*, ailleurs non attesté, autant que je sache, mais il doit avoir le sens «offrir, faire cadeau, transmettre», C'est ce que nous suggère le Lv tib.: *Bkra-šis gal-te byaṅ-čhub skye-bo gžan-la sbyin nus-pa* (F I, 252), «Svastika, si l'intelligence pouvait être donnée à un autre homme» (F II, 275). Cf. encore Lv mong. *Suvastig a ker ber minu qutuɣ-i busu amitan-a öggün čidaqu ele bolbasu* (206b29–31).[56]

52a *erdini-yin bayumarag čimeg.* P lit *bayomaak* (p. 56) et *bayoomak* (p. 102) qu'il explique, sur la foi d'Edgerton, «a kind of ornament, a tall palatial building»; il n'en reste pas moins qu'il traduit le passage mongol en question par «the jewel decoration Vyomaka». Dans le Lv tib. nous avons: *rin-po-čhe'i mkha'-rten* (F I, 258), «précieux Vyomakas» (F II, 288); Lv mong. *erdeni-yin bayumarag čimeg* (210b15–16). Cf. tib. *mkha'-rten* «the firmament, sky supporting; a sort of ornament» (Das, p. 181). Le mong. *bayumarag* attesté par notre texte et par le Lv mong. doit remonter, par un intermédiaire qu'il est difficile à préciser, au skr. *vyomaka*. Edgerton est incertain en citant la définition de Das, mais il ne l'est pas lorsqu'il se réfère à ses textes sanskrits (p. 520) d'où il ressort que dans le cas présent nous avons affaire à *ratna-vyomaka* «(ornament) made of jewels». C'est à ce terme sanskrit que répondent, dans nos textes, le mong. *erdeni-yin bayumarag* et le tib. *rin-po-čhe'i mkha'-rten*. Cf. encore Sumatiratna I, p. 227: tib. *mkha'-rten : ni šiṅ-ljon-pa'i druṅ thams-čad-na rin-po-čhe'i mkha-'rten mda'-rkyaṅ gaṅ-gi chad-cam byas-pa de'o* ~ mong. *gisigür* (sic), *talbiɣur : anu nayiljaɣur modu bügüde-yin emün-e erdeni-yin giskigür nigen sumun-u kejiɣ-e tedüi üiledügsen bolai* «échelle; plateau»: c'est-à-dire une échelle (préparée) de joyaux de la dimension d'une flèche, érigée devant chaque jeune arbre».

52b—53a *sayibar oduɣsan-u köbegün-ü sayin-i ügülejü: | saran metü oɣtaryuy-ača geyigülǰü : | sine naran metü gerel-nügüd-i talbiǰu : | simnus-un orod-i bürkig-degülǰü ireküi.* Chez P (p. 57) la première ligne de la stance a été sautée par

[56] Lv skr.: «Si cette intelligence, ô Svastika, pouvait être donnée aux êtres animés» (F p. 246). Dans le texte sanskrit le dialogue entre le Bodhisattva et l'herbager Svastika est présenté par les gāthās 47-54. Le texte sanskrit a été traduit en vers tibétains. La traduction tibétaine est suivie fidèlement par la mongole, ligne par ligne, mais toutefois sans allitération. Notre texte mongol rappelle d'assez près la version mongole du Lv; il a cependant omis les stances 48 et 49; La stance tibétaine 47 comprend des lignes à 9 syllabes, les autres ont 13 syllabes. La traduction mongole des lignes tibétaines à 13 syllabes font l'impression d'un texte rédigé en prose. M. Poppe a reconnu les stances 47 et 50; j'y ai ajouté encore la stance 52, mais avec des lignes mal coupées.

inadvertance, le reste est traduit : (p. 150) « Coming from the sky, while emitting light like the moon, | coming while emitting beams a new risen sun, | and plunging the regions of Šimnu into darkness ». La stance complétée peut être expliquée : « venant du ciel en répandant la lumière comme la lune, récitant les bonnes qualités du fils du Sugatah. Venus comme le nouveau soleil émettant des rayons, obscurcissant les demeures des démons ». Cf. Lv mong. : *ǰarim-ud sayitur oduɣsan köbegün-ü erdem-ün erikes-i ügüleǰü :* | *saran metü oɣtaryuy-yi sayitur geyigülǰü ireküi : :* | *ǰarim-ud sine naran metü gerel-nügüd talbiǰu:* | *simnus-un oron bügüde-yi bürigdegülǰü ireküi* (212b16–20). Par un curieux hasard ce passage manque au texte tibétain de Foucaux, mais il se retrouve dans le texte tibétain du *Tibetan Tripitaka*: *kha-čig bde-gšegs sras-kyi yon-tan phreṅ-ba brǰod-čiṅ* || *zla-ba lta-bur mkha'-las šin-tu rgyas-šiṅ lags* || *kha-čig ñi-ma lta-bur 'od-zer rab 'gyed-de* || *bdud-kyi gnas-rnams thams-čad mog-mog byed-čiṅ lhags* (p. 220, f. 166b5). Le même texte apparaît dans le Lv skr., stances 13–14: « Quelques-uns sont venus comme des pleines lunes dans le ciel récitant la guirlande de qualités du fils des Djinas. (14) Quelques-uns venus comme des soleils, répandent la lumière et rendent ténébreuses toutes les demeures de Mâra » (F p. 254).

53a *tegün-eče ber busu tuyas toor-i bariǰu:* | *delekey-yi köl-iyer-iyen ködelgeǰü ireküi.* P lit (p. 57) *tuɣ door* au lieu de mon *tuyas toor*, tout en faisant remarquer que *tuɣ* est émendé par lui d'une graphie *tüɣ*. Il traduit (p. 150): « Coming while carrying flag-poles which were varied, | and concussing the ground with their feet ». Il semble que toutes les deux interprétations doivent être légèrement modifiées. Notre texte mongol est l'abrégé de l'original. Dans le Lv mong. (212b19–30) nous avons : *ǰarim-ud buyan-u čiɣulɣan-i čiɣulɣaǰu Indr-a-yin takil-un modun metü kkir ügei tuɣ-i bariǰu :* | *tere Bodhi-ǰirüken-dür ireküi : :* | *ǰarim-ud oɣtaryuy-ača mani erdeni-yin toor-i sačuǰu suumi (?) sučandir-a kögegen-eče törögsen mayad üǰesküleng-tü mandirig:* | *varšaka cambaka kiged süman čečeg-ün erikes-i :* | *modun-u qayan-u toor-i sačuɣsan bodhisatuva-dur sačuqu : :* || *ǰarim-ud anu qoyar köl-iyeren delekey-yi ködelgeǰü bür-ün : amitan bay asqaɣul-un üiledčü ireküi.* Le texte tibétain de Foucaux nous laisse cette fois encore en panne, mais le voici d'après le *Tibetan Tripitaka: bsod-nams chogs-bsags kha-čig Dbaṅ-po'i mčhod-sdoṅ dra'i* || *dri-med togs-thog byaṅ-čhub-sñiṅ-po der yad lhags* || *kha-čig mkha'-las nor-bu rin-čhen dra-ba 'thor* || *zla-ba zla-ba zaṅs skyes-rnams mjes man-da-ra* | *bar-ša cam-pa-ka daṅ sna-ma'i me-tog phreṅ* || *byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' šiṅ-rgyal druṅ-na bžugs-la 'thor* || *kha-čig rkaṅ gñis-kyis sa ni rab bskyod-la* || *sa sbyoṅ-nas kyaṅ skye-bo dga'-bar byed-čiṅ lhags* (p. 220, f. 166b 6–7). Les versions mongoles et tibétaines remontent au Lv skr., stance 14 (deuxième moitié) — stance 16 (première moitié) : « (14) Quelques-uns sont venus ayant des bâtons d'étendards purs comme celui d'Indra; ayant amassé des trésors de mérite, ils sont venus à Bodhimaṇḍa. (15) Quelques-uns jettent du haut du ciel un filet garni de pierres précieuses, des Tchandras et des

Soutchandras qui brillent sur le sol; ils jettent des guirlandes et des bouquets de fleurs de Mâdâras, de Soumanas, de Vârchika et de Tchampaka sur le Bôdhisattva accompli qui se tient auprès du roi des arbres, (16) Quelques-uns sont venus, ébranlant la terre avec leurs pieds, et la terre fortement ébranlée fait la joie des gens». Par suite de l'abréviation du texte primitif notre version mongole paraît quelque peu dérangée. L'expression *tegün-eče ber busu* n'a pas de trace dans la rédaction complète du Lv mong., il sert à combler la lacune envisagée, surtout la ligne précédente supprimée (Lv : *[ǰarim-ud] buyan-u čiɣulɣan-u čiɣulɣaǰu Indr-a-yin takil-un modun metü kkir ügei*); l'omission de cette ligne a rendu gauchère la stance. C'est pourquoi j'entends ainsi cette expression servant à combler la lacune : «en dehors de cela [en dehors des stances supprimées]». Tenant compte de la version du Lv, je préfère lire le reste de notre texte : *tuɣ toor-i*[57] *bariǰu*, ce qui répond au Lv mong. *[takil-un modun metü kkir ügei] tuɣ-i bariǰu*. Ce qui est resté de la ligne paraissait trop court, c'est pourquoi le rédacteur de notre texte mongol y a ajouté encore le mot *toor*, emprunté à la ligne suivante. Le sens primordial en a sûrement souffert, mais cela restait sans trop d'importance car, en fin de compte, ce n'étaient point les mêmes divinités qui portèrent «des bâtons d'étendards purs et un filet [garni de pierres précieuses]» que celles qui «ébranlèrent la terre avec leurs pieds».

54a *anisq-a ǰaɣuraki oron lagšan*. Dans la 1re édition des «Douze actes du Bouddha» j'ai adopté la leçon *oron* sous réserve; aujourd'hui cette leçon me paraît certaine. P (p. 104) lit *anisq-a ǰaɣuraki urun laksan* qu'il traduit par «the *urun lakṣaṇa* which is between brows of a Buddha». Mong. *urun* < skr. *ūrṇā* s'explique phonétiquement mal. Dans la version tibétaine du Lv on a *smin-chams-kyi bar-gyi mjod-spu* (F I, 262) «milieu de ses sourcils, la touffe Ourṇâ (cercle de poils entre les sourcils, regardé comme un signe du grandeur)» (F II, 286). Or le mong. *lagšan* n'a rien à voir avec le skr. *keśa*, il signifie simplement qu'il s'agit d'un des *lakṣaṇa* du Bouddha et en effet le 4e s'appelle en skr. *ūrṇā-keśa*, en tib. *mjod-spu* (Mvp. p. 22, n° 239). Le tib. *mjod-spu* est expliqué par Das (p. 1051) comme suit : «a circle of hair between the eye-brows in the middle of the forehead, one of the particular marks of a Buddha, from which he sends forth divine rays of light». Dans le *Tsi-yao*,

[57] La leçon *tuyas (tuya-s < tuyaɣa-s)* est graphiquement très engageante, mais elle doit être abandonnée. Le sens «rayon» du mot *tuya (tuyaɣa)*, répondant au tib. *gzer-ma* (Kow. III, 1866) est inconciliable avec le texte tibétain répondant à notre passage mongol. Il s'agit sans doute d'une confusion de date ancienne, qui s'est produite dans le texte mongol pour offrir l'aberrante graphie *tüɣ*; il est curieux de voir que même la variante mongole du Lv en garde un souvenir lointain : le signe *ɣ* final y est également insolite : les deux «dents» du signe sont trop loin l'un de l'autre. Le mong. *kkir ügei tuɣ* répond au tib. *dri-med togs-thog*. La leçon aberrante *door* (dans *tuɣ door* «the lower part of a banner, i. e. the flag pole» P., p. 104) est indéfendable et pour la forme et pour le sens. Le mot *toor* «filet» (Kow. III, 1786; tib. *dra-ba*) remonte à *mani erdeni-yin toor*, répondant au tib. *nor-bu rin-čhen dra* où *dra-ba* s'explique comme «1.necklace (of pearls, gold etc.); 2. web, net, lattice, grate» (Das 646).

vocabulaire bouddhique pentaglotte, le mong. *quriyangγui sang-un üsütü* «ayant le cheveu du trésor» est une traduction servile du tib. *mjod-spu*. Le vocabulaire tibéto-mongol de Sumatiratna (II, pp. 643–644) explique le mot tibétain comme suit : tib. *mjod-spu ni smin-pa gñis-kyi bar thig-le'i gnas...* mong. *sang üsü ... qoyar kömüske-yin qoγorondu dusul-un oron ...*

55b *tulum namuγ-a kegeliten*. P (p. 60) lit *muq-a* qu'il corrige en *qumq-a*. Il traduit (p. 153) l'expression par «bellies like sacks and jugs». Pour l'émendation il se réclame d'un passage du Lv mong. où l'on a en effet *qumq-a metü kebeliten* «qui ont le ventre pareil à une cruche» (p. 217). Seulement, cette fois la version mongole répond mal à notre rédaction, soigneusement versifiée. En outre le mot de notre texte ne peut être lu autrement que *namuγ-a* ce qui est attesté en mong.lit. comme *namaγ-a* «jar, wine barrel, tun» (Less. 562); dans l'Histoire secrète *nambuqa* «großer Ledereimer; Ledersack» (Haen. 113), dans *Altan tobči : namuγ-a* (*Monumenta* VI, 49); dans le vocabulaire tetraglotte de Yemen *nambuγa* «seau (en cuir)» (10v B 20). Le mot *tulum* est son synonyme; cf. mong.lit. *tulum* «whole skin used as a vessel for liquids; leather bag» (Less. 841). Dans notre texte *tulum namuγ-a* est un *hend*.[58]

58b *yirtinčü-tür naran saran arslan kiged:* | *yerü Čakravad-un qaγan-dur nökör ülü keregleyü:* | *tegünčilen bodi qutuγ-tur maγad orol-duγsan:* | *degedü bodistv-nar-a nökör yaγun kereg*. Stance bien simple, mais elle a été interprétée avec des nuances légèrement différentes. P (p. 156) : «In the world, sun, moon, lion, | and, generally speaking, a Cakravartin king need no companions [then] do the supreme Bodhisattvas have, | who have made surely made efforts towards | attainment of | the Bodhisanctity?» Dans Lv tib. on a: *'jig-rten ñi zla seṅ-ge daṅ* || *'Khor-lo-sgyur-*

[58] Dans le Lv mong. on lit : *jarim anu olan qokimai yasun-dur qubilju turanggi bey-e-ten yeke kebeliten:* | *qabar qabčiγsan qumq-a metü köl terigün-ü kebeli metü bayiqun* (217a21–24). Cette version remonte au Lv tib. *kha-čig ni keṅ-rus maṅ-po sprul-nas* | *lus rid-čiṅ gsus-pa čhe-la sna žom-pa* | *gsum-pa lta-bur 'dug-pa* | *rkaṅ-pa mgo'i thod-pa ltar 'dug-pa* (F I, 167: 20-22) «Quelques-uns, transformés en squelettes, ont le corps maigre, le ventre gros, le nez brisé, le ventre pareil à une cruche, les pieds comme le crâne de la tête» (F II, 292). Cf. Lv skr. (F p. 261) : «Quelques-uns, ayant le ventre comme des montagnes (!), avec des corps débiles, formés d'un amas d'ossements, avaient le nez cassé, d'autres avaient le ventre comme une cruche, les pieds pareils à des crânes.» Dans la version mongole, il faut lire, pour *terigün-ü kebeli*, correctement : *terigün-ü γabala* (ou *ġabala*). Le mong. *tulum* est un emprunt fait au turc; cf. tel., alt., kmd., chor *tulup* «1. ein Lederbeutel ohne Naht, der aus einem ganzen Tierfell verfertigt wird»; 2. kirg. (= kzk.) «ein Ledersack, der aus dem Felle eines zweimonatlichen Lammes verfertigt ist (in ihm wird das Nähzeug der Frauen aufbewahrt)»; 3. (krm.) «ein kleiner Sack, Beutel» (Radl. III, 1469); osm. *tulum* «ein gegerbenes Fell von Tieren; 2. ein Lederschlauch; 3. der Dudelsack» (Radl. III, 1470); tchag. *tulum* «outre» (PdC 245); tchag., turc or. *tulum* (Radl. III, 1471); osm. *tulum, tuluk* «skin made into a bag to hold water etc., or used as a float for raft» (Hony 371), Clauson (*ED* 500) considère la forme *tulum* des dialectes turcs comme emprunt fait au mongol. Le mot est toutefois isolé en mongol; les formes *tulum, tuluq, tulung, tulup* des dialectes turcs actuels sont mal attestées dans les textes turcs anciens.

la grogs byed med || *byaṅ -čhub bžugs-nas ṅes-pa-yi* || *byaṅ-čhub-sems-dpa' mi dgos* (F I, 277), « on ne donne pas dans le monde d'égal au soleil, à la lune, au lion, à un Tchakravartin; on ne peut donc trouver d'égal au Bôdhisattva qui est bien établi dans l'Intelligence » (F II, 307); Lv mong. *yirtinčü-dür naran saran arslan kiged: Čakravarti qaγan-dur nökör ülü kereglekü: tegünčilen kü bôdhi-satuva-nar-a bôdhi qutuγ-tur maγad üiledügsen nökör yaγun kereg* (224b13–15). Enfin le Lv skr. nous dit: « Dans le monde il n'y a pas besoin que le soleil ait un compagnon, pas plus que la lune, un lion ou un Tchakravartin. Pour le Bodhisattva bien assis et bien affermi dans l'Intelligence, il n'y a pas besoin de compagnon » (F 270). Je comprends notre stance : « Au monde le soleil, la lune, le lion et surtout le roi des Cakravartin n'ont pas besoin d'un compagnon (auxiliaire), de même n'en ont pas besoin les suprêmes Bodhisattvas qui ont fini par entrer au bonheur du bodhi. » La stance, devenue axiome, est très populaire dans la littérature bouddhique. A titre d'exemple, voir Srn. 16c-d: tib. *ri-dags rgyal-po seṅ-ge daṅ* | *'Khor-lo-sgyur-la grogs mi dgos*; mong. *göröged-ün qan arslan-a ba* | *Čagiravard qan-a nökör yaγun kereg* «le lion, roi des fauves et le roi Cakravartin n'ont pas besoin de compagnon (auxiliaire) »; cf. Ligeti, *BOH* VI, p. 7 et *Monumenta* IV, 28; *Indices* IV, p. 229.

60a *aγ-a jali-tu čerig-iyer-iyen nigen-e: arslan-u daγun-i sonosuγsan ünegen-tür adali: ayuju mengdejü nigen nigen-eče buruγuyilbai.* P (p. 157) « [Śimnu] together with his crafty and wily army, became as frightened as a fox that hears the roar of the lion, and they fled in all directions ». La traduction est impeccable, on se demande pourtant si *aγ-a jali-tu* est à rattacher a *čerig*, comme le veut P, ou bien c'est *Śimnu* qui y est sousentendu. Le texte correspondant milite en faveur de cette dernière interprétation; ce texte est intéressant, car il ne constitue pas un mot à mot conventionnel, mais offre une rédaction développée. Lv tib. *g-yon-čan dpuṅ-bčas sa gra de thos-nas* || *nags-su seṅ-ges sgra bsgrags was thos-daṅ*| |*bya-rog rdo 'phaṅs mod-la bžin*| |*dṅaṅs skrag sñiṅ gas thams-čad rab-tu byer* (F I, 280), « Le trompeur et son armée ayant entendu cette voix de la Terre, comme les chacals dans les bois au son de la voix du lion, comme les corneilles s'enfuyaient sur les rocs élevés, épouvantés et le cœur serré prirent tous la fuite » (F II, 306); Lv skr. « Après avoir entendu cette voix de la terre, le trompeur et son armée épouvantés et le cœur brisé se mirent à fuir. Tous comme les chacals dans les bois, après avoir entendu le rougissement du lion, comme les corneilles à la chute d'une motte de terre furent soudain dispersés » (F 272). Il convient de faire remarquer que le texte sanskrit, dans ce cas, est composé de quatre lignes versifiées. La forme versifiée a été maintenue par la traduction tibétaine où l'on a des lignes à 9 syllabes, par contre la version mongole du Lv a été rendue en prose. Il est remarquable que notre texte mongol n'a pas suivi cet exemple, il rend la stance tibétaine par une stance mongole, ce qui m'a échappé aussi bien qu'à M. Poppe. La première ligne de la stance est ainsi

épelée : *ali čaγ-tur tere üge sonosuγsan tere čaγ-tur*; les mots allitérés, au début des lignes, sont : *ali, arγ-a jali-tu, arslan-u, ayuju.*[59]

63a *siluγun jilmaγan-tur quričaqui ügei:* | *sirigün qataγu-tur kilingle-kü ügei.* P (p. 66) lit *serigün* au lieu de *sirigün*[60] et il traduit en conséquence (p. 160): « He does not feel lust, in his honesty and composure; | he does not feel angry, in his coolness and firmness ». J'entends: « Lorsqu'il est doux et gracieux, il est sans passion, lorsqu'il est dur et rude, il est sans colère. » Notre texte correspond assez bien au Lv tib.: *sñan-čiṅ 'jam-por smra yaṅ čhags-pa ma mčhis-te* | *gsaṅ-ba čhen-po lta yaṅ sdaṅ-ba mčhis ma lags* (F I, 289: 3–5; *Tibetan Tripitaka* p. 227, f. 182a5–6); Lv skr.: « il parle un langage doux et gracieux et n'a point de passion; il voit ce qu'il y a de plus caché et n'a point de fiel » (F p. 279); « Il parle avec douceur et agrément, et n' est point ému; il considère les grands mystères, et n'a point d'emportement » (F II, 316). Le Lv mong. a une variante : *jögelen jilmaγan ügülebesü ber kilingleküi ügei:* | *mör yabudal kiged aburi jang-i üjebesü mungqaγuraqui ügei* (232a1–3). Ici la première ligne est amalgamée de deux lignes de l'original (au prix d'un contresens), et la deuxième répond à la troisième ligne du Lv tib. et skr.; tib. *spyod-las-dag-daṅ spyod-pa lta yaṅ rmoṅs ma mčhis* (F I, 289: 5), « il regarde la conduite et la manière d'agir, et n'est point troublé » (F II, 316); Lv skr.: « il considère la vie honorable et n'a point de folie » (F p. 279, st. 132).

64a *oγtaryui-tur eldeb jiruγ jirubasu bolqui:* | *ulaγar boda ügei key-(yi) barilju uyaqui:* | *oγtaryui-taki naran sara-yi unaγan čidabasu ber* (:) | *olan toγan-ača nögčigsed-de čiγulbasu ber namay-yi :* : | *üčüken (ber) ködelgen ülü čidaqu.* P (pp. 67–68) lit *odqui* qu'il corrige en *bolqui* au lieu de *uyaqui* offert par le ms; il traduit (p. 161): « It might be possible to draw various drawings in the sky, | it might be possible to seize the light wind which lacks substance, | [but] even if one could make sun and moon that are in the sky, fall down, | even if [the Šimnus] gather [in multitudes] beyond number, | they will be unable to make me move [even] a little

[59] La version mongole du Lv a: *aryatan čerig-üd-ler-iyeren yajar-un dayun-i sonosču:* || *oi-dur arslan-u dayun-i sonosuγsan ünegen kiged:* | *kürü oγurču ürgügülügsen keri-y-e-dür adali* : | *ayuju mengdeju jirükeben yaryan qamuγ-iyar butaraldubai* (226a27–31). Les versions sanskrite, tibétaine et mongole du Lv nous présentent, cette fois encore, une rédaction versifiée. Il en est de même pour notre texte mongol. Le mong. *ünegen* signifie «renard» (Kow. I, 484; Less. 1008), mais il sert en même temps à désigner le «chacal», tout comme son équivalent tibétain *wa* (Jäschke p. 470: «fox; jackal»). C'est dans ce dernier sens qu'il figure dans les contes d'origine indienne. Cf. B. Ja. Vladimircov (*Mongoljskij sbornik rasskazov iz Pañcatantra*, Petrograd 1921, p. 113) discute assez longuement l'équivalence tib. *wa* ~ mong. *ünegen*, au sens de «chacal» et il estime que le tib. *wa* remonte à *wa-ma-spyaṅ* signifiant «chacal» sans équivoque. Cf. encore Walter Ruben, *Das Pañcatantra und seine Morallehre*, Institut fur Orientforschung, Nr. 24, Berlin 1959, pp. 28, 46, 85.

[60] Dans notre texte *sirigün* et *qataγu* sont des synonimes, tout comme *siluγun* et *jilmaγan*. Cf. *sirigün* (avec les variantes *siregün* et *sirügün*) «raboteux, rude, âpre, grossier, sévère» (Kow. II. 1527), *sirügün* «rough to the touch, severe, tough, harsh», *sirügün üge* «harsh words or language» (Less. 719).

bit ». La traduction peut rester inchangée, tout en faisant remarquer que le verbe *uya-* « to tie, bind; to hold up, delay » (Less. 867) ne modifie pas essentiellement le sens de la stance. Pourtant, il est utile de comparer le texte de notre stance à celui des versions du Lv. On a dans le Lv mong.: *oγtaryui-dur eldeb jüil jiruγ-i qubi qubi jiruγ-ud olqu ber öber öber jirubasu bolqu* (:) | *jüg kiged jobkis-tur yabuγči küčüten key-yi kümün-nügüd sayitur kičiyejü čalm-a-bar külijü*[61] *čidabasu ber bolqu* (:) | *bürkig qarangγu-yi ügei bolγaγči naran saran-i oγtaryuy-ača kösere unaγan čidabasu ber bolqu:* | *činu metüs toγan-ača nögčigsen asuru olan čiγulbasu ber modun-u door-a-ača namayi ködelgejü ber ülü čidaqu* (235b8–16). C'est la traduction du Lv tib.: *nam-mkha'-la ni ri-mo rnam-pa sna-chogs čha-čha ris-ris phye-ste so-sor bri-bar nus kyaṅ srid* || *phyogs daṅ phyogs mchams 'gro-ba'i šugs-čan rluṅ ni mi-yis rab-tu bsgrims-te žags-pas bčiṅ-du nus kyaṅ srid* || *ñi-ma zla-ba mun-pa rab-rib med byed mkha'-las sa-la ltuṅ-bar byed-par nus srid-kyi* || *khyod-daṅ 'dra-ba rab-tu maṅ-po bgraṅ-las 'das-pa-dag-gis šiṅ-druṅ-nas ni ṅa bskyod nus mi 'gyur* (F I, 294: 111–16). « on pourrait dessiner des tableaux de toute espèce dans le ciel, y tracer çà et là des lignes de figures diverses; le vent impétueux, qui va d'un point à l'autre de l'horizon, pourrait bien être lié avec des chaînes par un homme; on pourrait rendre le soleil et la lune obscurs ou lumineux, et les faire tomber du ciel sur la terre, que tes pareils, dépassant tout calcul, ne pourraient m'écarter d'auprès de cet arbre » (F II, 322); Lv skr.: « on pourrait tracer toutes sortes de tableaux dans l'éther, y dessiner çà et là des figures; le vent qui va rapidement d'un lieu à un autre lieu, pourrait être lié avec des chaînes par un homme qui réussirait dans ses efforts; | le soleil et la lune pourraient être obscurcis, puis dégagés de l'obscurité et précipités du ciel sur la terre, que je ne pourrais, par tes pareils, assez nombreux pour dépasser le calcul, être écarté de cet arbre » (F p. 283). On peut constater sans peine que notre texte et la version mongole du Lv remontent au fond au même texte tibétain. La différence entre les deux versions mongoles s'explique, du moins en partie, par le fait que notre texte est versifié et les lignes débutent par des mots allitérés. C'est ce qui explique l'emploi, au début de la deuxième ligne, de *ulaγar*, mot rare sans équivalent tibétain. On doit chercher une raison pareille pour la différence de longueur des lignes. La version mongole du Lv suit fidèlement le texte tibétain qui fait ici une stance aux lignes exceptionnellement longues. Il en résulte que cette version reste une traduction fidèle, mais l'original tibétain versifié est converti ici nécessairement en prose mongole. En revanche, notre version mongole (celle de Šes-rab seṅ-ge) offre la

[61] L'expression *key-yi . . . bariju uyaqui* de notre texte répond bien, pour le sens, au *key-yi . . . čalm-a-bar külijü* du Lv mong. Cf. *čalm-a* «nœud, nœud coulant, corde, lacet, câble, lien» (Kow. III. 2100; tib *žags-pa*); *küli-* «lier, attacher» (Kow. III, 2602; tib. *bčiṅ-ba*). Le mong. du Lv rend bien le tib. *rluṅ ni . . . žags-pas bčiṅ*). La correspondance entre les mots mongols et tibétains a été donc signalée déjà par Kowalewski.

forme versifiée de la stance tibétaine, modifiée selon le goût mongol, inspiré par le rythme des vers mongols, ce que reflètent les lignes à cinq mots.

Nous voilà au terme de nos interprétations verbales. Pour faciliter l'explication des passages choisis un peu au hasard dans notre texte mongol, nous avons recouru, là où cela était possible, aux passages parallèles de la version mongole du *Lalitavistara*. Or, en cherchant les parallèlismes nous sommes tombés dans bien des cas sur des passages assez longs qui n'avaient pas de correspondant dans le Lv. En tenant compte du témoignage des passages examinés, on est obligé de se poser certaines questions.

Est-ce au traducteur Šes-rab seṅ-ge que nous devons la version poétique d'un grand nombre de stances d'une beauté exceptionnelle? Ou bien les a-t-il simplement empruntées à une version mongole déjà existante, depuis disparue? Le texte tibétain était-il identique à celui du Lalitavistara, ou bien faut-il supposer que l'original tibétain qu'il avait sous les yeux différait sur bien des points du Lv tibétain? Enfin, disposait-il d'une traduction mongole, à côté de son texte tibétain à traduire? A-t-il connu et utilisé la version mongole du Lalitavistara?

Il est difficile sinon impossible de répondre dès maintenant à ces questions de façon définitive. Nous tâcherons néanmoins de chercher la réponse à un groupe de questions évoquées par le Lalitavistara.

III

Il est notoire que le *Lalitavistara* comprend, outre son texte fondamental rédigé en prose, une portion considérable de passages versifiés. Pour procéder à une comparaison entre la tradition du Lv et notre texte mongol, nous avons renoncé à l'immense quantité de texte en prose du modèle original et avons opté, pour plus d'une raison, pour les parties versifiées. Avant tout, elles sont plus maniables aux fins d'une revue rapide des passages qui remontent, à n'en pas douter, à la tradition du Lv. Notre texte mongol, ainsi que son original tibétain, représentent, par rapport au Lv, une rédaction fortement abrégée. Or, l'abréviation d'un texte prosaïque est souvent fort difficile à saisir; un texte réduit à un extrait, à un résumé engendre fréquemment une nouvelle rédaction indépendante. En revanche l'emprunt des passages versifiés peut être dénoncé sans peine. L'abréviation radicale est opérée par la simple omission des stances jugées superflues; la modification des lignes, ou plutôt des mots, ne change pas le sens essentiel au point de rendre méconnaissable l'ancien état des choses. En outre, les stances ont un avantage appréciable : elles sont conservatrices. Elles gardent leur formes primitives même dans un milieu renouvelé, n'adaptant que des innovations de peu d'importance et par là elles facilitent la précision de leur histoire.

Le texte sanskrit, répondant aux actes 6-9 de notre texte mongol, comprend, à en croire Ph. Éd. Foucaux[62], quelque 756 stances. La version tibétaine suit fidèlement l'original sanskrit, par conséquent il faut compter ici encore avec le même nombre de stances. Inutile de dire que le Lv tibétain nous intéresse à deux titres; d'abord comme source possible du texte tibétain utilisé par Šes-rab seṅ-ge, ensuite comme l'original de la version du Lv mong., dont il sera encore question. Les stances tibétaines publiées en texte continu dans les éditions du Kanǰur (et par Foucaux) peuvent être facilement identifiées grâce à la mesure tibétaine et au *šad* marquant la fin de la ligne et le double *šad* signalant la fin de la stance. Certes, l'emploi du *šad* n'est pas réservé aux stances seules, et le simple oubli de ce signe diacritique suffit à mettre le trouble. Cette erreur peut se produire surtout en cas de lignes trop longues.

La reconnaissance des stances dans Lv mong. paraît un peu plus compliquée. Ici il nous manque la certitude de la mesure tibétaine. Il est vrai que les stances sont marquées par l'interponction mongole : les deux-points à la fin de la ligne, les quatre-points à la fin de la stance. Mais leur emploi n'est pas de rigueur. En outre, dans le Lv mong. il faut compter avec la métrique mongole (peu étudiée). On peut constater dès maintenant qu'une partie des stances mongoles du Lv est composée de vers rimés, à la mongole, c'est-à-dire offrant des lignes (quatre ou deux) en allitération. Assez souvent, tout en étant des vers véritables, elles n'ont pas de rimes initiales. Enfin, dans un certain nombre de cas, les lignes des stances tibétaines sont rendues en prose, sans rimes, ni rythme.

Les problèmes des stances mongoles du Lv réapparaissent dans la version de Šes-rab seṅ-ge. Cette fois encore nous avons affaire aux trois catégories dont il a été question.

Nous commencerons leur examen par le problème des allitérations. On constatera sans peine que le texte mongol de Šes-rab seṅ-ge est bien plus riche en stances allitérées. Voici une liste provisoire des passages offrant des allitérations (nous référerons aux ff. du ms de Leningrad) :

ch. VI: 5a-5b, 6b, 8a-10a, 15a, 21b, 22b, 24a-26a, 27a-30a;

ch. VII: 32b-33b, 35a-35b, 37b, 39b-41a;

ch. VIII: 47a, 48a, 52b-53b;

ch. IX: 54a, 55a-58b, 61a-63a, 64a-65a.

Il y a lieu de se demander si ces stances peuvent-être retrouvées dans la version mongole du *Lalitavistara?* Si oui, sous quelles formes?

Avant tout on constatera qu'une partie des stances — par ailleurs d'un nombre fort modeste — apparaît et dans le Lv mong. et dans notre texte mongol sous une forme identique.

[62] Ph. Éd. Foucaux, *Le Lalita Vistara* (cf. note 12), Paris 1884, I, pp. 145–286, chapitres XIII–XXI.

En voici quelques exemples. La première ligne reflète notre texte, la version *Arban qoyar ǰokiyangγui* (par la suite Aq) en italique, la seconde ligne reproduit le texte mongol du *Lalitavistara* en romaine.

5b *qamuγ müred γaγča dalai-ṯur čidququi metü:*
129b qamuγ müred γaγča dalai-dur čidququi metü :
qamuγ-iyar γaγča ükül-ün aman-ṯur oromui [:]
qamuγ-iyar γaγča ükül-ün aman-dur oromui :
[une ligne supprimée en Aq, répondant à
ükün yegüdkü ükül-ün čaγ bolbasu]
qayiran sayid-ača qalaγar erke ügei qaγačaγuldaǰu :
qayiran sayid-ača qalaγar-a erke ügei qaγačaγuldaǰu [:]
γaγčaγar oḏču qariǰu ülü ǰolγaldu-γulumui : :
γaγčaγar oḏču qariǰu qoyina ülü ǰolγalduqui :[63]

6b *burqan bolquy-yi činu üǰey-e kemen :*
137b burqan bolqu-yi činu üǰey-e kemen :
Budabakš-a nom-ud-i činu sonosuy-a kemen :
boγda baγsi nom-ud-i či sonosquy-a kemen [:]
bürin tngri asuri luu gandarvi :
bürin asuri luus gandari yakš-a [:]
bügüdeger čimayi qaran küličen saγun amui : :
bügüdeger čimay-yi qaran küličen saγun amui : :[64]

[63] Dans le cas présent, le Lv mong. ne couvre pas le Lv tib. qui offre le texte suivant: *'chi-bas srog-chags brgya phrag maṅ 'jin-te || 'byuṅ-po'i chogs-la rgya-mcho'i chu-srin || klu-la mkha'-ldiṅ glaṅ-chen seṅ-ge 'dra || rcva rci 'byuṅ-po'i chogs-la me-daṅ mchuṅs || skyon brgya maṅ-po 'di-dag-las || 'gro-ba sgrol žes khyod-kyis smon-lam btab* (F I, 158: 1–4). Le *Tibetan Tripitaka* reproduit le même texte (p. 195, ff. 103a7–103b1; à la ligne *d* on a toutefois la variante *dgral* pour *sgrol*). F (II, 174) traduit ainsi son texte tibétain: «La mort saisit les êtres par centaines, comme le monstre des mers saisit les êtres en foules, comme un Garouḍa saisit un Ouraga, (comme) un lion (saisit) un éléphant, comme le feu saisit une foule d'êtres, de racines et de plantes». Le Lv skr. a (I, 156, st. 91): «La mort saisit les êtres par centaines, comme un Makara dans la mer saisit une foule d'êtres; comme un Garouda saisit un serpent et le roi des animaux, un éléphant; comme le feu saisit la multitude des êtres, des herbes et des plantes». En réalité, le passage correspondant au texte mongol manque dans la rédaction tibétaine aujourd'hui connue. Nous avons en effet dans le Lv mong. (129b27–31): *üküleng jaγun amitan-nuγud-i ejeleged amitan-u ayimaγ-tur dalai-daki matar metü luus-tur garudi jaγan-dur arslan metü* [:] *ebesün mod bhuti-nar-un čiγulγan-ṯur γal-luγ-a adali.* «La mort s'empare de bien des centaines d'êtres, comme le makara des mers (s'est emparé) des légions d'êtres, comme le garuda des dragons, comme le lion de l'éléphant, autant que le fait le feu pour les herbes, pour les arbres et pour l'assemblée des bhūtas».

[64] Stance prononcée par *Hrī-deva*. Cette divinité s'appelle, dans notre texte, *Širi-diu-a*, en tib. *Khrel-yod-pa*, dans le Lv mong. (137a3) *Serel büküi-tü üǰegči*. Dans le Kanǰur de Narthang les stances de Hrī-deva sont fortement abrégées, la stance en question manque dans l'édition de Foucaux, mais elle

8a *üsün-iyen saqal-iyan čayiǰu :*
139b üsün saqal-iyan čayiǰu :
ülemǰi masi bökeyigsen :
ülemǰi masi bököyigsen [:]
aman-ṯaki sidün-iyen baraǰu [:]
aman-daki sidün-iyen baraǰu [:]
asuru masi sarisulaɣsan :
asuru masi sarisulaɣsan [:][65]

8a *sudal gürel ile bolǰu :*
140a sudal küčid [lire: gürel] ile bolǰu :
sorbi berige sitügsen :
sorbi berige sitügsen [:]
iɣ iɣ kemen qaniɣaǰu :

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apparaît dans le *Tibetan Tripitaka* (109b6–7) ainsi formulée: *byaṅ-čhub thob-pa blta bya-žiṅ || bla-na-med-pa'i čhos mñan-čes || lha daṅ lha-min klu-dag-daṅ || gnod-sbyin dri-za maṅ-po sdoṅ.* Cf. Lv skr. «nombreux, ils regardent avec confiance les dieux, les Asuras, les Nâgas, les Yakchas et les Gandharbas. (Ils pensent:) Nous verrons celui qui a obtenu l'Intelligence; la loi sans supérieure, nous l'entendrons» (F I, 164, st. 154). Il appert de ce texte tibétain que notre *Budabakš-a* (Lv *boɣda bayṣi* en est une altération «compréhensible») répond au tib. *Bla-na-med-pa* «having nothing higher over it, the uppermost, the very highest, e.g. *byaṅ-čhub, šes-rab* and the like» (Das 900). On attendrait en effet «la loi sans supérieure» (Foucaux), «true laws» (Poppe, tout en admettant que l'interprétation «true» est hypothétique), les traducteurs mongols (tout au moins Šes-rab seṅ-ge) partis de la construction tibétaine ambiguë, ont opté pour un nom ou à son attribut. La dernière stance de Hrī-deva n'est attestée que par le *Tibetan Tripitaka* (110a2–3): *dbyaṅs sñan-čiṅ ni dbyaṅs 'jam-pa || Mar-me-mjad-kyis luṅ-bstan dgoṅs || yaṅ-dag de-bžin ma nor-ba || rgyal-ba'i sgra-dbyaṅs bskrag-tu gsol.* Cf. Lv skr.: «Rappelle-toi la douce voix de Dipangkara; fais entendre les accents de la voix véridique d'un Djina, laquelle est une prédiction ornée» (F I, 165, st. 160). La stance est traduite ainsi par Šes-rab seṅ-ge: *sonosquy-a sayin jögelen iraɣu daɣutu: | Dibanggar-a viyagirid-i durad-un soyurq-a: | tegünčilen ese endegsen* : [7a] *burqan-u daɣun-i aldarsiɣul-un soyurq-a.* Elle répond au Lv mong. (138a21–25): *sonosquy-a sayin jögelen iraɣu daɣutu: Dibanggar-a burqan-u viyanggirid-i durad-un soyurq-a : ünen tegünčilen iregsen ese endegsen* [:] *burqan-u daɣun-i aldarsiɣul-un soyurq-a.* Les deux versions mongoles sont au fond identiques, la ligne *c* de l'Ak apparemment mutilée, suit de près l'original tibétain.

[65] Pour le passage tibétain correspondant dans le Lv et dans l'ouvrage de Bu-ston considéré plus haut, voir note 13. Les quatre rencontres sont largement décrites par l'*Abhiniṣkramaṇa* et le *Vinayavastu.* Dans Ak mong. (29b11–15) nous avons: *masi ötelǰü munuɣsan bököiǰü bögötür onin metü murui sarui emün-e-ben sorbi beriy-e sitüǰü čaɣan üsütü bey-e-ben silgüdün yabuqu yambar be kümün-lüge adali busu ene yaɣun bui.* Ce passage mongol répond à l'Ak tib. (p. 11, f. 23b7–8): *mi rgas 'khogs gtugs-pa sgur-po phyam dgu-po bltar kyaṅ kyor-čan mdun-nas khar-ba-la brten-čiṅ lus 'dar-žiṅ 'grol de'i skra | ji-ltar yaṅ ni gžan-dag-daṅ mi 'dra-ba 'di či yin.* Le Vv (255b24–29) nous offre: *ötelüged egüriǰiǰü nasuǰiɣsan kümün-i bükü-dür onin metü murui saruy-yi üǰegsen-dür : emüne-eče dulduy-yi dulduyidduyad daɣdaris-un* (?; *lus 'dar-žiṅ* : *lus* «body», *dar-ba* «quaking, shivering», Das 680) *odqui: tegün-ü üsün-ü čaɣan inu yambar metü busud kümün-lüge adali busu nigen-i üǰebei.*

ig ig kemen qaniyaǰu
irkiraqui dayutu ene yayun bui
irkiraqui dayutu ene yayun :[66]

8a *egün-ü uruγ-un udum-tur eyin bolumu-uu* :
140a egünü uruγ-un udum-dur eyin bolumu-uu :
ese bögesü [8b] *usun-u törö-üü bui kemebesü* :
ese bögesü yaǰar usun törö-üü[67]

8b *ülü ködel-ün gedergü kebteǰü* :
141a ülü ködel-ün gedergü kebteǰü :
olan-a dang-tur ergügülügsen :
olan-a dang-dur ergügülügsen [:]
üsün-iyen čučalǰu eldebčilen :
üsün-iyen talbiǰu eldebčilen [:]
ukilayad arad-iyar dayayuluysan :
ukilayad arad ǰiči dayayuluysan :[68]

On peut signaler quelques rares cas où la stance ornée d'allitération apparaît dans le Lv mong., alors qu'elle manque au Aq.

150a *ene kümün ötelkü-yin čoγ-iyar daruγdaǰu* :
erke küčün kičiyenggüi sintaraγsan ǰobalang-tu [:]

[66] Voir *supra*, note 65. Dans Ak et Vv la question du Bodhisattva ici prononcée est rattachée à la stance précédente.

[67] Lv tib. *'di-yi čhos 'di rigs-kyi yin-nam 'on-tam ni || 'gro-ba 'di kun-la yaṅ 'di srid-de* (F I, 167: 15–16 et *Tib. Trip.* p. 198, f. 111b2). Lv skr. « Est-ce là la loi de sa famille; ou bien est-ce, en vérité, la condition de toute créature humaine? » (F I, 168, st. 3). Cf. *supra*, note 15.

[68] Lv tib.: *mi 'di khyogs-la bžag-nas ni || mi-dag skra bšig mgo-la sa-yis 'thor byed-čiṅ || sna-chogs-dag-gi chig ni brǰod-la braṅ druṅ-bas || kun-nas bskor-ba byas-te khyer-ba su-žig yin* (F I, 169 : 24; *Tib. Trip.* p. 199, f. 112a7–8). «Qu'est-ce, cocher, que cet homme placé dans une bière? Qu'est-ce que ces hommes qui s'arrachent les cheveux et se couvrent la tête de terre, qui jettent des cris de toutes sortes et se frappent la poitrine; qui l'entourent de tous côtés et les portent?» (F II, 184). Lv skr.: « Qu'est-ce, cocher, que cet homme placé sur un palanquin? Quels sont ces hommes qui, les cheveux épars, jettent de la poussière sur leur tête, qui restent autour de lui et se frappent la poitrine en prononçant toutes sortes de lamentations? » (F I, 169, st. 9). Pour le même passage, le Ak mong. nous offre: *eldeb öngge-ten bös-iyer egüdügsen čomurliγ tataγsan dang-dur inu ergügülǰü: emün-e-eče ǰula bariγsad kiged olan arad-un ayimaγ emün-e yabuǰu* : *üsün-iyen čučaluγsan ekener uyilaǰu yabuγči ene yayun bui* (f. 32a22–26). Le texte mongol de l'*Abhiniṣkramaṇa* rappelle cette fois encore celui du *Vinayavastu* qui est ainsi épelé: *eldeb öngge-ten bös-eče egüdügsen čomurliγ-i tataγsan* : *örgüǰü abun yabuqui-dur emüne ǰula bariγad* : *irged-ün yeke ayimaγ emüne yabuqui* : *qatuγtai emes üsüben čučal-un talbiγad* : *ukilan qoyin-a-ača ḏayan yabuqui ene yayun bui* (520: 11–16). Cf. *supra*, note 21.

uruɣ irgen-e ber basuɣdaǰu itegel ügei boluɣsan :
üile-yi üiled-ün yadaǰu ükükü ükeger-tür oɣoruɣsan modun metü :[69]

Sans diminuer l'importance de l'allitération dans le Lv mong., il convient de faire remarquer que le Aq se distingue précisément par la richesse de ses vers munis d'allitération. Il est fort curieux de voir qu'une grande quantité des stances du Aq repose sur la version mongole du Lv; fidèles jusqu'à la maladresse, elles sont modifiées par la versification qui ajoute des mots exigés par l'allitération au début de la ligne; parfois on a supprimé certains mots qui surchargeaient défavorablement la mélodie et le rythme mongols de la ligne.

En voici quelques exemples :

8b *qamuɣ-iyar ber nei ene mör-eče :*
140a qamuɣ-iyar ene mör-eče
ɣarču ǰayilan ülü čidaqu bögesü :
ǰayilan yadaqu ele bolbasu :
qalaɣar ǰaɣur-a ǰalaɣu-ban ǰiɣaǰu :
ǰalaɣu-ban ǰaɣaǰu
ɣayiqaldun ǰiryaldun-u kereg inu nadur yaɣun bui ::
ǰiryaqu-yin kereg inu nadur yaɣun bui :[70]

[69] Lv tib.: *lha-čig mi 'di rga-bas zil-gyis non || dbaṅ-po ñams-šiṅ sdug-bsṅal brcon-stobs ñams || gñen-gyi skye-bos brñas-šiṅ mgon med gyur || don bgyid mi nus nags-khrod šiṅ-ltar bor* (F I, 167) «Seigneur, cet homme est accablé par la vieillesse, ses sens sont affaiblis, la souffrance a détruit son énergie, il est dédaigné par ses proches et sans guide; inhabile aux affaires, il est abandonné dans la forêt comme un tas de bois» (F II, 182). Lv skr.: «Cet homme, en vérité, Seigneur, est accablé par la vieillesse, il a les organes affaiblis, il est très affligé et privé de force et d'énergie, dédaigné par les personnes de sa famille, il est sans protecteur; incapable d'agir, il est relégué dans la forêt comme un morceau de bois» (F I, 168, st. 2). La traduction proposée par F II pour la 4e ligne de la stance tibétaine est inconciliable avec l'interprétation du Lv mong. La divergence d'interprétation s'explique sans doute par le rôle equivoque du tib. *khrod* qui revient dans les composés *nags-khrod* «a dense forest» et *dur-khrod* «a cementary» (Das 177). L'interprétation du Lv mong. paraît appuyée par le second membre de la réponse du cocher, seul à être reproduit dans notre texte *(öber-ün uruɣ-a ber siɣulaɣdaɣsan: ükül-ṯür oyir-a boluɣsan)*. Il est curieux de voir que Bu-ston, s'étant appuyé dans ce cas sur le Lv, n'a reproduit que le premier membre de la réponse de Čanag: Obermiller en traduisant ce texte tibétain est tombé juste: «cast out like a withered tree»; cf. note 14, et le passage interprété. Ajoutons que le tib. *khrod* a encore le sens «among» (Jaeschke 52), *khrod-du* «parmi» (Parfirionovič 70); tib. *khrod ni gseb* ~ mong. *dotor-a, dumda anu ǰabsar-a, dergede* (Sumatiratna I, 224); tib. *khrod* ~ mong. *der-ged-du, do-thor* (Ye-šes rdo-rǰe, p. 68).

[70] Le texte du Lv mong. ne remonte pas au Lv tib. actuellement connu. Nous avons le mong. *qamuɣ-iyar ene mör-eče* [:] *ǰayilan yadaqu ele bolbasu: ǰalaɣu-ban ǰaɣaǰu ǰiryaqu-yin kereg inu nadur yaɣun bui: bi qariǰu odumui.* Cette version répond mal au Lv tib. *byis-pa'i skye-bo mi mkhas-pa'i || blo ṅan gžon-pas rgyags-šiṅ myos-pas rga ma stoṅ || ṅa ni slar 'gro ṅa-yi šiṅ-rta myur-du sgyur* (F I, 167: 21–168: 1). « Ainsi donc, cocher, la créature faible et ignorante, au jugement mauvais, fière de sa jeunesse qui l'enivre, ne voit

8b *tergen-i qariγul Sarati a* :
140a bi qariǰu odumui : qarin qariγul
tegüneče tonilqui uḏq-a-yi :
tegün-eče tonilqui uḏq-a-yi
γaγčaγar saγuǰu sedkisügei kemen :
γaγčaγar saγuǰu sedkisügei ::
qariǰu qarsi-ṯur-iyan orobai ::
... qariǰu balγasun-dur-iyan orobai :[71]

9b *taki ötelküi ükükü ügei bögesü ber* :
141a ḏaki ker ber ötelküi ebedküi ükükü ügei bögesü ber :
tabun čoγčas-i minügei kemen eǰelegsen-iyer :
teyin bögetele tabun čoγčas-i minügei kemen eǰelegsen-iyer
daγusquy-a berke tede ǰobalang-ud :
daγusquy-a berke: tende ǰobalang-ud
daγaǰu yabuqu-yi čü yaγun ügületele ::
daγaǰu yabuqu čü yaγun ügületele :[72]

37b *ay-a včir metü kegeli-ṯür-iyen* :
183a včir metü kebeli-dür-iyen
arban sara ergügsen :

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pas la vieillesse. Pour moi, je m'en vais. Détourne promptement.» C'est à la ligne suivante qu'on retrouve: *ṅa yaṅ rga-la gnas-pas rce-dgas či-žig bya* (F I, 268: 1; *Tib. Trip.*, p. 198, f. 111b5: *rce dga's* !). «Moi qui suis aussi la demeure (future) de la viellesse, qu'ai-je à faire avec le plaisir et la joie?» (F II, 183). Cf. Lv. skr.: « Quel malheur, cocher, pour la créature ignorante et faible dont l'intelligence enivrée par l'orgueil de la jeunesse, ne voit pas la vieillesse! Détourne promptement le char, je vais rentrer. Que m'importent les jeux et les plaisirs, à moi qui suis la demeure (future) de la vieillesse! » (F I, 168, st. 5). Cf. *supra*, note 23.

[71] Le Lv mong., cette fois, n'a pas d'équivalent dans le Lv tib. D'ailleurs c'est une tournure stéréotypée qui revient plus d'une fois dans la description des quatre rencontres, sous des formes plus ou moins différentes. A propos de la rencontre avec la vieillesse, l'*Abhiniṣkramaṇa* écrit: *Sarati a tegün-ü tulada tergen qariγul : ordu qarsi-dur odsuγai ene metü ordu qarsi-dur qariǰu bi ötelküy-eče ese nögčigsen buyu kemen tusa-tu qabiy-a-tu tusa-yi sedkisügei* (29b24–27). Le *Vinayavastu* reproduit le même passage comme suit: *ǰiluγaduγči a tegün-ü tulada tergen-i ǰiči urbaγuluγdaqui kemen qarsi-dur-iyan odbai : ene metü bi qarsi-dur-iyan kürčü bi ötelküy-eče ese nögčigsen kemen sonosuγsan-u tere uḏq-a-yi sedkin üiledbei* (256a12–17).

[72] Lv tib.: *gal-te rga-med nad-med 'chi-ba-med gyur kyaṅ || 'on kyaṅ phuṅ-po lṅa 'jin sdug-bsṅal che yin-na || rga-na 'chi-ba rtag-tu 'braṅ-ba smos či dgos* (F I, 169: 10–11; *Tib.Trip.* 199, f. 112b2–3). «S'il n'y avait ni vieillesse, ni maladie, ni mort, ou encore, si les cinq agrégations, supports de grandes misères, (si) la vieillesse, la maladie, la mort étaient pour toujours enchaînées!» (F II, 184; la traduction de la dernière ligne n'est pas exacte). Lv skr.: «S'il n'y avait ni vieillesse, ni maladie, ni mort, avec cette grande douleur qui a pour support les cinq éléments de l'existence (Skandhas)! ni non plus la vieillesse, la maladie et la mort qui toujours sont liées l'une à l'autre» (F I, 170, st. 12). Cf. *supra*, note 23.

arban saran ergügsen
ačitu eke buyu bi :
eke činu bi buyu :
amaraγ köbegün-iyen tulada γasalamu bi
tere köbegün-iyen tulada tere böged masi γasalamui[73]

37b *örgen yeke dalai jaγun jüil-iyer butaraqu* :
183a yeke delekei jaγun jüil-iyer butaraqu :
ündür Sömir usun-a urustaqu :
erdeni-yin Sömir aγula usun-a urustaqu
uryumal naran saran γajar-tur unaqu bolbasu ber :
naran saran odud γajar-tur unaqu bolbasu ber :
ülü ükükü bi tegüber buu γasaltuγai eke minu ::
bertegčin aran bögesü bi ülü ükükü : tegüber buu γasaltuγai eke minu
ülü udan burqan bolqu-yi üjekü či kemen ügülebesü :
ülü udan burqan bolqu üjekü či kemebesü :[74]

52b *olan jüil qoγolai erikes-i unjiγulju* :
212b jarim-ud inu nayud toγatan qoγolay-yin erikes-i sayitur unjiγulju:
oγtaryuy-ača tngri dongγodqui metü ireküi [:]
oγtaryuy-ača luu metü masida dongγodču ireküi :

[73] Lv tib.: *bdag-gis zla-ba bču bar-du || rdo-rje 'dra-ba mŋal-du bčaṅs || bu de'i ma ni bdag yin-te || rab-tu sdug-bsŋal rnam-par smra* (F I, 223: 12–13). «Pendant dix lunes je t'ai, comme un diamant, porté dans mon sein. O mon fils, c'est ta mère qui exhale sa profonde douleur» (F II, 246). Lv skr.: «Pendant dix lunes, tu as été porté par moi, porté dans mon sein comme un diamant. O mon fils, je suis ta mère, moi qui gémis, profondément affligée» (F I, 219, st. 9). Les mots introduisant aujourd'hui les lignes *a, c* ont été ajoutés ultérieurement pour fournir l'allitération; ils n'ont pas d'équivalents tibétains. A la ligne *d, tere* a été remplacé par *amaraγ* fournissant l'allitération nécessaire et, en même temps, on a omis les mots *tere böged masi*, ruinant le rythme de la ligne.

[74] Lv tib.: *sa ni rnam brgyar 'thor-bar 'gyur yaṅ srid || rin-čhen rce-mo lhun-po čhur 'phyo srid || ñi zla skar chogs sa-la lhuṅ 'gyur srid || so-so'i skye-bo yin yaṅ ŋa mi 'čhi || de phyir 'di-la mya-ŋan khyod ma byed || riṅ-por mi thogs byaṅ-čhub saṅs-rgyas mthoṅ* (F I,223: 19–21). «La terre viendrait à se diviser en cent pièces, le précieux sommet du mont Mérou nagerait dans les eaux, le soleil, la lune, la foule des astres tomberaient à terre, les hommes mourraient l'un après l'autre, que je ne mourrais pas. Ainsi donc ne te livre pas ici à la douleur; il ne passera pas longtemps avant que tu voies l'Intelligence du Bouddha» (F II, 246). Lv skr.: «La terre pourrait se diviser en cent morceaux, le Mérou pourrait s'engloutir dans les eaux, la foule des étoiles pourrait tomber à terre, que (resté) le seul homme, je ne mourrais pas! C'est pourquoi tu ne dois pas te livrer à la douleur. Le temps n'est pas loin où tu verras l'Intelligence d'un Bouddha» (F I, 210). Le texte skr. est, selon F, en prose, le tibétain reproduit l'original en vers (à 9 syllabes). La version de Šes-rab seṅ-ge est également versifiée, corrigée sur le Lv mong. reproduit en prose. La comparaison des deux versions mongoles est instructive. *Dalai* «océan» de notre texte est évidemment une erreur (graphique) pour *delekei* «terre» (tib. *sa*).

oγtaryuy-ača čečeg-ün keyid-i üjegüljü :
ǰarim-ud oγtaryuy-ača čečeg-ün ülisi ügei keyid-i üjegüljü :
oroy-yin čimeg-i unǰiγulǰu ireküi :
erdeni-yin titim bariγad oro-yin üsün-iyen unǰiγulǰu ireküi:[75]

57b *tüimer γal tülegen-eče ülü mitayu* :
221b tüimer γal tüligen-eče ülü mitayu :
tülkiǰü qarbuγsan sumun ǰaγur-a-ača ülü qariyu :
qarbuγsan sumun ǰaγura-ača ülü qariyu
uruγu baγulγay-san ayungγ-a oγtaryui-ṯur ülü bayiyu :
baγuluγsan ayungγ-a oγtarui-dur ülü bayiyu :[76]

57b *oyitan tülegen-lüge učirabasu γal ber sönöyü* :
221b oyitan tülegen-lüge γal ber sönöyü :
onoγdaγsan qadan-ṯur učirabasu sumun ber qariyu :
qada-yin üjügür-tür učirabasu sumun ber qariyu :
γaǰar-tur kürbesü ayungγ-a ber muqurdayu :
γaǰar-tur kürbesü ayungγ-a ber tendeče muqurdayu :
qalaγar qutuγ-i ese oltala ene ülü qariyu :
amurliγsan qutuγ-i ese oltala γaruyu ::[77]

[75] Le texte tibétain manque, cette fois encore, dans le Kanǰur de Narthang, mais il est reproduit dans le *Tibetan Tripitaka: kha-čig do-šal khrag-khrig rab-tu sbyaṅ byas-te || nam-mkha'-las ni 'brug ltar šin-tu sgrogs-šiṅ lhags || kha-čig mkha-las me-tog gžal med khaṅ ston-čiṅ || čod-pan rin-čhen thogs-la gcug phuṅ 'phyaṅ-žiṅ lhags* (p. 220, f. 166b2–3). Lv skr.: «Quelques-uns sont venus dans le ciel comme des nuages orageux (sic) suspendant des guirlandes par centaines de mille; quelques-uns sont venus avec des diadèmes précieux et leurs cheveux pendants, montrant dans le ciel un char céleste de fleurs» (F I,254, st. 11). Les lignes *a* et *b* de la stance sanskrite ne répondent pas au texte tibétain. Le vrai sens de la ligne *b* se trouve dans la stance (12b): «rugissant comme les lions de la terre».

[76] Lv tib.: *'brog me rcva-la chig-pa phyir mi ldog || lobs-pas 'phaṅs-pa'i mda' yaṅ phyir mi ldog || mkha'-las rdo-rje 'bab-pa phyir mi ldog || Šā-kya'i bu-las ma rgyal bdag gnas med* (F I, 273:11–13). «De même que le feu du désert ne se détourne pas de l'herbe qu'il brûle; de même que la flèche lancée par un habile (archer) ne se détourne pas; de même que la foudre qui tombe du ciel ne se détourne pas, tant que le fils de Çâkya ne sera pas vaincu, pour moi point de repos» (F II, 298). Lv skr.: «Le feu de la forêt ne se détourne pas de l'herbe qu'il brûle; la flèche lancée par un habile (archer) ne se retourne pas, la foudre tombée du ciel ne se détourne pas, il n'y a pas de repos pour moi tant que je n'aurais pas vaincu le fils des Çâkyas» (F I, 266–267, st. 47).

[77] Lv tib.: *gšer-ba'i rcva-daṅ phrad-na me yaṅ ldog || brlag-gi rce-mor bab-na mda' yaṅ ldog || rdo-rje sar bab de-nas gaṅ-du 'gro || ži-ba bdud-rci ma thob de mi ldog*. (F I, 273:14–15 et *Tib. Trip.*, p. 223, f. 174a5–6). «En rencontrant de l'herbe humide, le feu recule; en frappant le sommet du rocher, la flèche recule; la foudre tombant à terre, où va-t-elle ensuite? Avant d'avoir obtenu le calme et l'immortalité, il ne détournera pas» (F II, 298–299). Lv skr.: «En rencontrant de l'herbe humide, le feu recule; après avoir frappé le sommet d'une montagne, la flèche recule; en rencontrant la terre, la foudre s'enfonce en bas; avant d'avoir obtenu l'Amrita paisible, il ne reculera pas!» (F I, 297, st. 48).

57b *tegü-ber qariy-a ečige minu* :
222a yaγun-u tulada kemebesü: ečige minu a
deger-e oγtaryui-ṯur jiruγ jiruqai kiged :
oγtaryui-dur jiruγ jirubasu ber bolqu :
kei naran sara-yi salm-a-bar :
naran saran key-yi čalm-a-bar
ken külin čidaqu bolbasu ber :
külin čidaqu bolbasu ber :
bodistv-i Bodi jirüken-eče :
ečige minu bôdhi-satuva-yi Bôdhi jirüken-eče
bosqaju ködelgen ülü čidaqu :
ködelgen ülü čidaqu :[78]

61a *qabur-un sayin čaγ bolju iregsen-ṯür* [:]
qabur-un sayin čaγ bolju iregsen-dür :
qamuγ moḍ čečegleǰü büküi-ṯür :
qamuγ mod čečegleǰü delgeren čenggeküi-dür :
γayiqamsiγ lagšan-tu čimaluγ-a :
γayiqamsiγ lagšan-iyar čimegdegsen γou-a bey-e-tü čimaluγ-a
qamtudču jiryay-a kemen irebei bida ::
qamtudču jiryaqu-yin tulada irelüge bida :[79]

62b *γayiqamsiγ kkir ügei linqu-a-ṯur adali niγur-tu* :
231b kkir ügei linqu-a-yin jirüken-dür adali namur-un čaγ-ḍaki saran metü niγur-tu

[78] Lv tib.: *či'i phyir že-na* || *yab-čig bar-snaṅ-la ni ri-mo bris-par nus kyaṅ dga'* || *yab-čig ñi zla rluṅ ni žags-pas bčiṅ-du nus kyaṅ dga'* || *byaṅ-chub sems-dpa' Byaṅ-sñiṅ-po-las ni bskyod mi nus* (F I, 273: 15–19; *Tib. Trip.*, p. 223, f. 174a6–7). «Pourquoi? O mon père, quand même on pourrait tracer des figures dans l'atmosphère, et réduire à une seule les pensées de tous les êtres quels qu'ils soient, quand même, ô mon père, on pourrait lier avec des chaînes le soleil, la lune et le vent, on ne pourrait écarter le Bôdhisattva de Bôdhimaṇḍa» (F II, 299). Lv skr.: «Pour quelle raison ? (C'est que), ô mon père, on pourrait tracer des figures dans l'air, faire que tous les êtres quels qu'ils soient s'unissent dans une seule pensée; on pourrait attacher avec un lien la lune, le soleil et le vent, qu'on ne pourrait éloigner le Bôdhisattva de Bôdhimaṇḍa» (FI, 267, st. 49). Plus tard des paroles semblables sont prononcées par le Bodhisattva lui-même; voir *supra* II: 64a.

[79] Lv tib.: *dus-kyi dam-pa so[illegible]-ka bzaṅ-la bab* || *žugs šiṅ me-tog rgyas-kyis dgyis-par rol* || *khyod-kyi gzugs ni gzugs bzaṅ mjes)pa-ste* || *mchan-gyis spras-paÛi dbaṅ-du bdag-čag gyur* (F I, 282: 19–21). «La plus belle des saisons, le printemps étant venu, réjouissons-nous au milieu des fleurs. Toi dont le corps est un corps charmant et gracieux, embelli de signes, nous sommes en ton pouvoir» (F II, 308). Lv. skr.: «Le printemps étant venu, la plus belle des saisons, où les arbres sont en fleur, ami, réjouissons-nous. Ton corps est un beau corps très grac[illegible]ux, bien orné de signes excellents d'un Tchakravartin» (F I, 274, st. 90). La version mongole du Lv, tout en étant rédigée avec allitération, fut remaniée par Šes-rab seṅ-ge qui en supprima certains mots allongeant inutilement les lignes.

γal-un gerel-e noγdaγsan altan aγula-ṯur adali bey-e-tü :
tosun-iyar egüdügsen badaran bükü γal metü altan aγula- dur adali :
öber-iyen ba busud-i tonilγasu-γai kemen küsegsen :
ǰaγun töröl-ečegen yabuǰu küsegsen qutuγ činu bütükü boltuγai :
erten-ü küsel činu ene edür bütükü boltuγai [::]
öbesüben getülǰü bür-ün: busud ǰobalang-tan amitan getülgegül-ün soyurq-a:[80]

Il arrive parfois qu'on ne trouve pas d'allitération à la 4e, ou plus rarement à la 3e lignes, aussi bien dans le Lv que dans le Aq. Par exemple:

39b *amitan-a qaγiralaγdaqu amin bui* :
188a ai amintan-i qaγiralaγdaqui amin bui :
amin-iyar nom-un üile-yi bütügemüi :
amidu bolbasu nom-iyar yabuqu boluyu ::
amidu-ṯur-iyan buyan-tu-yi bütüge-besü :
amidu-ṯuriyan buyan-tu-yi bütügebesü
qoyina tegün-ṯür gemsi(gü)ri ügei :
qoyin-a tegün-dür gemsigüri ügei :[81]

39b *öngge čirai-ban γutuǰu* :
öngge čirai-ban γutuǰu či
ükükü-ṯür oyir-a bolǰu amui :
ükükü-dür oyir-a bolǰu amui ::

[80] Lv tib.: *pa-dma dri-ma med-pa'i sñiṅ-po 'dra-žiṅ ston zla lta-bu'i žal || mar-gyis sbyin sreg bgyis-pa'i 'od-'phro me 'dra gser-gyi ri 'dra-ba ||srid-pa brgya-nas spyad-čiṅ dgoṅs daṅ smon-lam btab-pa grub gyur-čig || bdag-ñid rgal-nas sdug-bsṅal-dag-daṅ-ldan-pa'i 'gro-ba bsgral-du gsol.* (F I, 288:11–14; *Tib. Trip.* 226–227: ff. 181b8–182a1). «Pareil au calice sans tache du lotus, un visage semblable à la lune d'automne, pareil au feu brillant du sacrifice, où brûle l'offrande de beurre clarifié; pareil à une montagne d'or, (toi), qui as parcouru cent mondes, puisses-tu accomplir ton dessin et le vœu prononcé! Après t'être délivré toi-même, daigne délivrer les créatures en proie aux misères» (F II, 315). Lv skr.: «Toi qui es semblable au calice sans tache du lotus, qui a le visage pareil à la lune d'automne, qui égales en éclat la flamme de l'offrande de beurre clarifié, qui es pareil à une montagne d'or, que tes dessins et ta prière s'accomplissent, toi qui as traversé des centaines d'existences; délivre-toi toi-même, ainsi que ce monde enveloppé de misères !» (F I,279, st. 129). Le Lv mong. répond bien au Lv tib., en revanche l'auteur de notre texte mongol a considérablement modifié le Lv mong. pour le convertir en vers.

[81] Lv tib.: *kye srog gčes-kyis 'che-bar gyis || gson-na čhos ni spyod-par 'gyur || gson che bya-ba gaṅ yod-pa || de-dag hyas-na mya-ṅan med* (F I, 228:8–10; *Tib. Trip.*, p. 213, f. 147b8). «Chère créature, il faut vivre. C'est en vivant que tu pratiqueras la Loi. Tout ce qu'on fait durant la vie, doit être fait sans douleur» (F II, 251). Lv skr.: «pour le vivant, la vie est ce qui vaut le mieux; vivant, tu pratiqueras la loi. Le vivant, en effet, fait des choses telles qu'après qu'elles ont été faites, il n'a pas de chagrin» (F I, 225, st. 4). Sauf la ligne *b*, la correspondance entre les deux versions mongoles est complète.

40a *ükükü-yin siltaγan mingγabar ülegüi* :
ükükü-yin siltaγan mingγan ber ülegüi
amiduraqu-yin siltaγan nigeken ber (ügei) bui :
199b amiduraqui siltaγan nigeken ber ügei.[82]

Dans un certain nombre de cas, les stances sont identiques dans le Lv et le Aq, sans trace de l'allitération. En voici les spécimens :

4b *mungqaγ-a tengčiregüldejü γurban yirtinčü-ṯekin* :
128a mungqaγ-a tengčiregüldejü γurban yirtinčü-dekin :
ötelküi ebedküi ükükü-ber tülegdejü :
ötelküi ebedküi ber ükükü-e tülegdejü :
aburaγči ügei orčilang-ṯur orčiqun :
aburaγči ügei orčilang-dur orčiqun :
yambar qumqan-ṯur oroγsan jögei metü ::
yambar qumqan-dur oroγsan jögei ergil metü :[83]

4b *sansar orosil ügei namur-un čaγ-taki egülen metü* :
γurban sansar orosil ügei namur-un čaγ-taki egülen metü :
amitan-u törökü ükükü büjigči kümün-ü γar metü :
amitan-i törökü ükükü büjigči kümün üjeküi metü :
amitan-u amin oγtaryui-ṯur gilbelküi gilbelgen metü :
amitan amin oγtaryui-dur gilbelküi gilbelgen metü :
ödter-e odumui uruγu türgen-e urusqui usun metü :
egčin aγulan-ača urusqu usun metü türgen-e oduyu:[84]

[82] Lv tib.: *khyod skem mdog ñams dman-par gyur || khyod ni ši-la thug-čiṅ 'dug || 'chi-ba'i ča ni stoṅ sñed-cam || ča gčig-cam žug gson-par zad* (F I, 228: 10–12). «Tu es amaigri, et tes couleurs ont pâli; tu marches vers la mort. Mille moyens sont pour la mort, un seul est pour la vie». (F II, 251). Lv skr. «tu es maigre, décoloré, abattu; la mort est près de toi, la mort qui a mille parts tandis que la vie n'a qu'une part» (F I, 225, st. 5).

[83] Lv tib.: *srid gsum rga daṅ nad-kyi sdug-bsṅal 'bar || 'chi me rab 'bar 'di ni mgon med-pa || srid-las 'byuṅ-la 'gro-ba rtag-tu rmoṅs bum-par čhud-pa'i buṅ-ba 'khor-ba bžin* (F I,155: 19–22). «Les trois mondes sont brûlés par les douleurs de la vieillesse et de la maladie, dévorés par le feu de la mort et privés de guide. Les créatures, au milieu de ce que produit l'univers, sont toujours insensées, comme un essaim d'abeilles entrées dans un vase» (F II, 169). Lv skr. «La réunion des trois mondes est brûlée par les douleurs de la vieillesse et de la maladie; ce monde sans protecteur est consumé par le feu de la mort; la créature ne court pas à la délivrance; toujours affolée, elle s'agite comme une abeille entrée dans un vase» (F I, 154, st. 69).

[84] Lv tib.: *srid gsum mi brtan ston-ka'i sprin-daṅ 'dra || 'gro-ba'i skye 'chi gar-la lta-daṅ mchuṅs || 'gro-ba'i che 'gro nam-mkha'i glog 'dra-ste || ri gzar 'bab čhu lta-bar myur mgyogs 'gro* (F I, 155: 20–22–156: 1). «Les trois mondes sont instables et pareils au nuage d'automne. La naissance et la mort d'une créature

5a *bolqui quričaqui mungqaγ-un erke-ber amitan* :
128a sansar quričaqui mungqaγ-ud-un erke-ber amitan-nuγud
bolumui kümün tngri kiged γurban maγui ǰayaγan-luγ-a :
128b bolumui kümün tngri kiged γurban maγui ǰayaγan-luγ-a
ülü medeküi mungqaγ-iyar tabun töröl-ṯür orčiyu :
ülü medeküi mungqaγ-iyar tabun töröl-dür orčiyu :
adalidqabasu čaγuraγulči-yin orčiγulqui kürdün metü ::
adalidqabasu čaγuraγulči-yin kürdün metü ::[85]

5a *degedü sayin öngge daγun kiged ünür amtan* :
128b degedü sayin öngge daγun kiged ünür amtan :
asida tegün-čilen kürteküi ǰiryalang-iyar nasu ǰiryayad :
tegünčilen kürteküi ǰiryalang-iyar ǰiryayad :
görögeči-yin toor-tur toruγsan bičin metü :
görögeči-yin toor-tur toruγsan bečin metü [:]
maγui čaγ-un qoriγ-a-da bariγdan bui ::
maγui čaγ-un urq-a-dur edeger amitan bariγdabai ::[86]

Suivent encore deux lignes d'une stance (dont il a été question plus haut) et le parallélisme des deux versions s'arrête là. Les stances publiées sur ff. 128b12–129a3 du Lv sont supprimées au Aq. Au f. 129a3 le parallèlisme est repris, l'auteur (peut-être le traducteur) du Aq a transformé les stances du Lv en stances à allitération soignée. Le même procédé peut être observé au Aq à plusieurs reprises.

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sont semblables à la vue de la danse. La vie d'une créature est pareille à l'éclair des cieux; comme le torrent qui coule de la montagne, elle passe avec une grande vitesse» (F II,169). Lv skr.: «Instable est la réunion des trois mondes, pareille au nuage d'automne; pareilles aux scènes d'un drame sont la naissance et la mort d'une créature. Comme le torrent de la montagne, passe la vie courte et rapide de la créature, comme l'éclair dans le ciel» (F I, 154, st. 70).

[85] Lv. tib.: *srid srid-pa rig dbaṅ-gis skye-bo-rnams || mi daṅ lha gnas ṅan-soṅ lam gsum-po || 'gro-ba lṅa-po dag-tu mi mkhas 'khor || dper-na rja-mkhan phaṅ-lo bskor-ba bžin* (F I, 156: 1–3). «Par le fait de l'existence, du désir et de l'ignorance, les créatures, dans le séjour des hommes et des dieux, sont dans la voie des trois maux. Les ignorants roulent dans cinq voies, de même que tourne la roue du potier» (F II, 169). Lv skr.: «Sur la terre et dans le séjour des dieux, les créatures sont dans la vie des trois conditions mauvaises et au pouvoir de l'existence (émigrante) du désir et de l'ignorance. Les ignorants roulent dans cinq voies, comme tourne la roue du potier» (F I, 134, st. 70).

[86] Lv tib.: *rtag-tu gzugs sdug mčhog daṅ sgra sñan daṅ || dri žim ro mčhog reg-pa bde byed || dus ṅan rñi-la 'gro-ba 'di-dag thogs || dper-na rṅon-pa'i rñi-la spre'u thogs bžin* (F I, 3–5). «La forme qui se distingue par la beauté la plus séduisante, les sons agréables, les parfums suaves, la meilleure saveur et ce qui est le plus doux au toucher, tels sont les dangereux pièges du temps où s'embarrasse un jeune singe (F II, 109). Lv skr.: «Par des formes agréables et belles, par des sons mélodieux, par des odeurs et des goûts agréables, par de doux contacts, ce monde est toujours enveloppé dans le filet du temps, comme un singe lié dans les filets du chasseur» (F I, 154, st. 72).

Le vers mongol ne comporte pas nécessairement l'allitération. La versification mongole est essentiellement rythmique ou syllabique (mais non pas quantitative); l'accent porte toujours sur la première syllabe du pied qui en contient normalement deux (ou trois) syllabes. La ligne peut compter 9, 11, 15 ou même 19 syllabes; la césure se trouve après la 8e syllabe. Mais dans le cas présent nous avons affaire à des vers mongols traduits du tibétain; on doit donc compter avec l'influence éventuelle de la mesure tibétaine.[87] Il nous mènerait trop loin d'entamer ici la discussion sur cette question, mais il est tentant de voir dans les modifications apparamment sans importance, apportées au texte du Aq, une tendance à corriger en vers le texte prosaïque du Lv.

Il faut encore dire deux mots sur une catégorie importante des stances du Aq. Nous y rangerons les versions mongoles de Šes-rab seṅ-ge faites à partir du texte tibétain. Or ce texte tibétain paraît remonter, partiellement, directement ou indirectement, au texte tibétain du *Lalitavistara*. Les passages de cet ordre doivent être nombreux, mais il n'est pas aisé de les identifier. Il semble que même les passages remontant au texte tibétain ont été retouchés à l'aide d'une traduction mongole qui devait exister déjà au temps de Šes-rab seṅ-ge.

A titre d'exemple je propose de ranger dans cette catégorie l'histoire de Svastika; à son sujet voir la note 58. En voici les stances 47, 50–54, les seules conservées par Aq. (Pour les stances, voir Lv 206a21–24, 206b6–207a4 et Aq 49b7–50a20.)

[47] *Suvastig ebesün-i nadur ödter ög* :
Suvastig a ebesün nadur ödter ög :
ebesün-iyer ene edür yeke tusa bütüyü :
ebesün-iyer ene edür tusa minu bütüyü :
čerig selte simnus-un ayimaγ-i daruju :
čirig selte simnus-un ayimaγ-i daruju :
ünen amurliγsan bodi qutuγ-i oluyu bi :
ünen amurliγsan bôdhi qutuγ-i oluyu bi[88]

[87] P. Poucha, *Le vers tibétain: Archiv Orientalní* XVIII, 1950, pp. 188–235 (Pars quinta). J. Vekerdy, *Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody: Acta Orient. Hung.* II, 1952, pp. 221–233. A l'avis de P. Poucha, le vers tibétain n'accuse aucune influence des modèles étrangers (sanskrit, apabhraṁśa et pāli) traduits en tibétain. Je ne saurais affirmer la même chose à propos des textes mongols versifiés à sujet bouddhique, traduits du tibétain. Vekerdy insiste, à bon droit, sur le fait que le tibétain classique ignore les voyelles longues, ainsi que les syllabes longues par position. Fort intéressantes sont les remarques que B. Ja. Vladimircov (*Sravniteljnaja grammatika*, Leningrad 1929, pp. 97–107) a formulées à propos du vers mongol. Sur un problème important de la versification mongole, voir G. Kara, *Old Mongolian Verses without Alliteration: Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis, Sectio Linguistica* 1972, pp. 161–168.

[88] Lv tib.: *Bkra-šis rcva-dag ṅa-la myur-du byin || de-riṅ ṅa-la rcvas ni don čhen 'gyur || dpuṅ daṅ bčas-pa'i bdud ni bčom-nas-su || byaṅ-čhub dam-pa ži-ba reg-par 'gyur* (F I, 251: 16–18). «Svastika, donne-moi

[50] *tegüber Suvastig ebesün ög* :
nadur ene edür ebesün-i öglige-yi ögbesü ele :
čaγlasi ügei buyan-u küčütü bolqu či :
čaγlasi ügei buyan-u küčütü boluyu :
tegün-iyer maγu-yin siltaγan ülü bolun :
tegün-i maγu-yin siltaγan ülü bolqu čimada :
degedü uduriγulsun ber bolqu či kemen :
či ber deger-e ügei uduriγulsun baγsi kemen ::[89]

[51] *asuru sonosquy-a sayin tusatu üge-yi sonosču* :
uduriγulsun-u asuru sonosquy-a sayin tusatu üge-yi sonosču
Suvastig ülemǰi masi bisiren bayasču :
Suvastig ülemǰi masi bisiren bayasču ǰöbsiyen bayasqui sedkil-iyer :
üǰesküleng-tü γou-a asuru ariγun ǰögelen ebesün-i ay-a-tur-iyan bariǰu :
üǰesküleng-tü γou-a ariγun kürteküi-dür jögelen ebesün-i γar-turγ-iyan bariǰu :
emüne ireǰü bayasuγsan sedkil-iyer ügüler-ün :
emüne ireǰu : asuru bayasuγsan sedkil-iyer eyin kemen ügülebei[90]

[52] *ker ber minu ene ebesün-iyer* :
ker ber minu ebesün-iyer nigül ügei degedü üǰeküy-e berke
erten-ü burqan-nuγud-un mör-i olqui ele bolbasu :

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vite des herbes, car aujourd'hui j'ai grand besoin d'herbes. Après avoir vaincu le démon et son armée, j'attendrai le calme suprême de l'Intelligence» (F II, 274). Lv skr.: «Svastika, écoute ! donne-moi promptement des herbes; j'ai grand besoin d'herbes aujourd'hui. Après avoir vaincu le grand démon avec son armée, j'attendrai le calme suprême de l'Intelligence» (F I, 245, st. 47).

[89] Lv tib.: *de-riṅ ña-la rcva sbyin byas-na ni || khyod-la bsod-nams stobs ni mtha-yas-te || de ni khyod-kyi ñan-pa'i gyur mi 'gyur || khyod kyaṅ ston-pa bla-na med-par 'gyur* (F I, 252: 3–5). «En me donnant aujourd'hui de l'herbe, tu auras en toi la force illimitée des vertus, qui éloignera de toi les causes mauvaises, et tu seras un instituteur sans supérieur» (F II, 275). Lv skr.: «Et pour toi aussi, la force des mérites, illimitée, parce que tu me donneras aujourd'hui des herbes. Et ce ne sera pas pour toi une petite cause: Toi-même, tu seras un instituteur sans supérieur» (F I, 246, st. 50).

[90] Lv tib.: *Bkra-šis-pas ni 'dren-pa'i chig sñan rab-tu mjes thos-nas | dga'-žiṅ mgu-la yi-raṅs rab-tu dga'-ba'i yid-kyis ni | rcva 'jam gžon-žiṅ bzaṅ-la reg-par ldan-pa spar gaṅ thogs || mdun-du 'dug-nas rab-tu dga'-ba'i sems-kyis 'di skad smras* (F I, 252: 5–8). «Svastika ayant entendu ce discours plein de douceur du guide (du monde), le cœur rempli de la plus grande joie, prit une poignée de gazon nouveau, tendre et agréable au toucher, et s'étant avancé, l'esprit tout joyeux, prononça ces paroles» (F II, 275). Lv skr.: «Après avoir entendu ce discours très beau, plein de douceur du guide (du monde), Svastika joyeux, transporté, ravi, le cœur plein de contentement, ayant pris une poignée d'herbe nouvelle, douce au toucher, tendre et belle, et se tenant debout devant (le Bôdhisattva) lui adressa ce discours, le cœur rempli de joie» (F I, 246, st. 51).

asuru amurliγsan erten-ü ilaγuγsad mör-i olqu ele bolbasu :
dalai erdem-tü minu egüni abun soyurqaǰu :
yeke dalai erdem-tü čaγlasi ügei aldar-tu egün-i minu soyurqaǰu :
namayi ber degedü qutuγ-i olγaγul-un soyurq-a kemen ügülebesü :
namay-yi ber degedü ükül ügei angqa-a urida qutuγ-i olγaγul-un soyurq-a kemebesü;[91]

[53] *Suvastig olan galab-ud-tur berke üiles(-i) ese üiledčü* :
olan galab-ud-tur üiledküy-e berke törö yabudal qaγuǰil-i ese üiledčü :
γayča ebesün debüsügsen-iyer: olquy-a berke qutuγ-i olqu busu bui :
Suvastig a γayčaqan ebesün-i debüsügsen-iyer: ene bôdhi qutuγ-i olqu busu bui :
ali čaγ-tur qoyar čiγulγan-i dügürgegsen tere čaγ-tur :
ali čaγ-tur oyun tegüsüged buyan belge bilig-ün arγ-a-bar ülebesü :
burqan-nuγud-ḍa burqan bolqu kemen viyagirid ögtekü boluyu :
tendeče olγuγsad-i čidaγčin-a burqan bolqu kemen vivanggirid ögtekü boluyu[92]

[54] *Suvastig ker ber minu qutuγ-i ǰiγturiγul-basu bolqu bögesü* :
Suvastig a ker ber minu qutuγ-i busu amitan-a öggün čidaqu ele bolbasu :
amitan-i quriyaǰu abuγad ögküy-e sesig ügei

[91] Lv tib.: *gal-te rcva-yis byaṅ-čhub go-'phaṅ dam-pa 'čhi med-pa || mčhog gyur ži-ba lta dka' sṅon-gyi rgyal-ba'i lam thob-na || yon-tan čhen-po rgya-mcho grags-pa dpag-med khyod bžes-žig || bdag-gis go-'phaṅ dam-pa 'čhi-med thog-mar 'chaṅ rgyar bgyi* (F I, 252:8–11). «Si avec du gazon est obtenue la voie des précédents Victorieux (Djinas), qui mène à la dignité de l'Intelligence pure, impérissable, suprême, calme et difficile à contempler, toi qui as la gloire sans borne d'un océan de grandes qualités, prends-le! C'est moi qui d'abord ferai que tu sois investi de la dignité pure et impérissable de Bouddha» (F II, 275). Lv skr.: «Si donc, avec un peu d'herbe, est obtenu le rang le plus élevé et l'immortalité, l'intelligence sans supérieure, calme, difficile à voir, de ceux qui se tiennent dans la voie des précédents Djinas; alors grand océan de vertus, à la gloire incommensurable, c'est moi-même qui, en premier, fais arriver à l'Intelligence (qui est) le rang le plus élevé, où il n'y a plus de mort» (F I, 246, st. 52).

[92] Lv tib.: *brtul žugs dka' thub rnam maṅ bya bka' bskal maṅ ma spyad-par || Bkra-šis rcva-mčhog btiṅ-bas byaṅ-čhub 'di ni thob mi 'gyur || gaṅ-che blo-gros-ldan-pa šes-rab bsod-nams thabs-kyis 'phags || de-nas rgyal-ba thub-pas rdul-med 'gyur žes luṅ ston-to* (F I, 252:11–14). «[Le Bôdhisattva dit] Sans accomplir pendant de nombreux Kalpas des œuvres méritoires et beaucoup d'austérités difficiles à accomplir, ô Svastika, avec le meilleur des tapis de gazon, on n'obtiendrait pas cette Intelligence. Lorsque celui qui a de la prudence s'élève par le moyen de la vertu et de la sagesse, c'est alors que les Victorieux Mounis ont prédit qu'il sera exempt de trouble» (F II, 275). Lv skr.: «Cette Intelligence, ô Svastika, est obtenue par ceux qui sont assis sur un siège de la meilleure herbe, après avoir pratiqué, pendant de nombreux Kalpas, diverses austérités et actions difficiles à accomplir. Quand un sage s'est élevé par la sagesse, les mérites et la science des moyens, à la suite de cela les victorieux Mounis font une prédiction en disant: Tu seras exempt de passion» (F I, 246, st. 53).

amitan-i quriyaǰu abuγad ügegüy-e (!) sesig ügei :
keǰiy-e burqan boljˇu amitan-a nomlaqu-yi sonosbasu či :
keǰiy-e burqan amitan-a nomlaqu-yi sonosbasu či :
tende ireǰü nom-i sonoš : kkir tüidügči činu arilqu bolqu :
tende ireǰü sonos kkir tüidker činu arilqu boluyu ::[93]

On a vu que le texte tibétain traduit par Šes-rab seṅ-ge est difficile à saisir, car l'influence (pour la plupart indirecte) de la version mongole du *Lalitavistara* est très forte. Il est utile de voir comment le problème se présente lorsque notre texte (mongol) apparaît sous une forme abrégée par contraction. A titre d'exemple nous rappellerons le passage suivant.

Les dieux, pour encourager le jeune prince à se faire religieux, lui rappellent ses faits vertueux exécutés dans ses existences antérieures. A ce propos on lit, en stance, au f. 3a:

bodi qutuγ-i eriküi-degen angq-a urida Amoga-darši burqan-ača terigülen [:]
Alokakar burqan-ṯur kürtele eng olan burqan-nuγud-ḏa :
eldeb-iyer takiǰu Dibanggar-a burqan-a viyagirid ögtelüge ::

«lorsque tu a cherché le bonheur de l'illumination, tu as fait des offrandes à beaucoup de bouddhas, à commencer d'abord par le bouddha *Amoga-širi* et à finir par le bouddha *Alokakar*, (alors) une prophétie a été faite par le bouddha *Dibanggar-a*» (Interprétation différente par M. Poppe, voir p. 112).

Ici les mots *terigülen* — *kürtele* n'ont pas une fonction chronologique, ils renvoient à une liste de divinités, considérée comme généralement connue, qui contient non moins de 47 noms dont le premier est *Amoga-darši* et le dernier *Alokakar*. La liste est reproduite méticuleusement dans les trois versions du *Lalitavistara*. Il est à peu près sûr que cette longue liste a été supprimée par l'auteur du texte tibétain de Šes-rab seṅ-ge.

La version du Lv mong. se sépare de notre texte mongol par sa liste complète, et encore par un fait insolite: en règle générale les noms indiens reviennent dans les textes mongols selon le goût ouigour, sous une forme prakrite, iranienne (quelquefois tokharienne). Cette fois ils figurent dans la liste sous leurs formes

[93] Lv tib.: *Bkra-šis gal-te byaṅ-čhub skye-bo gžan-la sbyin nus-na || srog čhags bsdu-ba byas-te sbyin-par yid gñis khyod ma za || gaṅ-che ṅa-yis byaṅ-čhub thob šes bdud-rci rnam-par dbyes || khyod 'oṅs čhos-kyi dam-pa ñon daṅ rdul daṅ bral-bar 'gyur* (F I, 252: 14–17). «Svastika, si l'Intelligence pouvait être donnée à un autre homme, et, comme une pâture, donnée aux êtres animés, par scrupule n'en mange pas. Quand on dira que l'Intelligence a été obtenue par moi, et que je distribue l'Amrita, viens et écoute la Loi pure, et tu seras exempt de trouble» (F II, 275–276). Lv skr.: «Si cette Intelligence ô Svastika, pouvait être donnée aux êtres animés, après en avoir fait une boule de riz bouilli, qu'il n'y ait pas d'hésitation. Quand l'Intelligence sera obtenue par moi, tu sauras que je distribue l'immortalité. Après être venu, écoute celui qui possède la loi, et tu seras exempt de passion» (F I, 240, st. 54).

traduites en mongol, en imitant par là l'original tibétain. Ainsi nous avons: skr. *Vairocana*, mong. *Teyin böged geyigülügči* (tib. *Rnam-par snaṅ-mjad*); skr. *Dundubhīśvara*, mong. *Kenggerge dayutu* (tib. *Rṅa byaṅs-ldan*); skr. *Caṇḍana*, mong. *Čindan* (tib. *Can-dan*); skr. *Reṇu*, mong. *Iradulbuu* (tib. *Rdul-po* > mong.) etc.

Le dernier nom de la liste, dans le Lv skr., est *Dipakâra* (sic; F, p. 153, stance 64), répondant au Lv tib. *Sgroṅ-ma mjad-pa* «qui produit la lumière», identifié à *Dipaṅkâra* par Foucaux (II, 168). Par ailleurs, à l'exception de ce seul passage, le nom de *Dīpaṁkara* est traduit dans le Lv par *Mar-me mjad* (confirmé par Mvp n° 95). Or le skr. *Ālokakāra* «qui produit la lumière», synonyme de *Dīpaṁkara*, est la restitution sanskrite du nom, sur la foi d'un texte tibétain *(Sgroṅ-ma mjad-pa); Alokakar burqan*, forme «ouigoure» régulière doit être secondaire et inconnue au Lv skr. Il y a lieu de supposer que la forme *Alokakar burqan* figurant et dans le Lv mong. et dans le Aq remonte à une source commune qui existait déjà à l'époque des Yuan.[94]

[94] Le Lv contient, outre les noms des divinités, l'objet de l'offrande. Voici le texte du Lv mong.: *angqa urida Amogadarši burqan-dur sala modun-u čečeg-iyer takiluγ-a* [:] *Teyin böged geyigülügči burqan-dur süsülkü sedkil-iyer nigen gšan-dur sayitur üjebei* :: *Kenggerge dayutu burqan-dur arur-a-yin nigen ür-e-yi öggülüge či* : *Čindan burqan-i üjejü ebesün jula-yi abuγad* : *gertegen bariluγ-a či* : *Iradulbuu burqan-i balγasun-dur oroqui üjejü nigen adqu tögörig narin talq-a-yi sayitur sačuγad* : *Nom-un nom nomlaqui-dur sayin kemen sayitur ügüleged* : *Qamuγ-ača üjegči-yi mürgümü: kemen üge ügülen: Yeke gerel γaγayči čoγtu burqan-dur bayasqu sedkil-iyer altan erike-yi sačuluγ-a či* :: *Gerel tuγ-tu-dur eng bös bariγad Gegen burqan-dur burčaγ sačun Belge bilig-ün nom-dur ašoka modun-u čečeg Jiluγaduγči-dur budaγa* : *Erdeni usnir-tu-da julas Lingqu-a tegüsügsen em-i öggüged: Qamuγ-i čoγ-iyaran daruγči-da subud erike Dalai burqan-dur lingqu-a-yi öggülüge* :: *Lingqu-a-yin jirüken-dür čomurlig Arslan-dur quran-u debisker öggün Sala modun-u erketü qaγan Jula qaγan delgeregsen čečeg-tür sün bariju: Aldar öggügči-de kunda čečeg-i öggüged Ünen üjegči-de idegen öbesüben Belge bilig-tü bey-e-ben sögüdün Nagadati-dur* (127b) *takil öggülüge* :: *Masi öndür-iyer ajirayči kiged Čindan ba Gerel tegüsügsen nijeged adqu dabusun Yeke jokiyal-tu-da lingqu-a čečeg öggüged Gerel-ün qaγan erdeni ergün* : *Šakimuni burqan-dur nigen adqu altan ögčü Erketü-yin oki-yi maγtaγal-iyar maγtaγad Naran niγur-tu-da čečeg-ün süike Sayin oyutu-da altan titim* :: *Luus-i čoγ-iyaran daruγči-da mani erdeni ögčü* : *Ilaγuγsan-dur jasaγsan bös debisker-i öggüged* :: *Em-ün qaγan-dur erdeni-yin sikür öggün Arslan-u oki-dur arslan-u tabčang ögčü* : *Degedü erdem-tü-de erdeni-yin toor Gasib-tur qamuγ egesig dayun-u degedü küji čečeg-i öggüged Gerel γaγayči oki-dur ašoka čečeg-i öggülüge* : *Akṣôbhi ilaγuγsan-dur dabqur keyid-i öggüged Yirtinčü-yin degedü-dür erike ögčü* : *Jayanašiki(?)-dur qan oron-iyan öggüged Ilangquy-a berke-dür qamuγ küčün-i öggün* : *Yeke jula-dur öber-ün bey-e-yi ögčü Lingqu-a degedü-dür qamuγ čimeg-üd-iyen lab bariγad: Nom-un oki-dur eldeb čečeg Alokakar burqan-dur udbala eldeb jüil öber-e öber-e busu takil-i . . . duradtuγai či* (127a6–127b29). Ce texte mongol répond au Lv tib.: *thog-mar khyod-kyis Don-yod-mthoṅ-la sā-la'i me-tog-gis ni mčhod* || *Rnam-par-snaṅ-mjad-la daṅ-ba'i sems-kyis skad-čig bar-du bltas* || *Rṅa-dbyaṅs-ldan-pa-la ni khyod-kyis a-ru-ra-yi 'bru gčig phul* || *Can-dan mthoṅ-nas khyod-kyis rcva-yi me-sgron blaṅs-te khyim-du bzuṅ* || *Rtul-po groṅ-khyer 'jug-pa mthoṅ-nas phye-ma spar gaṅ rab-tu gtor* || *Čhos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug čhos 'chad-pa-na legs šes-bya-ba rab-tu byin* || *Kun-tu gzigs-pa mthoṅ-nas phyag-chal phyag-'chal phyag-'chal-lo žes chig-tu brJod* || *'Od-phro-čhen-po'i phyuṅ-po-la ni khyod-kyis dga'-bas gser 'phreṅ gtor* || *'Od-zer-rgyal-mchan-la ni kha-char phul-žiṅ bal sran gtor* || *Ye-šes-tog-la mya-ṅan med-pa'i me-tog Kha-lo-sgyur-la*

L'autre passage se trouve au IXe chap. où, après la défaite de Māra, d'abord les filles des dieux prononcent seize louanges à l'adresse du Bodhisattva, ensuite les fils des dieux prononcent leurs invectives pour humilier Pāpiyān. Le Lv énumère (dans les trois versions) les 32 «remarques» au complet. Notre texte mongol reproduit, dans les deux cas, le début et la fin des louanges et des invectives. Voici nos textes (la rédaction du Lv se lit en romaine):

'jam || Rin-čhen-gcug-tor-čan-la mar-me Pad-ma-ldan-la sman yaṅ phul || Thams-čad-zil-gnon mu-tig do-šal Rgya-mcho-la ni pad-ma phul || Pad-ma'i-sñiṅ-po-la ni bla re Seṅ-ge-la ni čhar gdiṅ phul || Sā-la'i-dbaṅ-po-rgyal-la mar phul Me-tog-rgyas-la 'o-ma phul || Grags-sbyin kun-ta'i me-tog phul-te Bden-pa-gzigs-la žal-thas phul || Ye-šes-lhun-la lus Btud-klus-byin-la ni na-bza' dbul-ba byas || Rab-'thor gšegs daṅ Can-dan-mčhog daṅ 'Od-ldan-la ni chva spar-re || Bkod-pa-čhe-la pad-ma dbul byas || 'Od-zer-rgyal-la rin-čhen phul || Šā-kya'i-thub-la spar gaṅ gser phul Dbaṅ-po'i tog-la bstod-pa byas || Ñi-ma'i-žal-la me-tog rna-rgyan Blo-gros-bzaṅ-la gser čod pan || Klu-zil-gnon-la nor-bu phil-te Rgyal-la ras bčos gdiṅ-ba phul || Sman-gyi-rgyal-la rin-čhen gdugs phul Seṅ-ge'i-tog-la khri-gdan phul Yon-tan-mčhog-ldan dra-ba 'od-sruṅs-la ni glu dbyaṅs kun || spos-mčhog me-tog phul-žiṅ 'od'phro'i-tog-la rtag-tu me-tog phul || Mi-'khrugs-rgyal-la khaṅ-brcegs phul-žiṅ 'Jig-rten-mčhod-la phreṅ-ba phul || Rgya-spos-gcug-la rgyal-srid dbul byas Rgyal-par-dka'-la spos-kun phul || Sgron-ma-čhe-la bdag phul Pad-ma'i-mčhog-la rgyan-rnams dbul-ba byas || Čhos-kyi-tog-la me-tog sna-chogs Sgron-ma-mjad-la u-tpa-la || mčhod-pa rnam-pa sna-chogs tha dad gžan daṅ gžan-dag byed-pa-na . . . (F I, 154:3–155:4). C'est-à-dire: «Tu as, d'abord, fait une offrande de fleurs de Sâla à Amôghadarci; tu as regardé quelques instants Vairôtchana avec une pensée bienveillante, tu as présenté une graine d'Aroura à Doundoubhisvara. En voyant Tchaṇḍana, tu as pris un flambeau de gazon, et tu l'as porté dans sa demeure. En voyant Rênou entrer dans la ville, tu lui a jeté une poignée de poudre (d'or), Tu as donné un encouragement à Dharmêçvara pendant qu'il enseignait la Loi, en lui disant, Bien ! En voyant Samantadarci, tu as crié, Adoration ! Tu as jeté avec joie une guirlande d'or à Mahârtchiskandi. Pendant que tu offrais des franges à Dharma dhvaja, tu donnais à Nirôdha de la laine et des fèves. Tu as offert des fleurs d'Açôka à Djnanakêtou, à Sârathi un breuvage, à Ratnasikhin des lampes, à Padmayôni des médicaments, tu as offert des colliers de perles à Sarvâbhiboû, à Sâgara des lotus, à Padmagarbha des tentures, à Siñha des tentes pour la pluie; tu as offert de la crème à Salêndrarâdja, à Pouchpita du lait. Tu as offert à Yaçôdatta des fleurs de Kouruṇḍa, à Satyadarci des mets préparés. Tu as abandonné ton corps à Djñânamêrou; tu as donné des vêtements de religieux à Nâgadatta, tu as donné à Abhoutchagami, à Tchandanâgra et à Bhôna une poignée de sel pour chacun. Tu a offert à Mahâvyoûha des lotus, des perles à Raçmi râdja. Tu as offert à Çâkya Mouni une poignée de Souvarṇas, et tu as adressé des louanges à Indrakêtou. Tu as offert à Soûryânana des pendants d'oreilles (en forme de) fleurs, à Soumati un diadème d'or. Tu as offert à Nâgâbhibhoû une pierre précieuse, à Pouchpa une tente de toile blanche. Tu as offert à Bhaichadyarâdja un précieux parasol, à Siñhakêtou un tapis pour s'assoir, à Gouṇâdhara un précieux réseau, à Kâçyapa toutes sortes de concerts. En offrant des fleurs à Artchikêtou, tu as toujours offert des fleurs aux plus suaves parfums. Tu as offert à Akchôbyarâdja une maison à étage, à Lôkapoûdjita une guirlande. Tu as offert ton royaume à Tagaracikhin (= Jaganaciki?), à Dourdjaya toutes sortes de parfums. Tu t'es offert toi-même à Mahâpradipa. Tu as offert des parures à Padmôtara, à Dharmakêtou des fleurs variées, à Dipaṅkâra des lotus blancs. En faisant toutes sortes d'offrandes des espèces les plus différentes les unes des autres, tu as fait des offrandes . . .» (F II, 167–168). Le Lv skr. reproduit la même liste des divinités; cf. F I, pp. 153–154, st. 57–64.

63a *ariluγsan* (63b) *ariγun amidu či :*
232b degedü ariγun amidu či [:]
Akas-taki sine saran-ṯur adali üǰesküleng-tü buyu: kemeküy-eče
oγtaryui-daki sin-e saran-dur adali üǰesküleng-tü buyu [:]
degedü amidu či edüge čü ülü udan [:]
degedü amidu či edügečü udan [:]
tegüs arban qoyar küčütü bolǰu irekü [:]
arban (sic) küčütü bolǰu irekü [:]
olǰa-yi sayitur olbai či — kemeküi-ṯür kürtele...maγtan ügülebei
sayin olǰa-yi sayitur olbai či kemebesü :[95]

[95] Voici le reste des seize louanges. Lv mong.: *teyin böged ariluγsan oyitu či uryumal naran-dur adali gilbel-ün bükü gerel-tü buyu : ariγun amidu či usun dotoraki lingqu-a metü delgeregsen buyu : ariγun amidu či oi kiged oy-yin kiǰaγar-a yabuγči arslan-dur adali daγudaγči buyu : ariγun amidu či dalay-yin dumda Sömir aγula-dur adali-yin dumda ǰibqulang-tu buyu : ariγun amidu či Čakirabad aγula-dur adali iledte öbedegsi ülegsen buyu : ariγun amidu či dalai-dur adali erdenis-iyer dügürčü iruγar inu čineküy-e berke buyu : yirtinčü-yin itegel či oγtaryui-dur adali kürküi ügei* (233a) *aγui yeke sedkil-tü buyu : teyin böged ariluγsan amidu či delekei-dür adali qamuγ amitan-i aγali* (?) *boluγad : asuru masi čing sedkil-tü buyu : degedü amidu či Anavatabta naγur-tur adali aburida tungγalaγ bulunggir ügei sedkil-tü buyu: sayin amidu či Ulaγan kei-dür adali qamuγ yirtinčü-yin orod-tur aburida tačiyangγui ügei boluγad orosiqui ügei sedkil-tü buyu : degedü amidu či čoγ ǰibqulang-un qaγan metü qamuγ erkemsiküi sadkil-i tarqaγaǰu oyiraduquy-a berke buyu : : degedü amidu či Narayani-dur adali nomoγadquy-a berke küčün tegüsügsen buyu : yirtinčü-yin itegel či Bodhi-ǰirüken-eče ülü bosuγči-yin tulada čing aman aldaγsan buyu : degedü amidu či Indr-a-yin γar-iyar oγoruγsan včir-tur adali qarin ülü ničuγči buyu.* Les 16 louanges sont énumérés par le Lv tib. comme suit: *sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni dguń zla yar-gyi ńo ltar mjes-pa'o || blo rnam-par dam-pa khyod ni gdugs daṅ-pa šar-ba bltar lhaṅ ńe-ba'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni čhab-kyi naṅ-na pa-dma ltar rab-tu rgyas-pa'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni nags daṅ nag-'dab-na rgyu-ba'i seṅ-ge ltar sgra sgrog-pa'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni rgya-mcho'i dbus-na ri'i rgyal-po ltar mjes-pa'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni khor yug-gi ri ltar mńon-par 'phags-pa'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni rgya-mcho ltar rin-po-čhes bltams-čiṅ gtiṅ dpag-par dka'-ba'o || 'Jig-rten-gyi mgon-po khyod ni nam-mkha' ltar thug-pa ma mčhis-šiṅ thugs-kyi rgya čhe-ba'o sems-čan rnam-par dag-pa khyod ni dog sa ltar sems-čan thams-čad-kyi 'che-bar gyur-čiṅ thugs šin-tu brtan-pa'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni mcho-ma Dros-pa ltar rtag-tu daṅ žiṅ thugs rñod-pa mi mńa'-ba'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni Rluṅ-dmar ltar 'jig-rten-gyi khams thams-čad-la rtag-tu mi čhags-šiṅ thugs gnas-pa ma mčhis-pa'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni gzi brjid-kyi rgyal-po ltar rlom thams-čad spaṅs-šiṅ bsñen-par dka'-ba'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni srid-med-kyi bu ltar thul-bar dka'-žiṅ stobs-daṅ-ldan-pa'o || 'Jig-rten-gyi mgon-po khyod ni Byaṅ-čhub-kyi sñiṅ-po-las mi bžeṅs-pa brtan-pa'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni Dbaṅ-po'i lag-gis 'phaṅs-pa'i rdo-rje ltar slar mi ldog-pa'o || sems-čan dam-pa khyod ni riṅ-por mi thogs-par bstobs bču daṅ-ldan-par byon-pas brñes-pa legs-par brñes-pa'o* (F I, 290: 7–291: 2). «Premier des êtres, tu brilles comme la lune pendant la quinzaine claire. Toi qui as une intelligence parfaitement pure, tu resplendis comme le soleil levant. Premier des êtres, tu es épanoui comme le lotus au milieu des eaux. Premier des êtres, ta voix retentit comme celle du lion errant dans les bois et les forêts. Premier des êtres, tu brilles comme le roi des montagnes au milieu de l'océan. Premier des êtres, tu t'élèves et te distingues comme le mont Tchakravâla. Premier des êtres, comme la mer remplie de trésors, tu es difficile à sonder. Guide du monde, tu es comme le ciel, illimité, et l'étendue de ta pensée est grande. Être parfaitement pur, comme le sol de la terre qui fournit la subsistance de tous les

či Čibil-tü simnus či:
Čibil-tü či
ötegü toγuruγun metü sintaraǰu amui : :
ötege toγuriγun metü sedkil-tü bolǰu: sintaraǰu amui :
ötegü üker sibardaγsan metü :
ötege üker sibardaγsan küčüben aldaǰu amui:
Čibil-tü či: γar köl-iyen oγtaluγsan metü [:]
233b Čibil-tü či γar köl-iyen oγtaluγsan kümün metü
qamuγ küčün-eče muquraǰu amui : : *kemeküi-tür kürtele arban ǰiryuγan jüil-iyer . . .šingtaraγul-un ügülebei*
qamuγ küčün nuγuraǰu amui kemebei[96]

êtres, ta pensée est très ferme. O le premier des êtres, comme le lac Manasa, ton esprit toujours calme n'est jamais agité. Premier des êtres, comme un Marout, sans préférance pour aucun lieu du monde, ta pensée n'a pas de demeure. Premier des êtres, comme le roi de la splendeur, ayant abandonné toute pensée d'orgueil, tu es difficile à atteindre. Premier des êtres, comme Nârâyaṇa (Vichṇou), tu es fort et difficile à vaincre. Guide du monde, qui ne t'éloignes pas de Bôdhimaṇḍa tu es ferme dans tes vœux (que tu as) faits. Premier des êtres, comme la foudre lancée par la main d'Indra, tu ne reviens pas sur toi-même. Premier des êtres, tu es parvenu à posséder les dix forces, tu obtiendras bien ce que tu désires» (F II, 317–318).

[96] Pour les autres invectives voir Lv mong. (233a26–233b23): *Čibil-tü ebedčin-e kürtegsen kümün omurqaγsan baγatur daruγdaγsan metü γaγčaγar bolǰu amui* : *Čibil-tü či ebedčin-e* (233b) *dörtegsen kümün ködege-dür oγordaγsan metü nökör ügei bolǰu amui* : *Čibil-tü či ačaγan-dur daruγdaγsan üker metü küčün ügei amui* : *Čibil-tü či γaryaγdaγsan modun metü unaǰu amui* : *Čibil-tü či mör-iyen tögerigsen ǰiγulčin metü maγui mör-tür orosiǰu amui* : *Čibil-tü či öri tölüge-tü ügegü kümün metü door-a-du-ača ber door-a-du bolǰu amui* : *Čibil-tü či balamad dongγodqu keriy-e metü örigüü ügüleǰü amui* : *Čibil-tü či ese nomoγaduγsan üiledügsen-i ülü ačilaγči metü omoγ-i čoγ-tur daruγdaǰu amui* : *Čibil-tü či arslan-u dayun-ača buruγudduγsan ünegen metü ene edür buruγudqu bolǰu amui* : *Čibil-tü či teyin böged butaraγuluγči key-e butaraγuluγsan ene edür silgüdkü bolǰu amui* : *Čibil-tü či buyan-iyan baraγdaγsan γuyilinči metü čaγ učir-i ülü medekü metü amui* : *Čibil-tü či qaγaraγsan saba toγosun-iyar dügürügsen metü ene edür teyin böged tebčigdeküi bolǰu amui.* La liste complète des seize invectives s'appelle dans le Lv tib. *Sdig-čan khyod ni rkuṅ-rkuṅ rgan-po ltar sems khoṅ-du chud-čiṅ dmas-pa'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni glaṅ-po rgan-po 'dam-du byiṅ-ba ltar nam-čhuṅ-ba'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni dpa'-bor khas 'ches-pa pham-pa ltar gčig-par gyur-ba'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni nad-kyis ñen-pa 'brog-tu bor-ba ltar gñis-su med-pa'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni glaṅ-bu khal-gyis ñon moṅs-pa ltar stobs med-pa'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni šiṅ rluṅ-gis btab-pa ltar sgyel-ba'o | | Sdig-čan khyod ni 'gron-pa lam stor-ba ltar lam ṅan-par gnas-pa'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni mi dbul-po bu-lon-čan ltar dman-pa bas kyaṅ dman-pa'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni bya-rog byuṅ rgyal-ba ltar mu-čor smra-ba'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni ma dul-ba byas-pa mi gzo-ba ltar ṅa rgyal-gyis zil-gyis non-pa'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni seṅ-ge'i sgras wa 'bros-pa ltar deṅ 'bros-par 'gyur-ba'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni rnam-par 'thor rluṅ-gis gtor-ba'i bya bžin-du deṅ 'dar-bar 'gyur-ba'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni sbraṅ-po bsoṅ-nams zad-pa ltar dus mi šes-pa'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni snod čhag-pa rdul-gyis gaṅ-ba ltar deṅ rnam-par spaṅ-bar gyur-ba'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni sṅags-la dpa'-ba sbrul-la bab-pa ltar deṅ char čhod-par 'gyur-ba'o || Sdig-čan khyod ni mi rkaṅ lag bčad-pa ltar stobs thams-čad daṅ bral-pa'o žes-bya'o* (F I, 291: 5–19). «Pâpiyân, comme une vieille cygogne (sic), tu as l'esprit triste et rêveur. Pâpiyân, comme un vieil éléphant (recte: bœuf) tombé dans un

L'examen de ces deux derniers passages atteste que dans la version de Šes-rab seṅ-ge ils ne remontent pas directement à la version mongole du *Lalitavistara.*

D'après le colophon du *Lalitavistara* incorporé au Kanǰur mongol imprimé, cette traduction importante (ff. 1b–312a) était l'œuvre de Samdan sengge (*Catalogue* I, p. 217). Lettré mongol éminent, Samdan sengge appartenait au corps des savants lamas mongols qui, sur l'ordre de Legdan qaγan (1603–1630) dirigeait et surveillait la traduction du Canon bouddhique en mongol. Et c'était un travail immense; ils ont fait traduire du tibétain en mongol tout ce qui n'avait pas encore été transposé en cette langue. Ils ont eux-mêmes collaboré infatigablement aux travaux de la traduction. Pour faciliter leur tâche, ils ont déniché les anciennes traductions oubliées; ils les ont «modernisées», corrigeant l'ancienne orthographe selon le système récemment établi et ils ont modifié, assez sommairement, les particularités grammaticales et lexicales du mongol préclassique. Ainsi on a sauvé un nombre assez important de traductions préparées sous les Yuan. La réédition par M. Lokesh Chandra du Kanǰur mongol imprimé facilitera de découvrir, d'identifier ces anciens monuments de la langue et de la littérature mongoles. On sait que même le Tanǰur mongol imprimé a conservé de pareils trésors du patrimoine mongol, entre autres le fameux *Bodhicaryāvatāra,* traduction de Čhos-kyi 'od-zer.

Dans beaucoup de cas Samdan sengge était sûrement le premier traducteur mongol de certains ouvrages, surtout s'il s'agissait de textes de courte halaine auxquels auparavant on n'avait témoigné assez d'attention. En plus, il a revu, corrigé, mis au point une quantité écrasante de textes mongols. Par ailleurs on a rattaché à son nom des «traductions» dans lesquelles son rôle n'a pu guère dépasser les fonctions d'un correcteur ou d'un rédacteur.

Quoi qu'il en soit, Samdan sengge figure dans les colophons comme traducteur mongol des ouvrages tibétains suivants (les numéros renvoient à ceux de mon *Catalogue*):

Tantra (Dandr-a): 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 333, 334, 335, 397, 399, 401, 404, 405, 409, 485, 641, 642, 646, 647;

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bourbier, tu es sans force. Pâpiân, comme un guerrier qui s'est engagé et vaincu, tu es resté seul. Pâpiyân, comme un malade abandonné dans la forêt, tu es sans second. Pâpiyân, comme un jeune taureau accablé sous le fardeau, tu es sans force. Pâpiyân, comme l'arbre renversé par le vent, tu es abattu. Pâpiyân, comme le voyageur égaré, tu es dans une mauvaise route. Pâpiyân, comme le mendiant endetté, tu es humilié des humiliés. Pâpiyân, tu radotes comme une corneille impudente. Pâpiyân, comme l'indiscipliné et l'ingrat, tu es possédé par l'orgueil. Pâpiyân, comme le chacal chassé par la voix du lion, tu t'enfuiras aujourd'hui. Pâpiyân, comme l'oiseau emporté par le souffle des vents, tu seras secoué aujourd'hui. Pâpiyân, comme le mendiant, exténué par ses pratiques religieuses, tu ne connais pas le temps. Pâpiyân, comme un pot brisé, rempli de poussière, tu seras aujourd'hui abandonné sans retour. Pâpiyân, comme sous (l'empire d') un charme, un héros s'en va vers un serpent; tu seras saisi aujourd'hui. Pâpiyân, comme l'homme à qui l'on a coupé les pieds et les mains, tu es privé de toutes forces» (F II, 318–319).

Sūtra (Eldeb): 850, 851, 852, 941, 942, 955, 956, 1016, 1061, 1072, 1091, 1101–1102.

Vinaya ('Dulv-a): 1131–1134.[97]

Dans cette liste imposante d'activité littéraire on trouve trois ouvrages qui s'élèvent au-dessus des autres: 1° le *Vinayavibhanga* qui remplit trois volumes du Kanǰur; 2° le bien connu *Abhiniṣkramaṇa;* 3° le *Lalitavistara.* Dans les trois cas le colophon attribue la traduction à Samdan sengge, mais c'est seulement le colophon du *Abhiniṣkramaṇa* qui fournit des précisions sur les détails: la traduction a été encouragée (en 1609) par les *tayiǰi Sečen čökegür* et *Nomči tayičing;* Samdan sengge a terminé la traduction en 1611.[98] A propos du *Lalitavistara* on ne trouve rien de pareil. Toutefois la simple comparaison des deux biographies légendaires dénonce une différence stylistique qui ne permet pas d'attribuer les deux versions à un seul et

[97] Ligeti, Louis, *Catalogue du Kanǰur mongol imprimé I* : *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* III, 1942–1944. Heissig, Walther, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache* : *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen,* Band 2, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 21 et note 1. La mise au point de la traduction de tous les textes du Kanǰur fut une entreprise énorme sous le règne de Legdan qaγan des Čaqar. Ces traductions, avant d'être imprimées bien plus tard, ont été revues, contrôlées et probablement encore complétées. L'annexe du vol. 108 du Kanǰur mongol imprimé nous a conservé la liste des membres de la commission qui ont participé à ce travail comme traducteurs, correcteurs, copistes, etc. En règle générale, les ouvrages respectifs ont deux colophons: l'un traduit du tibétain, porte sur le texte tibétain traduit du sanskrit ou (rarement) du chinois, l'autre, le colophon mongol proprement dit nous renseigne sur l'histoire de la version mongole. Il arrive assez souvent que la traduction mongole reste sans colophon: à cette règle même les textes volumineux ne font pas exception. A titre d'exemple il suffit de nous référer à la version mongole du *Vinayavastu* (mong. *Nomoγadqaqui sitügen*) qui ne comprend pas moins de cinq volumes (*'Dulv-a* I–V). Ce texte important n'a qu'un bref colophon tibétain précisant que l'ouvrage a été traduit par *Dharmakara,* lettré de Kachmir, et le traducteur *Dpal-gyi lhun-po,* revu et corrigé par *Vidyākaraprabha,* lettré indien *Dpal-brcegs,* correcteur et traducteur. Il n'y a pas de colophon pour la version mongole.

[98] Le colophon contient des données chronologiques. Abstraction faite de la date de naissance légendaire du Bouddha (3253 ans avant l'auteur du colophon), l'an de la naissance de Gengis khan est en effet *sin morin ǰil,* c'est-à-dire 1162. L'année *takiy-a ǰil* doit correspondre à 1609 et *sim γaqai ǰil* à 1611. Pour les colophons comprenant la date de la traduction on peut rappeler, comme une curieuse coïncidence, celui du *Vaiśālipraveśa-sūtra,* traduit, suivant les conseils de *Samdan sengge kelemürči,* dans l'année du *sira moγai ǰil,* ce qui doit être 1629, la dernière année de la traduction mongole du Kanǰur sous le règne de *Legdan qutuγ-tu qaγan* (cf. C. Damdinsuren — A. Luvsandendev, *Russko-mongoljskij slovarj,* I–II Ulan-bator 1969, II, p. 897, sous la date 1629). Après avoir fourni des informations sur la traduction, les colophons mongols proprement dits sont souvent rédigés en vers à allitération; j'avais l'intention de les discuter dans le vol. II de mon *Catalogue.* On peut affirmer la même chose à propos des colophons du Tanǰur mongol imprimé; cf. Rintchen, *Catalogue du Tanǰur mongol imprimé* I–III (seuls parus), New Delhi 1964–1974. Les colophons des deux Canons constituent des matériaux utiles à l'histoire de la versification mongole. Par ailleurs, le colophon de l'*Abhiniṣkramaṇa* nous fournit un exemple intéressant de colophon versifié, composé de lignes allitérées: *egün-e orčiγulqui ayalγu-dur gem aldal bolbasu:* | *endegsen-iyen merged-te ǰalirayulumui namančilabasu,* etc. en tout 12 lignes commençant par une allitération en *e-* (cf. *Catalogue* I, p. 288).

même traducteur. Mais ce qui plus est: il est inconcevable que Šes-rab seṅ-ge ait pu emprunter des passages entiers et de les orner d'allitération, à une version mongole datant de 1611.

En dernière analyse on constatera donc que la majeure partie du texte mongol de Šes-rab seṅ-ge est la traduction authentique du texte tibétain attribué, je le répète, à tort, à Čhos-kyi 'od-zer. Il ne peut faire aucun doute qu'il faut compter en même temps avec une version mongole dès le début des Yuan, que Šes-rab seṅ-ge a pu consulter avant de mettre au point sa version. Était-elle la traduction mongole du *Lalitavistara*?

Aujourd'hui nous ne sommes pas encore en mesure de suivre les vicissitudes du texte mongole du *Lalitavistara*. Pour ce faire on a besoin, avant tout, d'une édition de texte critique et d'une traduction, suivis de commentaires et d'un *index verborum*. Pour mener à bien ce travail, nous avons un guide méritoire: les «Douze actes» publiés par N. Poppe.

BHAVYA'S CONTROVERSY WITH YOGĀCĀRA IN THE APPENDIX TO *PRAJÑĀPRADĪPA*, CHAPTER XXV.

BY

CHRISTIAN LINDTNER (Nærum)

The four major extant works of the Mādhyamika philosopher Bhavya (or Bhāvaviveka, c. 490–570) — *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* (with the autocommentary *Tarkajvālā*), *Prajñāpradīpa*, **Karatalaratna* (i.e. *Zhăng-zhēn lùn*) and *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* — all provide remarkable evidence of his sustained controversy with what had, from common roots, through a process of still, to some extent, obscure development gradually grown into the main rival and independent branch of Mahāyāna philosophy in the sixth century A.D., viz. Yogācāra.[1] Though Mādhyamikas had been criticizing their *svayūthyas* before Bhavya was to do so,[2] and though the successors in his own school continued to do so, each in his own way,[3] in the following centuries, none of them seem to have done so with such a display of deep personal involvement and subtle thoroughness as Bhavya. Provoked by the rapidly expanding influence of these philosophers whom he, as it were, considered as *svanītāv abhimāninaḥ* — viz. Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dignāga and their followers[4] — and their dogmas of *cittamātra, svabhāvatraya, ālayavijāna*, etc. he engaged himself in a debate with the distinct objective of vindicating, in

[1] For further details about Bhavya and the works ascribed to him, see my *Adversaria Buddhica* in *WZKS*, XXVI (1982), pp. 172–184, and *On Bhavya's Ratnapradīpa* to appear in *Indologica Taurinensia*, XII. — For his controversy with Yogācāra see my *Bhavya's Controversy with Yogācāra in the Ratnapradīpa, chapter IV*, to appear in B. K. Matilal (ed.), *Buddhist logic and epistemology*, and Kōsai Yasui, *Chūgan Shisō no Kenkyū*, Kyōto 1961 (in Japanese).

[2] The earliest critique of what was later to become some of the basic dogmas of Yogācāra is in fact already found in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (cf. e.g. II, 198 & III, 48). There can be no doubt that this sūtra was (in some earlier form than the *textus receptus*) known to Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. Thus there are clear allusions to it in Nāgārjuna's controversy with the «Vijñānavādins» in *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, 25–56 (edited in my *Nagarjuniana*, Copenhagen 1982, pp. 180–217). These two texts are the most important documents for the controversy with Yogācāra (a term which is not free from ambiguity) before Bhavya, who frequently claims them as his authorities.

[3] Among the numerous post-Bhavya Mādhyamikas criticizing Yogācāra (or Vijñānavāda) Candrakīrti (c. 530–600, cf. *AO*, XL (1979), p. 91), being not only a (partly) contemporary and a rival of Bhavya, but also to some extent acquainted with Dharmapāla's (and Sthiramati's?) retorts to Bhavya, is of foremost interest. See his *Madhyamakāvatāra*, pp. 135–202 (ed. La Vallée Poussin); *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, pp. 115–121 (ed. Lindtner); *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti*, Ya *fol.* 318b7–320b7 (Peking ed.).

[4] *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, V, 1 with *Tarkajvālā*.

accordance with *āgama* supported by *yukti*,[5] the Madhyamaka system of Nāgārjuna and his followers as the fundamentally orthodox form of Buddhism. The documents pertaining to this somewhat neglected controversy between the two main schools of Mahāyāna retain for us today a record of the greatest historical and intellectual interest.

The earliest, most extensive and comprehensive critique of Yogācāra is to be found in Bhavya's *magnum opus: Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā (MHK)*, V, 1–113 with the commentary *Tarkajvālā (TJ)*.[6] The latest is provided by *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa (MRP)*, IV, called **Neyārthatathyasaṃvṛtiprajñā* which is also, in a sense, the most mature and, in accordance with the scope of *MRP* as a whole, the most gratifying from the point of view of systematic presentation.[7] From the interjacent period we have the critique of *svabhāvatraya* etc. in the appendix of Bhavya's commentary *Prajñāpradīpa (PP)* to the *Nirvāṇaparīkṣā* chapter of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, and the critique of *paratantrasvabhāva, tathatā*, etc. in **Karatalaratna* or **Talaratna (TR)*. Like *MRP* they draw heavily from *MHK* and *TJ*, to which they not only all expressly refer for further details, but from which they derive the substance of their arguments and often even their very form of phrase. Thus *PP*, *TR* and *MRP* when seen in relation to *MHK* and *TJ* show, apart from minor additions and omissions, an almost complete substantial dependency on the work of his youth, but seen in relation to one another prove to be mutually supplementary. But even if *PP*, *TJ* and *MRP* do not offer much new from the point of view of philosophical arguments they certainly indicate a clear development in the style and form of presenting his basic ideas. A study of all his contributions in their chronological order thus provides us with a unique opportunity to catch a glimpse into his workshop and follow his development, not so much as a philosopher but rather as a creative author and stylist engaged in reshuffling and systematizing his original ideas anew in accordance with the demands of the scope of the work in progress as a whole.

As Bhavya's critique of Yogācāra in *MHK (TJ)*, *TR* and *MHK* will be dealt with elsewhere, I shall here confine myself to offer a critical edition of the Tibetan version of the appendix to (the now lost Sanskrit original of) *PP*, XXV, only adding that an annotated English translation by Dr. David Eckel will appear in *Indiske Studier*

[5] Cf. Shōtarō Iida, *Āgama (Scripture) and Yukti (Reason) in Bhāvaviveka*, in *Kanakura Kinenronbunshū*, Tōkyō 1966, pp. 79–96. See also the same author's *Reason and Emptiness. A Study in Logic and Mysticism*, Tōkyō 1980.

[6] Until the extant Sanskrit text of *MHK* is published one may refer to Susumu Yamaguchi's edition of the Tibetan version (with a Japanese translation) in the appendix to his *Bukkyō ni okeru Mu to U no Tairon*, Tōkyō 1941/1964[2]. It is based on the Peking and Derge editions.

[7] Cf. my papers referred to in note 1 and my translation of the first chapter in *JIP*, IX (1981), pp. 169–177.

(Copenhagen 1984), and that the Chinese version of *PP* omits the appendix. The sources on which this recension of the Tibetan version is based are as follows:

P: *Prajñāpradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti, Tibetan Tripiṭaka,* Peking edition, No. 5253, Tsha *fol.* 303a6–312a8.

D: *Prajñāpradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti, Tibetan Tripiṭaka,* Derge edition, No. 3853, Tsha *fol.* 242a1–249a1.

A: *Prajñāpradīpaṭīkā, Tibetan Tripiṭaka,* Peking edition, No. 5259, Za *fol.* 322a1–362a1.

E: *Prajñāpradīpaṭīkā, Tibetan Tripiṭaka,* Derge edition, No. 3859, Za *fol.* 271a4–305a4.

The translators of Bhavya's *Vṛtti* as well as Avalokitavrata's excellent *Ṭīkā* to it were Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan.[8] The *Vṛtti* is quoted in the *Ṭīkā* in its entirety and is virtually identical with the form it has in the version of the *PP*, the very few variants (see the *apparatus criticus*) being, perhaps with one or two exceptions, accounted for by subsequent scribal corruption.

PRAJÑĀPRADĪPA
Ch. XXV.

[1] *rnal 'byor spyod pa pa*[1] *dag gis smras pa:-*

«dmigs pa thams cad ñer źi źiṅ ||
spros pa ñer źi źi ba ste ||
saṅs rgyas kyis ni gaṅ du yaṅ ||
su la'aṅ chos 'ga' ma bstan to ||»[2]

źes bya ba ni bden na de rtogs par bya ba'i thabs gźan gyi dbaṅ la skur pa 'debs pa de ni mi ruṅ ste; 'o na ji lta bu źe na?

«ṅo bo ñid gsum śes par bya ||
daṅ po kun tu[3] *brtags pa yin ||*
gñis pa gźan gyi dbaṅ yin te ||
tha ma yoṅs su grub pa yin ||»[4]

[8] For the translators see J. Naudou, *Les bouddhistes kaśmīriens au Moyen Age,* Paris 1968.

[1] *pa pa* PE : *pa po* D : *pa* A

[2] *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā,* XXV, 24 (ed. Lindtner):
sarvopalambhopaśamaḥ prapañcopaśamaḥ śivaḥ |
na kva cit kasya cit kaś cid dharmō buddhena deśitaḥ ||

[3] *kun tu* PEA : *kun du* D

[4] This and the two following verses are quoted from Asaṅga's *Xiǎn-yáng-shèng-jiào-lùn,* see *Taishō daizōkyō,* XXXI, 1602, 557b7–8.

«mtshan ñid de bźin skye ba daṅ ||
don dam ṅo bo ñid med pas ||
ṅo bo ñid ni gsum po dag ||
ṅo bo ñid med ñid du 'dod ||»[5]

de la gaṅ gi tshe kun brtags pa'i ṅo bo ñid med pa'i phyir mi dmigs śiṅ, gźan gyi dbaṅ gi ṅo bo ñid kyaṅ rgyu mtshan du mi 'dzin pas yaṅ dag par rjes su mi mthoṅ[6] *ba de'i tshe na dmigs pa thams cad ñe bar źi ba yin no.*

[α. Parikalpitasvabhāva]

[2] *de dag daṅ lhan cig tu 'di dpyad par bya ste; de la kun brtags pa'i ṅo bo ñid ces bya ba de gaṅ yin? de mtshan ñid ṅo bo ñid med pa ñid kyis ṅo bo ñid med pa ni ji lta bu yin?*

gal te kun brtags pa'i ṅo bo ñid ni chos rnams kyi[7] *ṅo bo ñid daṅ, khyad par la sogs par tha sñad pa'i rnam par rtog pa gaṅ yin pa ste ('di lta ste: ṅo bo ñid du rnam par rtog pa ni*[8] *gzugs daṅ, tshor ba źes bya ba la sogs par*[9] *rnam par rtog pa'o; khyad par du*[10] *rnam par rtog pa ni bstan du yod pa daṅ, bstan du med pa źes bya ba la sogs par rnam par rtog pa'o), de mtshan ñid ṅo bo ñid med pa ñid kyis ṅo bo ñid med pa ni rgyu mtshan la sogs pa lṅa po dag gi khoṅs su ma gtogs pa'i phyir ro (de de ltar yod pa ma yin yaṅ miṅ don la 'jug pa las kun nas ñon moṅs par 'gyur te, ji ltar miṅ don la 'jug pa de ltar byis pa rnams de'i ṅo bo ñid la mṅon par źen par byed do) źe na?*

de la[11] *'dir gal te gzugs źes bya bar yid la brjod pa daṅ, tshig tu brjod pa'i kun brtags pa'i*[12] *ṅo bo ñid gaṅ yin pa de med do źe na ni, dṅos po la skur pa 'debs pa yin te, yid la brjod pa daṅ, tshig tu brjod pa la skur pa 'debs pa'i phyir ro.*

ci ste[13] *gaṅ yaṅ ruṅ bas de gñis kyi don kun brtags pa gaṅ yin pa de med de, dper na thag pa la sbrul bźin no źe na ni, kun brtags pa med pa ma yin te, de la rnam pa 'dra bas blo gros 'khrul pas kun brtags pa'i don med kyaṅ tha sñad du sbrul 'khyil ba la*[14]*⁻ de med pa ma yin pa'i phyir ro. ci ste tha sñad du'aṅ sbrul 'khyil ba la⁻*[14] *sbrul med do źe*

[5] *ibid.*, 55 7b15–16, q.v. (Bhavya also follows Asaṅga in the sequel!)
[6] *mthoṅ* PDE : *gtoṅ* A
[7] *kyi* PDE : *kyis* A
[8] *pa ni* A : *pa'i* PDE
[9] *par* A : *pa* PDE
[10] *par du* ADE : *par* P
[11] *la* PDE : *lta* A
[12] *pa'i* AE : *pa* PD
[13] *ci ste* PDE : *ji ste* A (semper *ji* pro *ci* infra)
[14] *de med pa ma yin pa'i phyir ro. ci ste tha sñad du'aṅ* (P : *du yaṅ* AE) *sbrul 'khyil ba la* om. D
[15] *ma* PAE : *mi* D

na ni, grags pa'i gnod par 'gyur ro; ci ste don dam par dṅos po sel bar byed na ni, dbu ma pa'i tshul gyis rjes su smra ba yin te, don dam par sbrul rdzas su yod pa ma yin pa'i phyir daṅ, ṅo bo ñid las skye ba med pa'i phyir ro. thag pa daṅ sbrul 'khyil ba la ma[15] *dmigs pa kho nar thag pa daṅ sbrul gyi blo skye na ni, pha rol po raṅ la śes par byed par*[16] *rab tu ma grub bo. gaṅ yaṅ ruṅ ba la ma grub pa ni gtan tshigs ma yin no źes bya ba der tha sñad kyi dus su ni phyogs gñi ga la grags pa'i sgrub par*[17] *byed pa 'dod par bya'o — źes sṅar bstan zin to.*

kun brtags pa'i don yod pa ma yin par ston par 'dod pas[18] *ni slob dpon gyis dbu ma pa'i tshul 'thad pa daṅ bcas pa bka' stsal pa ñid 'dod par bya ste, brjod par bya ba'i ṅo bo ñid bkag pa kho nas yul de la yid daṅ tshig gi brjod pa 'jug pa ldog pa'i phyir ro.*[19]

kun brtags pa'i mtshan ñid med do źe na ni, gtan tshigs kyi don ma grub pa ñid de, miṅ ni gzugs daṅ 'du byed du gtogs pa'i phyir daṅ, ṅo bo ñid daṅ, rtog pa daṅ, rjes su dran pa'i[20] *rnam par rtog pa dag kyaṅ rnam par śes pa daṅ, 'du byed kyi phuṅ por gtogs pa'i phyir ro.*

gźan yaṅ tha sñad[21]*⁻ pa'i brjod pa 'jug pa ni brjod⁻*[21] *par bya ba'i don gyi ṅo bo ñid daṅ, khyad par gyi yul can yin la, don dam par brjod par bya ba'i don gyi ṅo bo ñid daṅ, khyad par bkag pa'i phyir mṅon par źen pa'i ñon moṅs pa mi 'thad de, skyes bu*[22] *'phyon ma pas gzugs su byas pa'i na chuṅ la bdag med pa ñid du rtogs*[23] *pa bźin pas miṅ gi dbaṅ gis don la mṅon par źen par mi rigs te, tshul bźin ma yin pa yid la byed pa las rigs so.*

[β. Paratantrasvabhāva]

[3] *de bźin du gźan gyi dbaṅ gi ṅo bo ñid ces bya ba de yaṅ gaṅ yin?*

chos rnams kyi rten ciṅ 'brel par 'byuṅ ba'i ṅo bo ñid kun nas ñon moṅs pa daṅ, rnam par byaṅ ba'i gźi gaṅ yin pa ste:[24]

> «*btags pa*[25] *rgyu mtshan bcas phyir daṅ* ||
> *gźan du gñis po med phyir daṅ* ||

[16] *par* AE : *pa* PD
[17] *sgrub par* PD : *śes par* AE
[18] *pas* PD : *pa* AE
[19] Reference to *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, XVIII, 6, q.v.
[20] *pa'i* AE : *pa* PD
[21] *pa'i brjod pa 'jug pa ni brjod* om. P
[22] *bu* PDE : *bu daṅ* A
[23] *rtogs* AE : *rtog* PD
[24] *ste* PD : *de* AE
[25] *btags pa* AE : *brtags pa'i* PD (ut sæpius infra)

kun nas ñon moṅs dmigs pa'i phyir ||
gźan dbaṅ yod pa ñid du 'dod ||»[26]

'di la yaṅ gal te gźan gyi dbaṅ gi[27] *ṅo bo ñid tha sñad kyi bden par gtogs par 'dod na ni, de 'dod la rag ste, de ston pa don med do. ci ste don dam par na ni rten ciṅ 'brel par 'byuṅ ba ma yin te, skye ba med pa'i rab tu byed par bstan pa'i tshul gyis skye ba bkag pa'i phyir ro.*[28]

«btags pa rgyu mtshan bcas phyir daṅ» źes bya ba de yaṅ phyogs kyi chos ma yin pa'i phyir, gtan tshigs kyi don ma grub pa ñid do. ci ste yaṅ, «btags pa rgyu mtshan bcas phyir daṅ» źes bya ba 'dir chos mthun pa'i dpe'i tshig yin pas de'i phyir rjes su dpag pa ni don dam par gźugs źes btags pa gaṅ yin pa de ni rgyu mtshan daṅ bcas pa ñid yin te, btags pa'i phyir ro źes brjod par byed na yaṅ, dper na 'di lta bu'o źes bya ba'i rjes su 'gro ba med pas gtan tshigs kyi don ma grub pa ñid do. gtan tshigs kyi don 'gal ba ñid kyaṅ yin te, gtan tshigs spyir[29] *brjod pa'i phyir ro.*

gaṅ dag[30] *don dam par miṅ daṅ gzugs skye ba med do źes dam bcas pa de la dam bcas pa'i skyon 'dogs par byed pa de dag gal te rjes su dpag pas gnod pa smra na, de ñid kyi phyir de la rjes su dpag pas gnod pa med do. ci ste grags pas gnod do źe na? de ni daṅ po ñid du lan btab zin to. ci ste mṅon sum gyis gnod do źe na? de yaṅ 'dir skabs med do.* [4] *don dam pa ni gñis su med pa'i phyir ci źig gaṅ gis kun nas ñon moṅs pa daṅ, rnam par byaṅ bar 'gyur?*

don dam par skye ba med par smra ba ni kun nas ñon moṅs pa daṅ, rnam par byaṅ ba la skur pa 'debs pa ma yin no!

skur pa 'debs pa ma yin pa ma yin te, 'di ltar mdo sde *las:-*

«thog ma med pa'i dus ldan khams ||
sa bon kun gyi gnas yin te ||
de yod pas na[31] *'gro kun daṅ ||*
mya ṅan 'das pa thob par 'gyur ||»[32]

[26] The Sanskrit of this (= *Xiǎn-yáng-shèng-jiào-lùn*, 558c 25–26, q.v.) is found as *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, V, 6:
prajñapteḥ sanimittatvād anyathā dvayanāśatah |
saṃkleśasyopalabdheś ca paratantrāstitā matā ||

[27] *dbaṅ gi* AE : omm. PD

[28] Reference to *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, I, 1, q.v.

[29] *spyir* DAE : *phyir* P

[30] *dag* PD : omm. *AE*

[31] *na* AE : *ni* PD

[32] From *Abhidharmasūtra* (quoted *Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya*, *Triṃśikābhāṣya*, *Ratnagotravibhāga*, etc.):
anādikāliko dhātuḥ sarvabījasamāśrayaḥ |
tasmin sati gatiḥ sarvā nirvāṇādhigamo 'pi ca ||
— note that Bhavya here (as e.g. TJ, 235a7) reads °*bīja*° for °*dharma*°.

źes gsuṅs pas; de ni gźan gyi dbaṅ yin par 'dod de, de yaṅ dag na ni chos kyi dbyiṅs źes bya la, ma dag na ni ñon moṅs pa can źes bya'o źe na?

mdo sde las de skad gsuṅs pa ni tha sñad kyi bden pa'i lugs gsal bar bya ba'i phyir te,[33] *«thog ma med pa'i dus ldan khams» źes bya ba ni rnam par śes pa thog ma med pa'i dus nas źugs pa'i phyir ro.*[34] *«khams» źes bya ba ni 'phags pa'i chos kyi rgyu yin pa'i phyir te, gser daṅ dṅul gyi khams bźin no. «sa bon kun gyi gnas yin te» źes bya ba ni khams gsum par gtogs pa daṅ, ma gtogs pa daṅ, dge ba daṅ, mi dge ba'i bag chags kyi sa bon gyi gnas yin pa'i phyir ro. «de yod pas na 'gro kun daṅ» źes bya ba ni de'i dbaṅ gis 'gro ba 'thob par byed pa'i chos mṅon par 'du byed pa na'o. «mya ṅan 'das pa thob par 'gyur» źes bya ba ni thos pa daṅ, bsam pa*[35] *daṅ, bsgoms pa las byuṅ ba skye ba med pa śes pa ñid kyis mi skye ba'i chos can mya ṅan las 'das pa 'thob pa'i phyir*[36] *źes bya bar tshigs su bcad pa'i don khas blaṅs pa'i phyir ro. tshigs su bcad pa'i don gźan yin par ni tshad ma dag gis bstan dka' ba'i phyir des ni lan mi thebs so.*

[5] *ci ste yaṅ* mdo sde *las:-*

«brtags pa'i dṅos po med pa ñid ||
gźan gyi dbaṅ ni yod pa yin ||
sgro 'dogs pa daṅ skur pa'i mthar ||
rtog par byed pa ñams par 'gyur ||»[37]

źes gsuṅs pas; gźan gyi dbaṅ yod pa ñid do źe na?

mdo sde'i don ni gźan gyi dbaṅ la miṅ yod pa ma yin pa'i phyir daṅ, gźan gyi dbaṅ yaṅ tha sñad du sgyu ma daṅ, rmi lam lta bu'i bdag ñid du yod pa ñid gsal bar byed pa yin te; gźan las kyaṅ ji skad du:-

«miṅ ni gaṅ daṅ gaṅ dag gis ||
chos rnams gaṅ daṅ gaṅ brjod pa ||
de la de ni yod min pa ||
de ni chos rnams chos ñid do ||»[38]

[33] *te* DAE : *to* P

[34] *ro* DAE : *to* P

[35] *bsam pa* P : *bsams pa* DAE (which is possible)

[36] *phyir* PD : *phyir ro* AE

[37] From *Laṅkāvatarasūtra*, II, 191 ~ X, 305 (ed. Nanjio q.v. for variants):
nāsti vai kalpito bhāvaḥ paratantraś ca vidyate |
samāropāpavādaṃ hi vikalpānte (!) vinaśyati ||
— references to this in Dharmapāla's commentary to *Catuḥśataka* (*Taishō daizōkyō*, XXX, 1571, 247b 23 ff., q.v.) and in numerous later Madhyamaka texts (*Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti*, *Satyadvayavibhaṅgavṛtti*, etc.). — Cf. also Kajiyama in *WZKSO*, XII–XIII (1968/1969), pp. 200–203, and *Tarkajvālā* to MHK, V, 68.

[38] From *Ārya-Bhavasaṃkrāntisūtra* (quoted *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, etc. = *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, V, 74):

źes bya ba daṅ, de bźin du:-

«bskyed bya med ciṅ skyes pa med ||
rkyen rnams dag ni gaṅ dag kyaṅ ||
'ga' yaṅ[39] *gaṅ na'aṅ yod pa min ||*
tha sñad du ni brjod par bya ||»[40]

źes bya ba daṅ, de bźin du:-

«gaṅ la cuṅ zad skye med ciṅ ||
'gag pa'aṅ cuṅ zad yod min pa[41] *||*
'gro ba dben mthoṅ de la ni ||
yod pa ñid daṅ med ñid med ||»[42]

ces bya ba la sogs pa gsuṅs pa lta bu'o.

[6] *khyed cag chos kyi khams ji ltar kun nas ñon moṅs pa daṅ, rnam par byaṅ bar 'gyur bar ston?*

chos kyi khams ñon moṅs pa can[43] *daṅ, ñon moṅs pa can ma yin pa ñid du brjod par bya ba ma yin pa la, ñon moṅs pa'i dri ma glo bur du*[44] *yod pa'i phyir:-*

«chu khams gser daṅ nam mkha' dag ||
dag pa bźin du dag par 'dod ||»[45]

de ji ltar ñon moṅs pa can daṅ, ñon moṅs pa can ma yin pa ñid du brjod par bya ba ma yin źe na?

«gal te ñon moṅs de ma gyur ||
lus can thams cad grol bar 'gyur ||

---

yena yena hi nāmnā vai yo yo dharmo 'bhilapyate |
na sa saṃvidyate tatra dharmāṇāṃ sa hi dharmatā ||

[39] *'ga' yaṅ* DAE : *dga' yaṅ* P

[40] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, II, 144 ~ X, 89 (ed. Nanjio, q.v. for variants):
na cotpādyaṃ na cotpannāḥ pratyayā api ke cana |
saṃvidyante kva cit ke cid vyavahāras tu kathyate ||

[41] *pa* DAE : *la* P

[42] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, III, 14 ~ X, 196 (ed. Nanjio, q.v. for variants):
yasya notpadyate kiṃ cin na ca kiṃ cin nirudhyate |
tasyāsti nāsti nopaiti viviktaṃ paśyato jagat ||

[43] *can* PD : omm. AE

[44] *du* PE : *pa* AD

[45] *Madhyāntavibhāgakārikā*, I, 16ab (ed. Nagao):
abdhātukanakākāśaśuddhivac chuddhir iṣyate ||

gal te rnam dag de ma gyur ||
'bad pa 'bras bu med par 'gyur ||»[46]

yaṅ na:-

«ñon moṅs ma yin mi moṅs min ||
de ni dag min ma dag min ||
sems ni raṅ bźin 'od gsal phyir ||
ñon moṅs glo bur[47] *yin phyir ro ||»*[48]

de ni rigs pa[49] *ma yin te; bdag tu smra ba dag gis kyaṅ:-*

«gal te ñon moṅs bdag ma gyur ||
lus can thams cad grol bar 'gyur ||
gal te rnam dag bdag ma gyur ||
'bad pa 'bras bu med par 'gyur ||»[50]

de'i phyir re źig bdag rtag pa dag pa[51] *byed pa med pa yod de, 'on kyaṅ 'khor ba daṅ thar pa dag kyaṅ yod do źes de ltar*[52] *phyir zlog par byed nus pa'i phyir ro. de'i phyir raṅ gi grub pa'i mtha'i skyon sba ba'i thabs 'thad pa med pas mi 'grub bo.*

gźan yaṅ chu la sogs pa rgyu daṅ rkyen gyi dbaṅ gis skye ba'i khyad par brten pa[53] *dag bźin du tha sñad pa'i rnam par śes pa ñon moṅs pa can daṅ, ñon moṅs pa can ma yin pa'i dṅos por skye ba la bltos pas ñon moṅs pa rnams daṅ lhan cig skye ba daṅ, ñon moṅs pa rnams med par phyin ci ma log pa'i śes pa daṅ lhan cig skye ba yaṅ*[54] *kun nas ñon moṅs pa daṅ, rnam par byaṅ ba dag tu 'byuṅ bar*[55] *'gyur bar ruṅ ba; de ltar chos kyi khams ni ñon moṅs pa rnams daṅ, śes pa daṅ lhan cig skye ba ma yin pas chu la sogs pa bźin du de bźin ñid kun nas ñon moṅs pa daṅ, rnam par byaṅ ba dag tu 'gyur bar mi rigs so.*

[46] *Ibid.*, I, 21:
saṃkliṣṭā ced bhaven nāsau muktāḥ syuḥ sarvadehinaḥ |
viśuddhā ced bhaven nāsau vyāyāmo niṣphalo bhavet ||

[47] *glo bur* DAE : *blo bur* P

[48] *Madhyāntavibhāgakārikā*, I, 22 (ed. Nagao):
na kliṣṭā nāpi vākliṣṭā śuddhā na caiva sā |
prabhāsvaratvāc cittasya kleśasyāgantukatvataḥ ||

[49] *pa* AE : *pas* PD

[50] Probably composed by Bhavya himself, cf. note 46.

[51] *rtag pa dag pa* D : *rtag pa dag* P : *brtag pa* AE

[52] *de ltar* AE : *de lta* D : om. P

[53] *brten pa* P : *bsten pa* DE : *ston pa* A

[54] *yaṅ* PAE : *daṅ* D

[55] *'byuṅ bar* PD : omm. AE

gal te du ba dań, khug rna la sogs pa yod pa dań, med pa nam mkha'[56] *dri ma dań bcas pa dań, dri ma med par brjod par bya ba ma yin nam źe na? ma yin te, nam mkha' rdzas su yod pa ñid bkag pa'i phyir ro. rdzas su yod pa ñid yin na yań dri ma dań bcas pa dań, dri ma med pa dag mi 'grub ste, skye ba dań, 'gag pa med pa'i phyir, dper na chos kyi khams bźin no. yań na nam mkha'*[57] *dri ma dań bcas pa dań,*[58] *dri ma med par 'gyur ba bźin du chos kyi khams la yań kun nas ñon moṅs pa dań, rnam par byań ba dag ñe bar btags pa'i phyir 'dod pa'i don ñams so. «kun nas ñon moṅs*[59] *dmigs pa'i phyir» źes bya ba de la yań dam bcas pa'i gtan tshigs kyi skyon sṅa ma bźin no.*

[7] *de skye ba ṅo bo ñid med pa yań ji lta bu yin?*

gal te[60] *rkyen gyi stobs kyis skye źiṅ rań mi skye ba gań yin pa'o źe na? de*[61] *don dam par ji ltar rkyen gyi stobs kyis skye — ṅo bo*[62] *ñid kyis sam? gźan gyi dṅos pos sam? gñi gas sam? ci yod pa las sam? ci med pa las sam? ci yod pa dań, med pa las skye'o? źes brjod par bya graṅ na, rnam pa thams cad las kyań sṅar bstan pa'i tshul gyis de skye ba med pa'i phyir, rkyen gyi stobs kyis skye ba*[63] *bstan dka'o.*

ci ste sgyu ma la sogs pa'i skye ba bźin du brjod par bya ba ma yin pa'i skye ba spyir[64] *brjod na ni tha sñad kyi bden pa sgrub pa*[65] *yin no. rkyen gyi stobs kyis skyes pa sgyu ma la sogs pa bźin du ṅo bo ñid las*[66] *skye ba med par ston pas dbu ma pa'i smra ba'i rjes su smra ba yań yin te,*[67] dBu ma pa'i bstan bcos *kyi tshul ni:-*

«rten ciṅ 'brel par gań 'byuṅ ba ||
de ni stoṅ pa ñid du bśad ||»[68]

ces bya bas dṅos po rnams rań las skye ba med pa yin pa'i phyir ro.

ci ste ṅo bo ñid las skye ba med pa ni ṅo bo ñid med pa ñid[69] *yin te,* mdo sde *las:-*

«gań źig rkyen las skyes pa[70] *de ma skyes ||»*[71]

[56] *mkha'* AE : *mkha'i* PD (pro *mkha' ni?*)
[57] *mkha'* DAE : *mkha'i* P
[58] *dań* PAE : om. D
[59] *moṅs* : *moṅs pa* PDAE
[60] *te* PD : *te de* AE
[61] *de* PDE : om. A
[62] *ṅo bo* PD : *ji* (!) *ṅo bo* AE
[63] *skye ba* PD : *skye ba med pa* AE
[64] *spyir* DAE : *phyir* P (cf. n. 29)
[65] *sgrub pa* PD : *bsgrub pa* AE
[66] *las* PDE : *la* A
[67] *yin te* PDE : *ma yin te* A
[68] *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, XXIV, 18ab (ed. Lindtner):
yaḥ pratītyasamutpādaḥ śūnyatāṃ tāṃ pracakṣmahe |
[69] *ñid* PDE : om. A
[70] *skyes pa* PD : *skye ba* AE

źes gsuṅs pa'i tshig daṅ rjes su mthun pa'i phyir ro źe na? de lta na yaṅ dbu ma pa'i smra ba'i rjes su smra ba yin te, ṅo bo ñid las de skye ba 'gog pa'i phyir ro.
[8] *ji ltar rnal 'byor spyod pa pas*[72] *gźan gyi dbaṅ gi ṅo bo ñid rgyu mtshan du mi 'dzin pas yaṅ dag par rjes su mi mthoṅ ba yin?*

gal te ji ltar snaṅ ba de ltar med pa yin no źe na? ci'i phyir de de ltar med pa yin?[73] *gal te don dam par de ltar ma skyes pa'i phyir ro źe na ni? dbu ma pa'i smra ba'i rjes su smra ba yin no! ci ste ji ltar skyes pa de ltar med de, brten nas*[74] *skyes pa'i phyir, sgyu ma la sogs pa bźin no źe na ni? 'o na de lta na gźan gyi dbaṅ yod pa ñid kyaṅ ma yin la, dbu ma pa'i*[75]*⁻ smra ba'i rjes su smra ba yin te! dbu ma pa'i⁻*[75] *smra ba'i tshul ni:-*

«rmi lam ji bźin sgyu ma 'dra[76] ||
dri za'i groṅ khyer ji bźin du ||
de ltar[77] *skye daṅ de bźin gnas* ||
de bźin du ni 'jig pa[78] *gsuṅs* ||»[79]

źes bya ba yin pa'i phyir ro.

gal te gñis po dag yoṅs su ma grub pa'i phyir,[80] *ji ltar snaṅ ba de ltar med do źe na ni? de la ci'i phyir gñis po dag yoṅs su ma grub ces brgal źiṅ brtag pa de daṅ lan ñid*[81] *de bźin du ñe bar gnas so.*
[9] *ci ste yaṅ 'di sñam du:-*

«don daṅ sems can bdag rnam rig ||
snaṅ ba'i rnam par śes pa ni[82] ||

[71] From *Anavataptahradāpasaṃkramaṇasūtra* (often quoted in Sanskrit, cf. ref. in *JIP*, IX (1981), p. 204, n. 69 and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (tr. Lamotte), p. 41):
yaḥ pratyayair jāyati sa hy ajāto . . .

[72] *rnal 'byor spyod pa pas* AE : *rnal 'byor pas* PD

[73] *yin* PAE : *yin te* D

[74] *brten nas* PDE : *rten nas* A

[75] *pa'i* PDE : *pa* A

[76] *'dra* PD : *bźin* AE

[77] *de ltar* PDE : *ji ltar* A

[78] *'jig pa* D : *'jigs pa* P : *'jig par* AE

[79] *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, VII, 34 (ed. Lindtner):
yathā māyā yathā svapno gandharvanagaraṃ yathā |
tathotpādas tathā sthānaṃ tathā bhaṅga udāhṛtam ||
— note that all the Tibetan and Chinese versions, with the sole exception of *Zhōng lùn* (*Taishō daizōkyō*, XXX, 1564, 12a 23), invert the ordo naturalis of *māyā* and *svapna* in *pāda* a.

[80] *phyir* DAE : *phyir ro* P

[81] *de daṅ lan ñid* PD : *de ñid* AE

[82] *ni* AE : *yis* PD

rab tu skye'o de'i don med ||
de med pas na de yaṅ med ||»[83]

ces bya bas don med pa'i phyir, rgyu mtshan du 'dzin par[84] *mi 'grub bo sñam na*[85] *yaṅ don de bstan par dka'o!*

gal te bstan par mi dka' ste, mdo sde *las:- «kye rgyal ba'i sras 'di lta ste: khams gsum pa 'di ni sems tsam mo»*[86] *źes gsuṅs pa'i phyir ro źe na? de ni lan ma yin te, mdo sde'i tshig gźan du rnam par bśad pa'i phyir daṅ, bsgrub par bya ba'i don mṅon sum ma yin pa de ni*[87] *luṅ daṅ rjes su dpag pa dag gis 'grub pa'i*[88] *phyir ro.*

gal te rnam par śes pa ni tsai tra[89] *la sogs pa'i don gyis stoṅ pa yin te, 'jug pa daṅ ldan pa'i phyir daṅ, 'bras bu yin pa'i phyir daṅ, mi rtag pa'i phyir daṅ, gyo ba med pa'i phyir daṅ, dus su*[90] *'jug pa'i phyir, dper na raṅ gi bag chags thob pas 'jug pa'i rmi lam gyi sems bźin no źes rjes su dpag pa'i phyir daṅ,* luṅ *las:-*

«phyi rol snaṅ ba yod min te ||
lus daṅ loṅs spyod gnas 'dra bar ||
sems ni sna tshogs snaṅ bas na ||
sems tsam du ni ṅa smra'o ||»[91]

źes gsuṅs pa' phyir skyon med do źe na?

rnam par śes pa don gyis stoṅ pa yin te źes dam bcas pa de'i[92] *don gaṅ yin? gal te de'i don phyi rol gyi rkyen la mi bltos par*[93] *bag chags kyi sa bon gyi rgyu las rnam par śes*

[83] *Madhyāntavibhāgakārikā*, I, 3 (ed. Nagao):
arthasattvātmavijñaptipratibhāsaṃ prajāyate |
vijñānaṃ nāsti cāsyārthas tadabhāvāt tad apy asat ||

[84] *par* PD : *pa* AE

[85] *na* AE : *nas* PD

[86] *Daśabhūmikasūtra* according to Avalokitavrata (cf. Rahder's edition p. 49: *cittamātram idaṃ yad idaṃ traidhātukam . . .*). Also quoted TJ, Dsa *fol.* 218a4: *kye rgyal ba'i sras, khams gsum pa 'di dag thams cad ni sems tsam yin no . . .* Similarly *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, V, 28 and *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*, IV, initio. — Cf. May in *EA*, XXV (1971), p. 274.

[87] *de ni* AE : *ni* PD

[88] *'grub pa'i* DAE : *sgrub pa'i* P

[89] *tsai tra* PDE : *tsa trai* A

[90] *su* AE : omm. PD

[91] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, III, 33 X, 487 (ed. Nanjio, q.v. for variants):
dṛśyaṃ na vidyate bāhyaṃ cittaṃ citraṃ hi dṛśyate |
dehabhogapratiṣṭhānaṃ cittamātraṃ vadāmy aham ||
—cf. *Madhyamakāvatāra*, p. 194 (ed. La Vallée Poussin).

[92] *pa de'i* PAE : *pa'i* D

[93] *bltos par* P : *ltos par* DAE

pa skye ba yin na ni, de la gal te don dam par phyi rol gyi rkyen la mi bltos par rnam par śes pa skye bar ston na dpe med do. ci ste tha sñad du na ni[94] *grags pas gnod do.*

saṅs rgyas kyi dbaṅ gis sam, lha'i dbaṅ gis sam, daṅ po luṅ phog[95] *pa'i rnam par rig pa las skyes pa'i rnam par śes pa dag gi*[96] *gtan tshigs kyi don ma ṅes pa ñid daṅ, saṅs rgyas 'byuṅ ba don med pa ñid daṅ, tha sñad kyi bden par gtogs pa'i don snaṅ ba med pa ñid du yaṅ 'gyur ro.*

de ṅo bo ñid las[97] *yod pa ma yin pa'i phyir,*[98] *phyi rol gyi don ṅo bo ñid yod pa ma yin yaṅ, phyi rol gyi don gyi yul gyi*[99] *ṅo bo ñid log par snaṅ ba ma rtogs pa la*[100] *sgyu ma mṅon par mi śes pa bźin du lus daṅ loṅs spyod daṅ, gnas 'dra ba'i sems sna tshogs skye bas sems sna tshogs su snaṅ źiṅ, lus daṅ loṅs spyod daṅ, gnas kyi grib ma lta bus ñe bar kha sgyur*[101] *ba'i phyir lus daṅ loṅs spyod daṅ gnas lta bur yaṅ snaṅ*[102] *ṅo. de med du zin na de ltar snaṅ ba ñid du mi 'gyur te, dper na ri boṅ gi rva snaṅ ba ñid du mi 'gyur ba bźin no.*

bcom ldan 'das kyis «sems tsam» źes gsuṅs pa'i mdo sde'i don kyaṅ sems las gźan pa'i byed pa po daṅ, za ba po med pa'i phyir sems tsam mo źes gsuṅs par khas blaṅs pa'i phyir, de ltar ṅes par byar mi nus te,[103] *byaṅ chub sems dpa'i sa drug pa las byaṅ chub sems dpa'*[104] *srid pa'i yan lag bcu gñis kyi skye ba daṅ, 'gag pa la*[105] *so sor rtog pa na*[106] *'di sñam du:- «sdug bsṅal gyi phuṅ po 'ba' źig pa 'dis sdug bsṅal gyi śiṅ ljon pa mṅon par 'grub par byed gyi, byed pa po 'am tshor ba po ni med do»,*[107] *sñam nas de 'di sñam du sems te:- «byed pa po la mṅon par źen pa las bya ba mṅon par 'gyur gyi, gaṅ la byed pa po med pa de la don dam par bya ba yaṅ dmigs su med do»,*[108] *sñam nas de 'di sñam du sems te:- «'di lta ste: khams gsum pa 'di ni sems tsam ste, sems tsam gyis rab tu phye ba daṅ, sems kyis mṅon par 'du byas pa yin gyi, dbaṅ phyug*[109] *la sogs pa byed*

[94] *na ni* PDE : *ni* A

[95] *luṅ phog* AE : *luṅ 'bog* P : *luṅ dbogs* D

[96] *gi* AE : *gis* PD

[97] *las* AE : *la* PD

[98] *phyir* PDE : *phyir ro* A

[99] *yul gyi* DAE : om. P

[100] *rtogs pa la* : *gtogs pa la* AE : *gtogs pa las* D : *btogs pa las* P

[101] *sgyur* A : *bsgyur* PDE

[102] *snaṅ ṅo* PD : *ṅo* AE

[103] *mi nus te* PD : *mi ruṅ ste* AE

[104] *dpa'* PAE : *dpa'i* D

[105] *la* PD : *las* AE

[106] *na* PDE : om. A

[107] *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, p. 49 (ed. Rahder):

...ayaṃ kevalo duḥkhaskandho duḥkhavṛkṣo 'bhinirvartate kārakavedakavirahita iti...

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 49:

...kārakābhiniveśataḥ kriyāḥ prajñāyante; yatra kārako nāsti, kriyāpi tatra paramārthato nopalabhyate...

[109] *phyug* DAE : *phyugs* P

pa po ni med do»[110] *sñam du rnam par ṅes par*[111] *mdzad nas:- «kye rgyal ba'i sras 'di lta ste: khams gsum pa 'di ni sems tsam mo»,*[112] *źes gsuṅs te; «tsam» źes gsuṅs pa de ni byed pa po de*[113] *dgag pa yin par śes pa bya'i, don dgag pa ni ma yin par śes par bya'o.* [10] *gaṅ dag 'di skad ces:- dṅos po gzugs can rnams ni sems kyi ṅo bo ñid yin te, rnam par śes pa'i yul yin pa'i phyir, dper na de ma thag pa'i rkyen bźin no*[114] *— źes zer na, sems las byuṅ ba dag gis ma ṅes pa ñid yin no. gzugs la sogs pa ni sems daṅ sems las byuṅ ba'i ṅo bo ñid yin par ston na yaṅ, sems daṅ sems las byuṅ ba dag gis so sor ma ṅes pa ñid yin no. grub pa'i mtha' daṅ 'gal ba yaṅ yin te, tshul ni:-*

«de la don mthoṅ rnam par śes ||
de yi bye brag sems las byuṅ ||»[115]

źes bya ba yin pa'i phyir ro. sṅa ma bźin du dam bcas pa'i skyon yaṅ yod do. [11] *gaṅ dag 'di skad ces:- 'di la gzugs kyi blo 'di'i yul rdul phra rab kyi gzugs gcig yin nam, 'dus pa yin; de la rdul phra rab kyi gzugs gcig ni gzugs kyi blo'i spyod yul ma yin te, de mi*[116] *snaṅ ba'i phyir, dper na mig bźin no. ci ste 'dus pa yin na ni de gzugs kyi blo'i yul ma yin te, rdzas su yod pa ma yin pa'i phyir, dper na zla ba gñis su snaṅ ba bźin no*[117] *— źes zer na, de la gal te don dam par mig gi rnam par śes pa gzugs la dmigs pa ñid daṅ, gzugs kyaṅ mig gi rnam par śes pa'i dmigs par bya ba ñid ma yin par 'gog par byed na ni, grub pa la sgrub pa yin no. ci ste tha sñad du na ni*[118] *grags pas gnod do.*

rdul phra rab dag[119] *dbaṅ po'i rnam par rig pa dag gi yul ma yin no*[120] *źes dam bcas pa de'i don kyaṅ gaṅ yin? gal te yul gźan yod pa yin na ni phyogs*[121] *sṅa ma la gnod do. gal te de la yul med na ni dpe med de, gzugs kyi blo phyogs su byas pa yul med ma grub pa'i phyir ro.*

gźan yaṅ blo[122] *rdul phra rab kyi gzugs bsags pa daṅ, bsags pa ma yin pa gcig pu la dmigs pa dag phyogs su byas pas, gcig gi*[123] *dus la ni gtan tshigs kyi don ma grub pa ñid*

[110] Not found in the textus receptus of *Daśabhūmikasūtra*
[111] *par* PD : *pa* AE
[112] See note 86.
[113] *de* P : *med de* D : omm. AE
[114] Cf. *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, V, 27
[115] *Madhyāntavibhāgakārikā*, I, 8cd (ed. Nagao):
tatrārthadarśir vijñānaṃ tadviśeṣe tu caitasāḥ ||
[116] *mi* DAE : *ni* P
[117] Cf. *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, V, 31–34 and Dignāga's *Ālambanaparīkṣā*.
[118] *du na ni* A : *du* PD : *du ni* E
[119] *rab dag* AE : *rab* PD
[120] *no* PDE : om. A
[121] *phyogs* PAE : *yul gźan phyogs* D
[122] *blo* AE : *blo gźan* PD
[123] *gi* DAE : *gis* P

de, bsags pa'i gzugs rdul phra rab kyi gzugs gźan gyis[124] *phan btags pa gcig pu yaṅ raṅ gi bdag ñid snaṅ ba'i blo bskyed pa*[125] *yin pa'i phyir, de'i blo yod pas de mi snaṅ ba ñid ma grub pa'i phyir ro. gźan gyi dus la ni grub pa la sgrub pa yin te, bsags pa ma yin pa'i gzugs mig gi rnam par śes pa'i yul ñid du khas ma blaṅs pa'i phyir ro.* (chos mṅon pa *las kyaṅ:-*

«*gzugs can bcu ni bsags pa'o* ||»[126]

źes 'byuṅ bas de'i phyir bsags pa ma yin pa ni yul gyi dṅos por mi 'grub bo.) gzugs la dmigs pa med par gzugs kyi blo skye bar[127] *dam 'cha' na*[128] *ni gzugs la dmigs par mi byed pa'i blo ni mig gi dbaṅ po'i blo ñid yin par mi 'grub pas de mi snaṅ ba'i phyir źes bya ba'i gtan tshigs kyi gźi ma grub pa ñid do.*

gzugs kyi[129] *blo'i yul 'dus pa ñid la yaṅ rdzas su yod pa ma yin pa'i phyir źes gaṅ smras pa de la sṅa ma bźin du dam bcas pa'i skyon yod do. zla ba gñis su snaṅ ba yaṅ gal te don yin no źe na ni, de raṅ daṅ gźan la mi 'grub ste, rnam pa de lta bu'i don mi srid pa'i phyir ro. 'on te zla ba gñis su snaṅ ba blo yin no źe na? de ni*[130] *rdzas su yod pa ma yin par ma grub pa'i phyir, dpe la*[131] *sgrub pa'i chos ma tshaṅ ba*[132] *ñid kyi skyon yod do. gzugs kyi rnam par śes pa gzugs źes bya ba'i don gyis*[133] *stoṅ par ston na ni*[134] *dpe la bsgrub par bya ba chos ma tshaṅ ba ñid kyi skyon yod de,*[135] *zla ba gñis su*[136] *mthoṅ ba'i blo phyi rol gyi dmigs pa la ma bltos*[137] *par skye bar mi 'grub pa'i phyir ro.*
[12] *gźan yaṅ smra bar 'dod pa'i rnam par śes pa ni dmigs pa'i rkyen gzugs kyi rnam par śes pa'i gzugs su snaṅ ba ñid gaṅ yin pa de daṅ ldan pa ma yin te, mig gi rgyu daṅ ldan pa'i phyir, dper na de ñid kyi raṅ gi bdag ñid du snaṅ ba bźin pas tha sñad du yaṅ*[138] *dmigs pa'i rkyen la skur pa 'debs pa'i phyir mdzad pa'i mtha' daṅ 'gal ba'o.*[139]

[124] *gyis* PDE : *gyi* A
[125] *bskyed pa* AE : *skyes pa* PD
[126] *Abhidharmakośakārikā*, I, 35d (ed. Pradhan):
. . .*saṃcitā daśa rūpiṇaḥ* ||
[127] *skye bar* DAE : *skyes par* P
[128] *'cha' na* PD : *'cha' ba* AE
[129] *kyi* PD : *la* AE
[130] *de ni* PD : *ni de* AE
[131] *dpe la* AE : *dper na* PD
[132] *ma tshaṅ ba* PDE : *tshaṅ ba* A
[133] *gyis* DAE : *gyi* P
[134] *ni* AE : omm. PD
[135] *de* AE : *do* PD
[136] *su* AE : omm. PD
[137] *bltos* P : *ltos* DAE
[138] *yaṅ* PD : omm. AE
[139] *ba'o* PD : *lo* AE

rnam par śes pa ni raṅ gi bdag ñid kyis[140] *ṅes par gnas pa'i phyir rgyu yod na lta ba med par mi 'thad pas dmigs pa med par mi 'grub bo.*

ci ste sñam du:-

> «*dmigs pa la ni brten byas nas* ||
> *mi dmigs pa ni rab tu skye* ||
> *mi dmigs pa la brten byas nas* ||
> *mi dmigs pa ni rab tu skye* ||»[141]

źes 'byuṅ bas skyon med do sñam na, phyogs de'i lan ni btab zin te, rnam par rig pa tsam ñid kyi skye ba rab tu grub par[142] *gyur na ni de yaṅ 'grub par 'gyur ba*[143] *źig na de ni rab tu ma grub pa'i phyir ro.*[144] *de yod par gyur na yaṅ ji ltar rnam par śes pa med par 'gyur źes bya ba de ñid de bźin du ñe bar gnas so. gal te skye ba med pas don med pa'i phyir ro źe na ni? de ñid dbu ma pa'i smra ba'i rjes su smra ba yin no.*

[13] *gźan yaṅ rnam par rig pa ñe bar blaṅ ba yaṅ byas nas gal te de yoṅs su gtoṅ bar yaṅ 'dod na ni, 'di ltar 'dam rdzab 'khru bas*[145] *mi reg par thag bsriṅ ba*[146] *bzaṅ ṅo. don ṅo bo ñid med pa ñid du rtogs pa*[147] *bźin du rnam par śes pa yaṅ bdag med pa ñid daṅ, skye ba med pa ñid du rtogs par byar ruṅ ṅo. daṅ por phyi rol gyi don gyi*[148] *yul sgom par byed ciṅ, rim gyis*[149] *rnam par śes pa daṅ, ye śes kyi yul sgom par byed na ni rim pa*[150] *kho nas bdag med pa ñid rtogs par 'grub pa'i phyir, sṅa nas cig car du*[151] *bsgom pa la ser sna bya mi dgos so.*

de'i phyir de ltar kun brtags pa daṅ gźan gyi dbaṅ mi mthoṅ ba[152] *mi 'thad pa'i phyir dmigs pa thams cad ñe bar źi ba mi 'grub bo.*

[140] *kyis* DAE : *kyi* P

[141] *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, V, 4 & 49 = *Madhyāntavibhāgakārikā*, I, 6 (ed. Nagao):
upalabdhiṃ samāśritya nopalabdhiḥ prajāyate |
nopalabdhiṃ samāśritya nopalabdhiḥ prajāyate ||

[142] *grub par* PDE : *'grub par* A

[143] *'grub par 'gyur ba* A : *grub par gyur pa* PDE

[144] *phyir ro* PDE : *phyir* A

[145] *'khru bas* PD : *'khru ba bas* AE

[146] *bsriṅ ba* PDE : *bsriṅs pa* A (cf. *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, V, 53)

[147] *rtogs pa* PDE : *brtags pa* A

[148] *don gyi* PD : omm. AE

[149] *gyis* DAE : *gyi* P

[150] *rim pa* AE : *rim* PD

[151] *car du* DAE : *char du* P

[152] *ba* P : *bar* DAE

[14] *de bźin du yoṅs su grub pa'i ṅo bo ñid ces bya ba de yaṅ gaṅ yin?*

chos rnams kyi de bźin ñid gaṅ yin pa'o źe na? 'o na don dam par chos de rnams ñid ma grub pas de rnams kyi chos ñid kyaṅ mi 'thad pa ma yin nam, ci ste tha sñad du rmi lam lta bu'i bdag ñid du skyes pa yod pa rnams don dam par de ltar yod pa ma yin pa ñid ni chos rnams kyi de bźin yin no źe na ni,[153] *de ṅo bo ñid kyis skye ba med pa kho nar*[154] *grub pa'i phyir dbu ma pa'i*[155] *smra ba'i rjes su smra ba ñid yin no.*

ci ste 'di sñam du yoṅs su grub pa'i ṅo bo ñid ni med pa ma yin te; 'di ltar de ni gñis med pa'i dṅos po'i mtshan ñid de, ji skad du:-

«*gñis dṅos*[156] *dṅos po med pa yi*[157] ||
dṅos po stoṅ pa'i mtshan ñid do ||»[158]

źes[159] *bśad pa lta bu'o źe na, de la 'dir yaṅ 'thad pa gaṅ gis gñis med pa yin — gal te:-*

«*dmigs pa la ni brten byas nas* ||
mi dmigs pa ni rab tu skye ||
mi dmigs pa la brten byas nas ||
mi dmigs pa ni rab tu skye ||»[160]

źes bya bas so źe na?

phyogs de'i lan ni[161] *btab zin to! gñis med pa źes bya ba'i dgag pa 'di yaṅ gal te*[162] *med par dgag pa'i don yin na ni de gñis med par dgag pa kho na*[163] *mthu zad pa yin te, med pa'i skyon du ma gyur pa ni dgag pa gtso che ba'i phyir don dam par med pa ma yin pas 'di ltar*[164] *gñis med pa'i dṅos po yin no źes skur pa 'debs pa mi rigs so. 'on te ma yin par dgag pa'i don yin na ni de sgrub pa gtso che ba'i phyir dṅos po med pa ston par byed*

[153] *ni* DAE : | P
[154] *nar* PD : *na* AE
[155] *pa'i* PDE : omm. A
[156] *dṅos* PAE : *po* D
[157] *yi* PA : *yin* DE
[158] *Madhyāntavibhāgakārikā*, I, 13ab (ed. Nagao):
dvayābhāvo hy abhāvasya bhāvaḥ śūnyasya lakṣaṇam |
— cf. *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*, V, 10 ff.
[159] *źes* DAE : *ces* P
[160] See note 141.
[161] *ni* AE : omm. PD
[162] *gal te* PDE : *rgal te* A
[163] *na* PD : *nas* AE
[164] *'di ltar* PDE : *de ltar* A

pas[165] *de ni mi 'dod de,*[166] *skur pa 'debs pa'i mtha' yin pa'i phyir ro. ri boṅ gi rva med pa yaṅ dṅos po med pa ma yin te, 'di ltar med pa'i dṅos po de daṅ,*[167] *don dam pa*[168] *'dra bar gyur na chad par lta ba bsgrub*[169] *par 'gyur ro.*

[15] *de'i*[170] *dmigs pa rnam par dag pa ñid kyaṅ ji lta bu yin? gal te rnam par mi rtog pa'i ño bo ñid kyis so źe na, dmigs pa can gyi ye śes de ni rnam par mi rtog pa źes bya ba ma yin te, 'di ni 'di'o źes rnam par mi rtog kyaṅ yul snaṅ ba'i phyir, dper na mig gi rnam par śes pa bźin pas,* mdo sde *las:- «don dam pa'i bden pa gaṅ źe na? gaṅ la ye śes kyaṅ mi 'jug na yi ge rnams lta smos kyaṅ ci dgos»*[171] *źes bya ba daṅ:- «mthoṅ ba med pa ni de kho na*[172] *mthoṅ ba'o»*[173] *źes bya ba daṅ:- «tshaṅs pa,*[174] *de bźin gśegs pa rnams kyi byaṅ chub ni dmigs su med pa'o»*[175] *źes bya ba la sogs pa gsuṅs pa daṅ yaṅ 'gal lo. rtogs par bya ba skye ba med pa bźin du śes pa yaṅ skye ba med pa'i phyir,*[176] *de 'jug pa med par grub ste, bcom ldan 'das kyis:- «śes bya daṅ tha mi dad pa'i ye śes kyis chos thams cad thugs su chud do»*[177] *źes gsuṅs pa de yaṅ grub pa yin pas, de'i phyir dbu ma pa'i smra ba'i tshul la yaṅ dag par brten pa ñid legs so.*

ci ste 'di sñam du dper na: thag pa bsdogs pa la sbrul du 'du śes pas thag pa'i ṅo bo ñid rtogs na sbrul gyi 'jigs pa[178] *ñe bar źi ba bźin du de bźin ñid mthoṅ bas ñon moṅs pa źi bar 'gyur ba'i phyir chos kyi dbyiṅs la dmigs par bya ba kho na yin no sñam na? ji ltar thag pa bsdogs pa la*[179] *sbrul gyi blo skyes na log par śes pa'i phyir 'jigs pa*[180] *skye'i, de'i blo ma skyes na yaṅ dag par śes pa'i phyir 'jigs pa med pa daṅ, skyon cha mi mñam pa skyes na nad du 'gyur gyi, de ma skyes na sdug bsṅal med par 'gyur ba bźin pas de bźin ñid la dmigs pa'i ye śes skye bar 'dod par mi bya'o. dṅos po rnams rnam pa thams cad du yoṅs su ma grub pa ni*[181] *dṅos po'i de kho na yin la, de ni*[182] *rnam pa*

[165] *pas* PDE : *pa* A
[166] *de* PD : *do* AE
[167] *de daṅ* DAE : *daṅ* P
[168] *pa* A : *par* PDE
[169] *ba bsgrub* A : *bar bsgrubs* P : *ba 'grub* D : *ba bsgrubs* E
[170] *de'i* PD : *de mi* AE
[171] From the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* (cf. references *MCB*, II (1932–1933), p. 113):
. . .paramārthasatyaṃ katamat? yatra jñānasyāpy apracāraḥ, kaḥ punar vādo 'kṣarāṇām. . .
[172] *de kho na* DAE : *kho na* P
[173] From the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra*, cf. *JIP*, IX (1981), p. 197, n. 7.
[174] *tshaṅs pa* DAE : *tshaṅ pa* P
[175] From the *Satyakaparivarta*, cf. Avalokitavrata *ad loc.*
[176] *phyir* DAE : *phyir ro* P
[177] Sūtra not traced.
[178] *gyi 'jigs pa* PDE : *gyis 'jig* A
[179] *pa la* PDE : *la pa* A
[180] *'jigs pa* PDE : *'jig pa* A
[181] *pa ni* E : *pa'i* P : *pa* DA
[182] *de ni* DE : *de'i* P : *de ñid* A

thams cad du yaṅ yul gyi dṅos por ñe bar mi 'gyur ba'i phyir dmigs pa ñid du mi rigs so. de ñid kyi phyir bcom ldan 'das la[183] *'jam dpal gźon nur gyur pas:-*

«saṅs rgyas nam mkha'i mtshan ñid de[184] ||
nam mkha' la yaṅ mtshan ñid[184] *med* ||
mtshan gźi[185] *mtshan ñid ṅes grol ba* ||
dmigs med khyod la phyag 'tshal lo ||»[186]

źes bya ba la sogs pas bstod pa mdzad do.

ci ste 'di sñam du gal te de bźin gśegs pas chos kyi dbyiṅs ma dmigs na, ji ltar de thugs su chud pas saṅs rgyas par gyur sñam na? chos thams cad rnam pa thams cad du yoṅs su ma grub pa'i phyir rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i spyod yul ni de kho na źes bya ste, śes bya daṅ, de kho na daṅ, spyod yul daṅ, ye śes skye ba med pa ñid kyis[187] *chos kyi dbyiṅs thugs su chud pas saṅs rgyas par gyur te; ji skad du:- «de bźin gśegs pa rnams kyi byaṅ chub ni mṅon par rtogs pa med pas rab tu phye ba'o»*[188] *źes gsuṅs pa lta bu'o.*

de bźin ñid la dmigs pa'i ye śes ni don dam pa'i spyod yul can yin par mi rigs te, 'dus byas yin pa'i phyir, dper na mig gi rnam par śes pa bźin no. de bźin du de'i dmigs par bya ba de bźin ñid kyaṅ bslu ba'i[189] *chos can yin źiṅ de kho na ma yin te, dmigs par bya ba yin pa'i phyir, dper na gzugs bźin no.*

ci ste mdo sde *las:- «don dam pa ni brtag par*[190] *mi nus pa daṅ, rtog ge'i spyod pa ma yin par bstan pa'i*[191] *phyir rjes su dpag pas bstan par bya ba*[192] *ma yin no»*[193] *ze na? luṅ daṅ mthun pa'i rjes su dpag pa'i stobs ñid kyis rnam par rtog pa thams cad bkag pas*[194] *rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye śes 'grub pa'i phyir don dam pa ni rjes su dpag pa'i yul ma yin yaṅ, de gtso bo ma yin pa*[195] *ma yin te, yaṅ dag pa daṅ yaṅ dag pa ma yin pa brtag pa'i*[196] *sgrub pa*[197] *gźan med pa'i phyir de ni rigs pa ma yin no.*

[183] *'das la* PDE : *'das* A
[184] *de* || *nam mkha' la yaṅ mtshan ñid* omm. D
[185] *gźi* PAE : *ñid* D
[186] From the *Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānālokālaṃkārasūtra*, cf. *JIP*, IX (1981), p. 204, n. 59, and *Tarkajvālā*, Dsa *fol.* 250 a8.
[187] *kyis* AE : *kyi* DP
[188] Sūtra not traced.
[189] *bslu ba'i* PA : *slu ba'i* DE
[190] *brtag par* AE : *brtag* PD
[191] *ma yin par bstan pa'i* DAE : *ma yin pa'i* P
[192] *bya ba* PAE : *bya ba de bźin* D
[193] Sūtra not traced.
[194] *pas* AE : *pa'i* PD
[195] *gtso bo ma yin* PAE : *gtso bo* D
[196] *brtag pa'i* AE : *brtags pa'i* PD
[197] *sgrub pa* DAE : *bsgrub pa* D

[16] *dpyad pa*[198] *rgyas par ni* dBu ma'i sñiṅ po'i de kho na la 'jug pa'i skabs[199] *nas rnal 'byor spyod pa pa dag daṅ lhan cig byed par 'gyur ro. źar la bśad pas chog ste, 'di ni mṅon par brtson pa rnams raṅ gi sde pa dag daṅ lhan cig rigs pa daṅ rigs pa ma yin pa rtogs pa'i*[200] *phyogs tsam źig bstan pa yin no. de la 'dir rab tu byed pa'i don ni pha rol po dag gis rab tu byed pa'i daṅ por bsgrub pa*[201] *smras pa'i skyon brjod pas mya ṅan las 'das pa ṅo bo ñid med pa ñid du bstan pa yin no.*

de'i phyir:-

«*mya ṅan 'das med mya ṅan 'das* ||
'jig rten mgon pos bstan par[202] *mdzad* ||
nam mkhas[203] *mdud pa bor*[204] *byas pa* ||
nam mkha' ñid kyis bkrol ba[205] *bźin* ||»[206]

źes bya ba daṅ, de bźin du:- «*bcom ldan 'das, gaṅ dag chos 'ga' źig skye ba 'am, 'gag par 'tshal ba de dag la saṅs rgyas 'byuṅ ba ma mchis so. bcom ldan 'das, gaṅ dag mya ṅan las 'das pa dṅos po las yoṅs su tshol bar bgyid pa de dag la 'khor ba las yaṅ dag par 'da' ba*[207] *ma mchis so. de ci'i slad du źe na? bcom ldan 'das, mtshan ma thams cad rab tu źi ba daṅ, gyo ba thams cad ñe bar źi ba gaṅ lags pa de mya ṅan las 'das pa lags pa'i slad du'o. bcom ldan 'das, mi gti mug can gaṅ dag mya ṅan las 'das pa dṅos po las yoṅs su tshol bar bgyid pa de dag ni, legs par gsuṅs pa'i chos 'dul ba 'di la rab tu byuṅ nas, mu stegs can gyi lta bar lhuṅ ba lags te: bcom ldan 'das, gaṅ dag chos thams cad gtan yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'das pa dag — 'di lta ste dper bgyi na: til dag las til mar daṅ, 'o ma dag las mar bźin du — mya ṅan las 'das pa yoṅs su tshol bar bgyid pa de dag ni mu stegs can lhag pa'i ṅa rgyal can lags par bdag smra'o. bcom ldan 'das, rnal 'byor spyod pa pa dag*[208] *yaṅ dag par źugs pa ni chos 'ga' yaṅ skye ba 'am, 'gag par mi bgyid ciṅ chos 'ga' yaṅ thob par mi 'tshal, mṅon par rtogs par mi 'tshal lo*»[209] *źes bya ba la sogs pa daṅ, de*

[198] *dpyad pa* DAE : *spyad pa* P

[199] For the title see Avalokitavrata: «*dBu ma'i rtsa ba tshig le'ur byas pa dbu ma'i sñiṅ po'i 'grel pa rtog ge 'bar ba*» *źes bya ba'i naṅ nas «rNal 'byor spyod pa pa de kho na la 'jug pa» źes bya ba'i skabs nas ston par 'gyur ro.* — Cf. Gokhale in *IIJ*, II (1958), p. 165.

[200] *rtogs pa'i* AE : *rtog pa'i* PD

[201] *bsgrub pa* A : *sgrub pa* PDE

[202] *bstan par* P : *bstan pa* DAE

[203] *mkhas* P : *mkha'* DAE

[204] *mdud pa bor* PDE : *sdud pa por* A

[205] *bkrol ba* DE : *hgrol ba* PA

[206] Quoted from Bhavya by Candrakīrti, *Prasannapadā*, p. 540 (ed. La Vallée Poussin):
anirvāṇaṃ hi nirvāṇaṃ lokanāthena deśitam |
ākāśena kṛto granthir ākāśenaiva mocitaḥ ||

[207] *'da' ba* PAE : *'das pa* D

[208] *spyod pa pa dag* A: *spyod pa* PD : *spyod pa pa* E

[209] From *Brahmaparipṛcchāsūtra* quoted *Prasannapadā*, p. 540:
. . .na teṣāṃ bhagavan buddhotpādo ye kasya cid dharmasyotpādaṃ vā nirodhaṃ vecchanti, na teṣāṃ

bźin du:- «rab 'byor, mya ṅan las 'das pa yaṅ sgyu ma lta bu daṅ, rmi lam lta bu'o»[210] *źes rgya cher gsuṅs pa daṅ, de bźin du:- «śā ri'i bu,*[211] *gaṅ dag mya ṅan las 'das pa dṅos po las yoṅs su tshol*[212] *bar byed pa de dag ni 'khrug loṅ*[213] *ba yin te, ṅa yaṅ de dag gi ston pa ma yin la, de dag kyaṅ ṅa'i ñan thos ma yin no»*[214] *źes bya ba la sogs pa daṅ, de bźin du:-*

«blo yis rnam par gźig[215] *na ni* ||
brtags[216] *pa med ciṅ gźan dbaṅ med* ||
grub pa'i dṅos po yod min na ||
ji ltar blo yis[217] *rnam par brtags* ||»[218]

«dṅos ñid med ciṅ rnam rig med ||
kun gźi yod pa ma yin te ||
byis pa ṅan rtog ro 'dra bas ||
de dag rnam par brtags par 'gyur ||»[219]

źes bya ba la sogs pa gsuṅs pa de dag 'grub pa yin no.

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bhagavan saṃsārasamatikramo ye nirvāṇaṃ bhāvataḥ paryeṣante. tat kasya hetoḥ ? nirvāṇam iti bhagavan yaḥ praśamaḥ sarvanimittānām uparatiḥ sarveñjitānām. tad ime bhagavan mohapuruṣā ye svākhyāte dharmavinaye pravrajya tīrthikadṛṣṭau nipatitā nirvāṇaṃ bhāvataḥ paryeṣante — tadyathā tilebhyas tailaṃ kṣīrāt sarpiḥ — atyantaparinirvṛtesu bhagavan sarvadharmeṣu ye nirvāṇaṃ mārganti tān aham ābhimānikān tīrthikān iti vadāmi. na bhagavan yogācāraḥ samyak pratipannaḥ kasya cid dharmasyotpādaṃ vā nirodhaṃ vā karoti, nāpi kasya cid dharmasya prāptim icchati nābhisamayam iti vistaraḥ...

[210] *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* quoted in *Prasannapadā*, p. 450: *...nirvāṇam apy (ārya-)Subhūte māyopamaṃ svapnopamam...*

[211] *śā ri'i bu* PAE : *śa ra dva ti'i bu* D

[212] *tshol* DE : *tshal* PA

[213] *loṅ* PD : *gloṅ* AE

[214] From the *Bodhipiṭaka (byaṅ chub kyi sde snod)* according to Avalokitavrata. It is identical with the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, which is often quoted.

[215] *gźig* : *źig* P : *gźags* DAE

[216] *brtags* AE : *brtag* PD

[217] *blo yis* PD : *blos ni* AE

[218] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, II, 198 ~ X, 374 (ed. Nanjio, q.v. for variants):
buddhyā vivecyamānaṃ tu na tantraṃ nāpi kalpitam |
niṣpanno nāsti vai bhāvaḥ kathaṃ buddhyā vikalpyate ||

[219] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, III, 48 ~ X, 91 (ed. Nanjio, q.v. for variants):
na svabhāvo na vijñaptir na vastu na ca ālayaḥ |
bālair vikalpitā hy ete śavabhūtaiḥ kutārkikaiḥ ||

VAIPULYA SŪTRAS AND THE TANTRAS

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Some Vaipulya Sūtras in Sanskrit

Edgerton (1953, p. 570) says that *vaitulya* is «doubtless secondarily modified by confusion with Sanskrit *vaipulya* from *vipula*». He gives the meaning: «(work of) great extent, or acc. to Burnouf, *Introd.* 62f., development». It is applied by the sūtras to their own texts; like the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*

1.3 *vaipulya-sūtra-rājam . . . saddharma-puṇḍarīkaṁ*

19.12 *sūtrāntam mahāvaipulyam* (v.l. *mahā* left out)

21.6, 22.15, 65.1, 181.6 *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkam . . . sūtrāntam mahāvaipulyam*

46.6 *vaipulyasūtrāṇi vadāmi*

98.11 *vaipulyasūtrāṇa*, 98.11 *vaipulyasūtrāṇi ca dhārayeta.*

In the sundry fragments of manuscripts from Kashgar collected by N.F. Petrovsky the title is constantly *sūtraṁ mahāvaitulyaṁ bodhisattvotpādam* in place of *sutrāntam mahāvaipulyaṁ bodhisattvāvavādam* (SP. 65.1 n.1). In the Central Asian ms of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* we find *sarva-mahāyāna-sūtra-vaitulya-param-āmṛta* (Thomas ap. Hoernle MR. 95.8).

Winternitz (1927, p. 249): «While he sits absorbed in deep meditation in the middle watch of the night, a ray of light bursts forth from the parting of his hair, penetrates into the worlds of heaven and plunges all the gods into excitement. The gods immediately begin a song in praise of the exalted Buddha, and soon Īśvara and other gods appear before the Lord, throw themselves at his feet and implore him, for the salvation and blessing of the world, to reveal the excellent *vaipulya-sūtra*, called *Lalitavistara*.»

The *Lalitavistara* characterises itself as: 4.17 *Lalitavistaro nāma dharma-paryāyaḥ sutrānto mahāvaipulya-nicayo*

7.9 *idaṁ . . . vaipulya-sūtraṁ hi mahā-nidānaṁ* |

438.20 *Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāya-sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-vikṛīḍitaḥ.*

The insertion of the *Trapuṣa-Bhallika* chapter in the *Vaipulya sūtra Lalitavistara* is an indication that *Vaipulya* traditions had their origins in the Udīcya regions, whose epicentre was Balkh. The Buddhist monks of Balkh with the convergence of Iranian, Hellenic and Buddhist traditions in their language, ideas, sense of history and world view, could not but enshrine them in the texts they authored, amplified, read or adored. It is but natural that odd metaphors in the texts are palimpsets hiding such a Weltanschauung of bhikṣus of the Iranian-speaking world. In their

etymological association we can discern the origins of the tantras with their emphasis on the Light of the *bodhi* or enlightenment of Lord Buddha, which became *abhi-sambodhi* or Super-Enlightenment of Vairocana. The *bodhi* or *sambodhi* of Theravāda evolved and transcended into the *abhi-sambodhi* in Vaipulya/Vajrayāna. In certain contexts *bodhi-maṇḍa* is replaced by *vajra-maṇḍa* (Nj. 372, 373). It shows that the more developed conceptualisation was *vajra*.

Kern (1898, p. 5): «The *Tripiṭaka* properly so called, has for a large part yielded the material for the *Vaipulya-Sūtras*, which if not all of them were composed by the Mahayanists have at least been adopted by them and incorporated in their new canon. Outwardly the *Vaipulya-Sūtras* are distinguished from the older *Sūtras* by a different manner of composition and by the change of idiom. We regularly find in them sections in a redaction in prose, followed by one in verse, the latter being in substance only a repetition of the former or, may be, in some cases the source of the narrative in prose. The idiom of the prosaical part is a kind of Sanskrit; that of the verses, Gāthās, is a veiled Prakrit somewhat clumsily sanskritized as much as the exigencies of the metre permitted». Summing up the substance of prose into a gāthā may reflect the fact that the earliest vaitulya sūtras originated in the NW. The Gāthā represented the most sacred part in the Zoroastrian tradition of the Northwest.

The *Candrapradīpa-sūtra* is cited in the *Śikṣā-samuccaya* (354.6): *nāhaṁ vaitulya-śikṣitaḥ*. This passage is from the *Samādhirāja*, ch. 24 (fol. 109b of the Hodgson MS. at the Royal Asiatic Society).

Lamotte 1976 interprets the word *vaipulya* as follows:

xxv: «The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* 'Teaching of the [bodhisattva named] Unstained Glory' is ranked as one of the developed Sūtras (*vaipulya-sūtra*) of the Great Vehicle in Buddhism».

lxii: «The theories expounded in the *Vaipulyasūtras* were systematized, probably in the third century, by Nāgārjuna, author of the famous *Madhyamakakārikā*».

lxxxvii: «the *Vkn* is closely linked to the earliest known recensions of the *Prajñāpāramitās*, the *Ratnakūṭa*, the *Avataṁsaka* and the *Mahāsaṁnipāta*, and belongs to the same philosophico-mystical movement. We know how this developed later and culminated in the vast collections known by the generic name of *Vaipulyasūtras*».

lxxxiii: «A few years later, in the course of a second, even third turning of the Wheel of the Law, Sākyamuni gathered, in Śrāvastī or Vaiśālī, chosen assemblies of Śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas, taught them the Mahāyāna, and expounded to them the voluminous *Vaipulyasūtras*. In general, the Śrāvakas, who would have been incapable of understanding it, got no wind of this teaching, but it was noted by the gods».

«Five hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, when the Good Law was gradually declining and the Buddha's work threatened, the *Mahāyānasūtras* began

to spread in the world. The Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna discovered, in the Nāgas' palace, seven precious coffers filled with *Mahāyānasūtras*».

«*Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* describes itself as a *mahāvaipulya-mahāyānasūtra* and as belonging to the *Avataṁsaka;* but the contents are in the spirit of the Mantrayāna» (Nakamura 1980, p. 319).

«The *Prajñāpāramitā* thought came to be combined with Vajrayāna ideas. This fact is best exemplified in the case of *Prajñāpāramitānaya-śatapañcāśatikā,* Rishukyō, the most widely accepted scripture in Japanese Vajrayāna.» (Nakamura 1980, p. 320).

The Buddhist *Prajñāpāramitānaya-sūtra* has a parallel in the *nayasūtra* which formed one of the four or five sections of the *Niḥśvāsatattva-saṁhitā* referred to in the *Sdok-kak thom* inscription from Cambodia. This inscription refers to the introduction of Tantric texts and the Devarāja cult into the country during the reign of Jayavarman II in the beginning of the ninth century (*BEFEO* 15: 70–71, Bhattacharyya 1982, p. 54).

The nine main Buddhist texts in Nepal are known as the basic *Vaipulya-sūtras*: This has been very well manifested in the *Vaipulya Sūtra* or *Nava Vyākaraṇa* or «Nine Dharmas» which contain nine prominent Buddhist works — (1) *Lalitavistara,* (2) *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā,* (3) *Gaṇḍa-vyūha,* (4) *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa,* (5) *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra,* (6) *Daśabhūmika,* (7) *Samādhirāja,* (8) *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka,* and (9) *Tathāgata-guhyaka.* They are also known as *Nava Khaṇḍa.* These texts are held in high esteem and though these volumes deal with different aspects of Buddhist philosophy the Buddha is elevated to His divine posture rather than that of a human being as pictured in the Pali Canon.» (Sakya 1981, p. 46).

The Tantras have been explained *tanoti vipulān arthān tattvamantra-samanvitān* (Woodroffe 1975, p. 34). The use of the word *vipula* can be significant: does it point to their earlier appellation *vaipulya.*

Vaipulya Sūtras in the Chinese Tripitaka

The Chinese *Tripiṭaka* has preserved the most extensive record of the *Vaipulya* sūtras. In 1654 Chih-hsü 智旭 completed his *Guide for the Examination of the Tripiṭaka*[1] in 48 fasciculi (Nj.x, xxvi, xxxii) after twenty years of hard toil (T 100.74). He has specified several «Mahāyāna sūtras of the Vaipulya class». Nanjio has reproduced these indications of the Vaipulya sūtras in his catalogue.

The Chinese word for *mahāvaipulya* is *ta-fang-kuang* or *teng* 大方廣 or 大方等 Some sūtras of the *Mahāsannipāta* class (Nj. 61ff.) are *mahāvaipulya sūtras* (Nj. 61. 63, 65, 72, 75). The first sūtra of the *Avataṁsaka* class bears the title *Ta-fang kuang*

[1] 閱藏知津

fo-hua-yen ching «*Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra*»[2] (Nj. 87, K 79). It means that this collection of sūtras was the efflorescence (*avataṁsaka*) of the mahāvaipulya sūtras. *Avataṁsaka* means 'a garland, ring-shaped ornament, ear-ornament, ear-ring, crest' (MW). The Chinese translation of *avataṁsaka* is *hua-yen: hua* 'flower, blossoms'. *yen* 'ornament': «Hua-yen is regarded as the highest form of Buddhism by most modern Japanese and Chinese scholars. . . . Hua-yen, Flower Ornament. . .» (Cook 1977 blurb). The Tibetan translation of *avataṁsaka* is *phal-po-che* or *phal-chen* which means Mahāsāṅghika (S.C. Das), *Phal-chen-sde-pa* means Mahāsāṅghikāḥ (*Blue Annals* 1.243). *Phal-cher* is 'manifold, universally, general' (Jäschke 342 a). The Tibetan term for mahāvaipulya is *śin-tu-rgyas-pa-chen-po* (Toh. 44). The *Avataṁsaka* was rendered into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde and revised by Vairocana in the 8th century.

The Chinese *vaipulya* in Nj 252 corresponds to *vaidalya* in Tib. (Toh. 227), so also in Nj 253 = Toh. 227. *Vaidalya* is thus equivalent to *vaipulya.*

The fundamental Tantra of the Caryā division is a Vaipulya text. Its Sanskrit title is given in the Tibetan Kanjur as: *Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja nāma dharmaparyāya* (Toh. 494). The Chinese title (Nj 530, T 848, K 427) is shorter: *Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-sūtra.*[3]

The fundamental Tantra of the Yoga division, *Sarva-tathāgatatattva-saṅgraha* (Nj 1355, T 874) is also a Vaipulya sūtra according to Chi-tsing. Texts with the words *vajraśekhara-yoga, vajraśekhara* or *yoga* in their titles pertain to the *Sarva-Tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha,* which is known as *Vajraśekhara-tantra.* A number of them are classified as Vaipulya sūtras.

[2] *Buddhāvataṁsaka* occurs in the *Divyāvadāna* 162.26: «*Bhagavatā tathādhiṣṭhitaṁ yathā sarvaloko 'nāvṛtam adrākṣīd Buddhāvataṁsakam yāvad Akaniṣṭha-bhavanam. . .*, 401.16: *Bhagavatā Śrāvastyāṁ tīrthyān vijayārthaṁ mahāprātihāryaṁ kṛitam Buddhāvataṁsakaṁ yāvad Akanishṭhabhavanaṁ nirmitam mahat tatkālaṁ tatraivāham āsan mayā tad Buddhavikrīḍitaṁ dṛiṣṭam iti. Avadāna-śataka* 1.87.9: *mahāprātihāryaṁ vidarśitaṁ Buddhāvataṁsaka-vikrīḍitaṁ yad-darśanād rājā . . . suprasannaḥ . . .* Edg. translates *avataṁsaka* as 'a large number, collection', which does not seem to be correct. *Avataṁsaka* means 'flower ornament'. *Buddhāvataṁsaka* is literally the flower of the Buddha, the flowering Buddhaland, on the analogy of Udyāna, the flowering oasis of North-Western India and of the modern town Chaman 'garden' with its honeyed grapes.

The *Divyāvadāna* speaks of the *Buddhāvataṁsaka* and *Akaniṣṭhabhavana* in an ascending order: from the Bu° to the Ak°. *Akaniṣṭha-bhavana* is the paradise of Sarvavid Vairocana of the Yoga-Tantras (Lessing Wayman 1968: 215). Likewise *Buddhāvataṁsaka* should also be a paradise, the heaven of the Vairocana of Avataṁsaka sūtras. For the title *Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra* we have the analogy of *Sukhāvatī-vyūha,* Sukhāvatī being the Paradise of Amitābha.

[3] Nj. translates as: «Sūtra on Mahāvairocana's becoming Buddha and the supernatural formula called Yugandhara (? lit. adding-holding)». It has to be corrected. The corrections are: 'becoming Buddha' = *abhisambodhi,* 'supernatural formula' = *vikurvita, yugandhara* (? lit. adding-holding) = adhiṣṭhāna.

The Tantra *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* (Nj 1056, T 1191, K 1138) is a mahāvaipulya sūtra. The *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* (Nj 1370, Toh. 360) is a Vaipulya sūtra. It begins the Tantras in the Derge *Kanjur* (Toh. 360, Wayman 1973, p. 234).

A survey of the Chinese Vaipulya sūtras leads us to the following conclusions:

1. *Vaipulya* and *vaidalya* are identical terms.

2. The Tantras are Vaipulya texts. The mūla Tantras of two of the four divisions, namely the Caryā and Yoga Tantras, are Vaipulya sūtras. In the titles they are not termed Tantras. Vaipulya is an earlier appellation of the traditions that comprised/included the Tantras.

3. The Vaipulya sūtras accepted the variegated continuity of development. All the manifestations of Buddhism were owned and the interdependence of all these traditions flowed into a main stream. We know from the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* that *Vaipulya sūtras* comprised of:

(i) Early Vaipulya sūtras

(ii) Sūtras of the *Ratnakūṭa* class, like the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* [Nj 23(5)]

(iii) Sūtras of the *Mahāsannipāta* class, e.g.

**Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-sūtra* (Nj. 61)

(iv) Sūtras of the *Avataṁsaka*, e.g.

Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra (Nj. 87)

The central deity of the Avataṁsaka-sūtras was Vairocana, who later on developed into the Vairocana of the Caryā and Yoga Tantras.

4. The Tantras were not reckoned as a separate class in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, as in the Tibetan *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*.

5. The Chinese *Tripiṭaka* has preserved in the Chinese titles themselves the categorisation of the *(mahā)vaipulya* texts.

Introducing the *Phal-chen* section (f. 119r) of the catalogue of the Derge *Kanjur*, Situ paṇ-chen writes that *Vaipulya* contains the *avataṁsaka (phal-chen)* and *Ratnakūṭa (dkon-brtsegs)* texts:

gsum pa 'khor lo tha ma'i mdo bzhugs tshogs che ba'i skor la phal chen dang dkon brtsegs gnyis las

dang po shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo sde sangs rgyas phal po che ni | brda rnying du sangs rgyas rma ga chad du grags shing | yang snyan gyi gong rgyan du'ang bsgyur ba yod de | de lta bu'i mtshan de'ang bye brag gi ming spyi la btags par gsal te | mdo 'di'i le'u nyi shu rtsa dgu'i bar du phal po che zhes dkar chag ldan dkar ma *sogs su bshad pa gang zhig | des lhag ma rnams la'ang mtshan de ltar grags pa'i phyir ro || des na mtshan de lta bu dang ldan pa'i mdo sde 'di la | spyir shlo ka 'bum dang | le'u brgya yod pa las | sngon* (f. 119v) *na landa bi ha ra la me'i dgra byung ba'i rkyen gyis | ma tshang ba'i 'phro ji tsam bzhugs pa bsgyur ba la | . . .*

In the eighth-century wonder Borobudur, which is a *maṇḍala* of Vajradhātu Vairocana, the reliefs of *Karmavibhaṅga, Lalitavistara*, jātakas and avadānas, the *Avataṁsaka* text of *Gaṇḍavyūha* culminate in the Yoga Tantra (Lokesh Chandra 1980, 31f.).

In his Ten Stages of spiritual development Kōbō Daishi (A. D. 774–835) owns Confucianism, Taoism, Brahmanism, the way of the śrāvakas (Theravāda) and of the pratyekabuddhas; Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, Avataṁsaka, with their finality in Vajrayāna (Lokesh Chandra 1980, p. 33).

The Tabo Monastery, attributed to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, bears the murals of the life of Sākyamuni (*Lalitavistara*), the journey of Sudhana (*Avataṁsaka-sūtra Gaṇḍavyūha*) and the central hall is dedicated to the *maṇḍala* of Vajradhātu Vairocana (Lokesh Chandra 1980, p. 32): the various stages in the development of the Vaipulya sūtras are thus harmonized.

The tradition of the Vaitulyā/Vaipulya sūtras starting with the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara* and others continued to develop, culminating in Vajrayāna. This sequence of development is preserved and owned in its entirety by the Vajrayāna tradition. The transmission of the cycle of Tantras commences with Hīnayāna sūtras in the Tibetan exegesis of Mkhas-grub-rje:

A (1) the biography of Sākyamuni
(2) compilation of the Word by the great śrāvakas in the Hīnayāna tradition
(3) compilation of the Word in the Mahāyāna tradition.

B Sūtras which show principally the Pāramitā-yāna fall into four groups:
(1) *Vinaya-vastu* arising from the first promulgation (*bkaḥ*) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths (Toh. 1–7).
(2) The *Prajñā-pāramitā* side arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. *śūnyatā*) (Toh. pp. 8–30).
(3) The *Ratnakūṭa* and *Avataṁsaka* arising from the last (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning perfect discrimination (i.e. yoga experience) (Toh.44 *Avataṁsaka* and 45–93 *Ratnakūta*).
(4) The numerous sūtras which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels of Law, arranged in a single major class (Toh. 94–359).

C Tantras which show principally the Vajrayāna fall into four groups:
(1) *Anuttara-yoga-tantra* (Toh. 360–478)
(2) *Yoga-tantra* (Toh. 479–493)
(3) *Caryā-tantra* (Toh. 494–501)
(4) *Kriyā-tantra* (Toh. 502–827)

The word occurs in four forms in Pali texts: *Vetulla/Vetulya, Vedalla/Vedaḷha.* The term *vetulyavāda* is found in *Mahāvaṁsa* 36.41 (Stede cites it from *Dīpavaṁsa* 22.45), and *Vetulyavādino* in *Mahāvaṁsa* 36.111. Stede says: «The Pali form is not clear; it probably rests on dialectical translation of a later term». *Vi-tula* and *vi-tulya* mean 'incomparable, excellent', and therefrom is derived *vetulya > vetulla.* Its meaning was not understood and it changed to *vaipulya* (Pali *vepulla*), the ever-expanding, developing form of Buddhism in contradistinction to the comparatively conservative form of Theravāda.

The *Kathāvatthu* Commentary 17.6 (text 167, transl. 318) speaks of the *Vetulya[ka]s:* «This view is now held by those of the *Vetulyakas,* who are known as the *Mahāsuññatāvādins*». In the prefatory notes C.A.F. Rhys Davids (xliv) asks: «And who shall reveal which divergent group or groups were covered by the intrusive name Uttarāpathakas: — 'Northerndistricters'? Equally mysterious are the intrusive Vetulyakas belonging to a group called the Great-Voiders—Mahā-suññavādins». In 18.1 (text 171, transl. 323), 23.1 (text 197, transl. 365) the commentary cites the opinions of the Vetulyakas or Vetulyas. They are referred to with disdain as «those who hold the view just discussed» (17.7), «adherents as above» (17.8, 9), «from the same sources» (17.10), and «foregoing heresy» (18.2).

The *Kathāvatthu* 17.10 (transl. 321) controverts the view of the Vetulyakas:

«Controverted Point. — That it should not be said that 'anything given to the Buddha brings great reward'».

«From the Commentary. — From the same source comes the theory that because the Exalted Buddha did not really enjoy anything, but only seemed to be doing so out of conformity to life here below, nothing given him was really helpful to him».

Kathāvatthu 18.1 (transl. 323) has the following passage whence we can deduce that the Buddha was in essence transcendental (*lokottara*):

«Controverted Point. — That it is not right to say 'The Exalted Buddha lived in the world of mankind'».

«From the Commentary. — Some, like the Vetulyakas, carelessly interpreting the Sutta, 'born in the world, grew up in the world, dwelt, having overcome the world, undefiled by the world,' hold that the Exalted One, when born in the heaven of Delight (*Tusita-bhavana*), dwelt there while visiting this world only in a shape specially created. Their citation of the Sutta proves nothing, since the Master was undefiled, not by being out of the world, but by the corruptions of heart with respect to the things in the world».

Kathāvatthu 18.2 (transl. 324):

«Controverted Point. — That it is not right to say 'The Exalted Buddha himself taught the Norm'».

«From the Commentary. — This is another point in the foregoing heresy. The created shape taught the Norm on earth to the Venerable Ānanda, while the Exalted One lived in the city of Delight and sent forth that shape».

Kathāvatthu 23.1 (transl. 365):

«Controverted Point. — That sexual relations may be entered upon with a united resolve».

«From the Commentary. — Such a vow may be undertaken, some think — for instance, the Andhakas and the Vetulyakas — by a human pair who feel mutual sympathy or *com*passion [not passion merely], and who are worshipping, it may be, at some Buddha-shrine, and aspire to be united throughout their future lives».

The *Vetulla-piṭaka* is referred to by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries:
(i) *Sārattha-ppakāsinī* commentary on the *Saṁyutta-nikāya* 2.202 (with the variant *Vedalla-piṭaka* in the printed Sinhalese edition C).
(ii) *Manoratha-pūranī* commentary on the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* 3.160: *Guḷhavessantara-guḷhummagga-guḷhavinaya-vedallapiṭakānam* (no v.l.).
(iii) *Vedallapiṭaka* in *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya* 566.
(iv) *Samanta-pāsādikā* commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka* 4.742: *guḷhummagga guḷhavessantara guḷhavinaya vedaḷhapiṭakādini pana abuddhavacanāni.*
The term vedalha is Pali *ve* = Skt *vai* < the prefix *vi-* + *daḷha* = Skt *dṛḍha. Daḷha* in Pali means «firm, strong, steady, proficient.» The Vetulyakas must have prided in being firm in spite of opposition from all around and also strong in their beliefs arising from doctrinal proficiency. Buddhaghosa says that they do not represent the words of the Buddha.

The *Dīpavaṁsa* 22.43, 45 speaks of *vitaṇḍa-vāda. Mahāvaṁsa* 36.41 refers to the suppression of the Vetulya doctrine (*vetulyavāda*), 36.111 that followers of Vetulya doctrine (*vetulyavādino bhikkhū*) were like a thorn in the doctrine of Buddha. *Cūlavaṁsa* 42.35 refers to the defeat of Vetullavādino in a controversy at the hands of Jotipāla.

The aforesaid Pali texts refer to the doctrine as Vetulyavāda, their adherents as Vetulyavādino, Vetulya, Vetulyaka, and their Canon as *Vetulla-piṭaka, Vedalla-piṭaka, Vedaḷha-piṭaka.*

The *Nikāyasaṅgrahaya* or *Sāsanāvatāra-caritaya* written by Devarakṣita alias Dharmakīrti of Gaḍalādeṇiya around 1400 A.D., gives the following account of the heterodox sects. It is first given in romanization by Prof. Heinz Bechert:

Ekal'hi śāsanayen paha karana lada tīrthikayō śāsanapratiṣṭhā no ladin nikmuṇāhu krodhayen dilihī Rajagahā nuvara samīpayehi vū Nālandā. vehi räs va «Janayan śāsanasaṅgraha no karana paridden Śākya bhikṣūngē dharmmavinaya deka biňda vuva mänava, eda vanāhi ovungē samaya bheda no däna no piḷivana.

Ebävin kisiyam upāyakin yaḷidu mahaṇa vuva mänavä» yi ovun ovun hā mantraṇaya koṭa peraḷā avut Theriyanikāyavāsīn karā vädda no hī eyin haḷa Mahāsaṅghikādi vū sataḷos nikāyavāsīn karā eḷaṁba taman tīrthikabava no haṅgavā mahana va tamū da piṭakatraya asā pirivahā vipariyāsa koṭa peraḷāgena, ikbiti Kosaṁbä nuvaraṭa gos dharmma-vinaya biṁdinākrama bäṇa gena budun pirinivī detis santis avuruddak giya kala saräsak va bedī sateneka vesemin Hemavataya Rājagiriya Siddhārthakaya Pūrvaśailīya Aparaśailīya Vājiriya Vaitulyaya Andhakaya Anyamahāsāṅghikaya yi nava nikāyek vūha. ayin Hemavatayō budun vadālatāk men saddharmma pratirūpa koṭa Varṇapiṭakaya kaḷaha. Rājagirihu Aṅgulimālapiṭakaya kaḷaha. Siddhārtthakayō gūḍhavessantaraya kaḷaha. Pūrvaśailīhu Raṭṭhapālagarjjitaya kaḷaha. Aparaśailīhu Ālavakagarjjitaya kaḷaha. Vajraparvvatavāsīhu Gūḍhavinaya kaḷaha. tava da ohu ma Māyājālatantraya Samājatantraya Mahāsamayatattvaya Tattvasaṅgrahaya Bhūtacāmaraya Vajrāmṛtaya Cakrasaṁvaraya Dvādaśa-

Its translation by C.M. Fernando (1908, pp. 9–10) follows:

Then the Tīrthakas, who had been expelled from the religion receiving no help from it, departed, and burning with rage they assembled at Nālandā near Rājagaha. There they took counsel together, saying: «We should make a breach between the doctrine and the discipline of Śākya monks, so as to make it difficult for the people to comprehend the religion. But without knowing the niceties of the religion it is not possible to do so. Therefore by some means we must again become monks». They then returned, and not being able to secure admission to the *Theriya Nikāya*, went to the members of the seventeen fraternities, the Mahāsaṅghika, &c., which had been rejected by it, and entering the priesthood without letting it be discovered that they were Tīrthakas, and hearing and reading the Three Piṭakas, they reversed and subverted the same. Afterwards they went to the city of Kosaṁbe, and concerted ways and means for keeping doctrine and discipline apart. And after two hundred and thirty-five years from the Nirvāṇa of Buddha they separated into six divisions, and residing in six places formed themselves into the nine fraternities Hemawata, Rājagiri, Siddhārtha, Pūrwaśaili, Aparaśaili Wājiri, Vaitulya, Andhaka, and Anyamahāsaṅghika. Of these fraternities, the Hemawata heretics fabricated the *Warṇapiṭaka*, giving it a semblance of true doctrine and making it appear as if preached by the Buddha. The Rājagiri heretics composed the *Aṅgulimāla Piṭaka;* the Siddhārthaka heretics the *Gūḍha Vessantara;* the Pūrvaśaili heretics the *Raṭṭhapālagarjita*; the Aparaśaili heretics the *Ālavakagarjita*; and the Wajraparvata heretics the *Gūḍha Vinaya.* These last also composed the Tantras *Māyājālatantra, Samājatanṭra, Mahāsamayatattva, Tattvasahgraha, Bhūtacāmara, Vajrā-mṛita, Cakrasaṁvara, Dvādaśacakra, Bherukādbuda, Mahāmāyā, Padaniḥkshepa, Catushpishṭa, Parāmarda, Maricudbhava, Sarvabuddha, Sarvaguhya, Samuccaya,* &c., and the Kalpa-shastras: *Māyāmarīcikalpa, Herambakalpa, Trisamayakalpa, Rājakalpa, Vajragandhārakalpa, Mariciguhyakalpa, Suddhasamuccayakalpa,* &c.

The Vaitulya heretics composed the *Vaitulya Piṭaka*; the Andhaka heretics the *Ratnakūṭa* and other scientific works; the Anya-mahāsaṅghika heretics the *Aksharasāri* and other sūtras. The different methods adopted in these several works are too many to permit of recital here. Although many schisms were caused in this manner yet the religion of Buddha existed in purity for two hundred and nineteen years from the third convocation.

«Out of the works thus composed at this time by the Tīrthakas in the guise of monks and made to appear like the true doctrine, the *Varṇapiṭaka* and other imitations of the dharma remained in Jambudvīpa alone; the Vaitulyavāda, the Vajiriyavāda, and the scientific treatises named *Ratnakūṭa*, &c., reached also the shores of this beauteous Island of Lanka.»

The Abhayagiri-vāsins followed the tradition of accepting the entire evolution of Buddhism over the centuries. Hsüan-tsang says that the Abhayagiri-vāsins «studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the *Tripiṭakas*» (Beal 1884, 2.247), which shows their ecumenical approach. The *Nikāya-saṅgraha* (p.20) records that in the reign of Sena I (846–866) vājiriya-vāda was introduced to the Vīrāṅkura monastery by a monk of the *Vajraparvata-nikāya* of India, and the king accepted these doctrines (Mudiyanse 1967, p. 8). Earlier the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* (pp. 9–10, Mudiyanse 1967, p. 17) enumerates the titles of 34 works of different divisions of tantras:

(1) *Varṇa-pitaka* of the Hemavatas
(2) *Angulimāla-piṭaka* of the Rājagirikas
(3) *Gūḍha-Vessantara* of the Siddhārthakas
(4) *Rāṣṭrapāla-garjjita* of the Pūrvaśailīyas
(5) *Āḷavaka-garjjita* of the Aparaśailīyas

Works by Vajraparvatavāsins (6–31)

(6) *Gūḍha-Vinaya*
(7) *Māyājāla-tantra*
(8) *Samāja-tantra*
(9) *Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra*
(10) *Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra*
(11) *Bhūtaḍāmara-tantra*
(12) *Vajrāmṛta-tantra*
(13) *Cakra-saṁvara-tantra*
(14) *Dvādaśacakra-tantra*
(15) *Herukādbhuta-tantra*
(16) *Mahāmāya-tantra*
(17) *Padanikṣepa-tantra*
(18) *Catuspiṣṭa-tantra*
(19) *Paramardda-tantra*
(20) *Mārīcyudbhava-tantra*

(21) *Sarvabuddha-tantra*
(22) *Sarvaguhya-tantra*
(23) *Samuccaya-tantra*
(24) *Rāja-kalpa*
(25) *Herambha-kalpa*
(26) *Trisamaya-kalpa*
(27) *Rāja-kalpa*
(28) *Vajra-gandhāra-kalpa*
(29) *Mārīci-guhya-kalpa*
(30) *Śuddha-samuccaya-kalpa*
(31) *Māyā-Mārīcī-kalpa*
(32) *Vaitulya-piṭaka* of the Vaitulyavādins
(33) *Ratnakūṭa sūtras* of the Āndhrakas
(34) *Akṣarasāriya-sūtra* of the Mahāsāṅghikas

The aforesaid texts can be arranged into the following groups according to the Vajrayāna system of classification (Wayman 1973, pp. 233–239):

Ratnakūṭa genre of texts (Toh. 45–93, Ns. 34)

Sūtras

Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā (Toh. 62, Ns.4)

Aṅgulimāliya (Toh. 213, Ns.2)

Anuttara-yoga-tantras

Herukābhyudaya (Toh. 374, Ns.15 *Herukādbhuta-tantra*. Tantras pertaining to the Heruka group are Toh. 368–427).

Cakrasaṁvara-tantra (Toh. 385, Ns.13)

Mahāsamaya-tantra-rāja (Toh. 390, Ns. 9 *Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra*)

Mahāmāya-tantra-rāja (Toh. 425, Ns. 16 omits *rāja*)

Catuṣpīṭha-vikhyāta-tantra-rāja (Toh. 430, Ns.18 *Catuṣpīṭha-tantra*)

Vajrāmṛta-tantra (Toh. 435, Ns.12)

Guhyasamāja-tantra (Toh. 449, Ns.8 Samāja-tantra). The *Guhyasamāja* section extends from Toh.442 to Toh.453 (both inclusive, Wayman 1973, p. 235).

Māyājāla-mahātantra-rāja (Toh. 466, Ns.7 *Māyājāla-tantra*)

Yoga-tantras

Tattva-saṅgraha (Toh. 479, Ns.10 adds °*tantra*)

Paramādya nāma mahāyāna-kalparāja (Toh. 487, Ns.19 *Paramarda-tantra*)

Caryā-tantra

Padanikṣepa-tantra (Ns.17). Padanikṣepa is one of the Eight Mahāvidyārāja in Shingon or Japanese mantrayāna (Taishō Zuzō 164 no.1, 165 no.1 Hachi-dai-myōō-zuzō 'figures of aṣṭa-mahāvidyārāja', two scrolls kept at the Daigōji monastery).

Kriyā-tantras

Māyā-Mārīci-jāta-tantrād uddhṛtam kalpa-rāja (Toh. 565, Ns. *Māyā-Mārīci-kalpa*)

Mārīcy-udbhava-tantra (Ns.20), *Mārīci-kalpa* (Ns.24), *Mārīci-guhya-kalpa* (Ns.29) can be compared to Toh. 566.

Bhūtaḍāmara-mahātantra-rāja (Toh. 747, Ns.11 *B.-tantra*)

General

Kriyā-samuccaya (Toh. 3305, Ns.23 *Samuccaya-tantra*)

Trisamayarāja-sādhana (Toh. 3144, 3401), *Trisamaya-samaya-sādhana* (Toh. 3147) can be compared to *Trisamaya-kalpa* (Ns.26) and *Rāja-kalpa* (Ns.27)

Vajragandhāra-kalpa (Ns.28) can be compared to *Vajragāndhārī-sādhana* (Toh. 3260, 3385, 3594, 3595).

The *Nikāya-saṅgraha* makes it explicit beyond doubt that the *Ratnakūṭa* and all the four divisions of Tantras were prevalent in Srilanka among the Abhayagiri-vāsins, who shared this rich pre-Tantric and Tantric heritage. The mention of Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra (Ns.10), the basic text (*mūla-tantra*) of the Yoga-Tantras is of special importance.

Conclusions:

(i) *Vetulla/Vetulya* mean that the doctrine was unique, without (*vi*) a comparison (*tulya*).

(ii) Vehement opposition of the prevailing sects strengthened the resolve of the Vetulyakas, who became known for being unyielding and firm (*vi* 'specially' *daḷha* 'strong').

(iii) The Vetulyakas propounded *mahāśūnyatā*, even anything given to the saṅgha, to the Buddha was really of no avail.

(iv) They had their own Canon or *piṭaka*.

(v) Their Word did not stem from the Buddha. Their views about the Buddha and saṅgha are controverted by the *Kathāvatthu*.

(vi) The Buddha is transcendental and lives in Tuṣita. The Buddha did not come to this world (Kvu 18.1). He did not preach the dharma (Kvu. 18.2). It is a purely lokottaravādin thesis. From his abode in Tuṣitapura, the Buddha sent his *abhinimitta* to proclaim the dharma. Ānanda exposed the dharma after receiving it from the intermediary apparition (Bareau 1955, pp. 254–256).

(vii) They considered the actions of Buddha transcendental and «he only seemed to be enjoying out of confirmity to life here below (*lokānuvattana*)». It was his *līlā* or *lalita* (in *Lalita-vistara lalita* has the same meaning).

(viii) The Vetulyakas think that sexual rites may be performed. The Tantric character had become marked already in the *Kathāvatthu* commentary which is dated by Rahul Sankrityayana (1958, p. 106) to the first century A. D.

(ix) *Uttarāpathaka* refers to sects that arose in N. W. India. They were associated with the Vetulyakas.

(x) Vetulyaka and other allied sects were transmitted to Srilanka from Andhra. The centre of Vetulyavāda was Dhānyakaṭaka near Śrīparvata in Andhra.

(xi) The Tantras were composed by the Vajraparvata heretics, that is, the more developed Tantras were written down in the South.

(xii) The *Ratnakūṭa* was a composition of the Andhakas. *Ratnakūṭa* became a part of Mahāyāna, when it comprehended in its wide sweep all the dissident doctrines and became all-inclusive.

(xiii) Texts of Srilanka, like the *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa* chronicles and the *Nikāyasaṅgraha* with its detailed list of Tantras, are valuable sources for the history of Tantras in that they provide dates of Vetullavāda, which is an earlier designation of the Tantric tradition.

The main centre of Vetullavāda in Srilanka was Abhayagiri. The history of this monastery is important for chronological landmarks in the development of Vetullavāda. Led by their teacher Dhammaruci, Vajjiputta monks from Pallārāma in India arrived in Srilanka during the reign of Vohārika Tissa (209–301 A.D). «The adoption by Abhayagiri of Vetulya-vāda under the name of Dhammarucika, and the increase of their influence were the causes of an order for expulsion of sixty monks by king Goṭhābhaya, also known as Meghavaṇṇābhaya (early 4th century). The monks were not only expelled from the Saṅgha, but also banished from the country». (*Mahāvaṁsa* 36.112, *EBu.* 1.25). The expelled monks enlisted the support of Saṅghamitta who was a master of exorcism. Saṅghamitta came to Srilanka and became tutor to the younger prince. When he became king as Mahāsena, Saṅghamitta had withdrawn royal support from Mahāvihāra. The materials of its 364 colleges and temples were removed to enrich Abhayagiri.

In the reign of Silākāla (518–531 A.D.) Abhayagiri accepted a new Vaipulya sūtra *Dhammadhātu* which had been brought by the merchant Pūrṇa from Kāśī.

A monk of the Vajraparvata sect came from India to reside and preach at Abhayagiri in the 9th century. Granite tablets with dhāraṇīs have been found to the south-east of the north stūpa (*ASCAR.* 1940–45, p. 41). They are written in Nāgarī of the 9th century. «The Abhayagiri monks seem to have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India, from which they derived inspiration and strength. . . . They were liberal in their views, and always welcomed new ideas from abroad and tried to be progressive. They studied both Theravāda and Mahāyāna and 'widely diffused the *Tripiṭakas*'. The Dhammarucikas of Abhayagiri are supposed to have accepted the *Vetulya-piṭaka*». (*EBu.* 1.27).

«And hence the Vetulyas (Vetullakas) may not have constituted a separate sect or school, especially as they are not named among the eighteen schools; and the designation then merely stands as a kind of nickname for «those of the developed doctrine», or Mahāyāna in general, in a way similar to the sobriquet «Hīnayāna», the Small Vehicle, derisively given to the Theravāda». (*EBu.* 1.27).

Other Vaitulya sites also exist in Srilanka. Avukana is a site of an ancient Buddhist monastery of about the second century A.D. (Senarat Paranavitana, *EWA* 3.327 s.v. Ceylon). Perera (1980, pp. 179, 180) says: «When the Mahāsäya or the great pyramidal stūpa at Anuradhapura in ancient Sri Lanka was completed by the monarch Duṭṭhagāminī (circa 161–137 B.C.) it was recorded in the ancient chronicle Mahāvaṁsa that among the many distinguished Buddhist monks who arrived at the final crowning ceremony of the stūpa, to grace the occasion were the dignitaries of the monastic establishment of Gandhāra. It was the religio-cultural contacts that prevailed between the two regions, namely Sri Lanka and Gandhāra which may have led to the borrowing of the ideas pertaining to colossal statues of the Buddha».

«The first attempt in portraying the Great Sage Śākyamuni Gautama in stupendous form in Sri Lanka was the statue that is known as the Avukana Buddha. Recent researches by archaeologists and art historians in Sri Lanka have enabled them to distinguish a close similarity between the very name *Avukana* and the Bamiyan region which was referred to in ancient times variously as Vokkana, Avakana, or Vakana and in early Chinese literature as O-po-ki-ni. It has been surmised that the above toponyms, which were used in early Buddhist Prakrit and Chinese literature with reference to this particular region now known as Afghanistan (wherein Bamiyan is situated), bear a close similarity to the word Avukana, hence could have been responsible in deriving the name used in reference to the particular colossus in Sri Lanka which very much resembles the Bamiyan colossi».

A place named Nalanda «in the Matale District; possesses the only example in Ceylon of a stone-built shrine in the Pallava style of architecture. Sculptured stones are to be seen in the debris formed by the collapse of portions of the shrine, which is of Mahayana type». (*EWA*. 3.329).

Amoghavajra made «a long journey to India and Ceylon, as the late Master [Vajrabodhi] ordered him to do». (Chou 1945, p. 288). In the winter of 741 A.D. he left on board a ship to Malay Peninsula (*ibid:* 290). «When he arrived in Ceylon, the king sent a deputy to welcome him. The guardsmen on foot and on horse were stationed in ranks along the street when he entered the city. The king, having made obeisance at his feet, invited him to stay in the palace to be entertained for seven days. The king himself bathed Amoghavajra daily, using a golden barrel full of fragrant waters. The crown prince, the queens, [712b29] and the ministers acted similarly.»

«When Amoghavajra first met the ācārya Samantabhadra, he presented gold, jewelry, brocade, and embroideries and requested the Master to expound for him the doctrine of Yoga in the *Chin-kang-ting ching* of eighteen chapters and the

method of erecting an altar in accordance with the Mahākaruṇāgarbhadhātu-maṇḍala in the *Vairocanasūtra*. . . .»

«Amoghavajra, after that, had no regular teacher for his studies. He sought everywhere for the scriptures of the Esoteric Sect and [obtained] more than five hundred sūtras and commentaries». (Chou 1945, pp. 290–291).

In 746 A.D. he returned to the Chinese capital and presented a letter from King Śīlamegha (reigned 727–766 A.D.) of Srilanka to the Emperor. The Emperor granted him permission to translate all the Sanskrit sūtras. Amoghavajra had brought back Tantric texts, studied the *Tattva-saṅgraha* and *Vairocana-sūtra* the fundamental Tantras of the Yoga and Caryā divisions in Srilanka. It shows that Srilanka was famous as a seat of Tantric Buddhism as far as China.

Padmasambhava is supposed to have made a trip to Srilanka to obtain certain teachings and some ritual objects.

The legend of Barlaam and Joasaphat, which probably goes back to a Pahlavi (in use c. 300 B. C. — 800 A.D.) version, refers to Srilanka and is influenced by Vetulla elements. The hermit Barlaam (= Bhagavān) comes all the way from Sarandip, which is now Srilanka (Schulz 1981, p. 132). Schulz thinks that «the frequent occurrence, in the Christianized story, of parables, example, and dialogues found also in the *Lalitavistara*, makes it probable that this Sanskrit biography was used». (*ibid:* 136). The *Lalitavistara* is a Vaipulya text. The legend of the four caskets (*ibid:* 139) may be a relic of the *Tripiṭaka* and *dhāraṇī-piṭaka*. The Georgian version *Balavariani* says that the king «caught sight of two men clad in tattered garments made up from rags salvaged from rubbish heaps; and their sallow complexions testified to their poverty and need». This is a clear reference to the rag-robed fraternity of the Pāṁsukūlikas who were constituents of Abhayagiri (*EBu.* 1.22). Pāṁsukūla are refuse rags from a dust heap used for garments by monks (Edgerton 1953, p. 338 quotes the word *pāṁsukūla* from Vaipulya and allied works: *Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, Avadānaśataka*).

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MÄRCHEN, SAGEN UND SCHWÄNKE VOM DACH DER WELT (TIBETISCHE TIERMÄRCHEN UND DRE-MO-MÄRCHEN)

VON

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Über die Märchen der im tibetischen Hochland lebenden Menschen wußten wir bis zur jüngsten Zeit sehr wenig. Abgesehen von einzelnen alten und nur sehr wenige Märchen enthaltenden Büchlein, gelangte von dem unbekannten Märchenschatz, den wir nunmehr allmählich kennenzulernen beginnen, kaum etwas zur Kenntnis der Märchenforscher.

Bisher schöpften aus diesem reichhaltigen Märchenmaterial — wenn sie es überhaupt taten — eher nur die Sprach- und Folkloreforscher, da einige zweisprachige Sammlungen das Interesse der Wissenschaftler schon früher erweckt hatten. Eine systematische tibetische Märchenforschung begann jedoch erst in den vergangenen Jahren. Der Verfasser dieses Artikels rief in dem in Mátrafüred in Ungarn gehaltenen Symposion der Csoma-de-Kőrös-Gesellschaft (1976) die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Notwendigkeit eines tibetischen Märchenkatalogs, da ohne eine gründliche Kenntnis der tibetischen Märchen die vergleichende Märchenforschung Innerasiens einfach unmöglich ist.

Zum Glück wurden in den letzten Jahren — dank der von D. Schuh geleiteten Forschungsgruppe an der Universität Bonn — immer häufiger tibetische Märchen publiziert. Als Ergebnis ihrer Arbeit erschien 1982 eine vierbändige tibetische Märchensammlung, die — mit dem schon bisher bekannten Märchenmaterial ergänzt — uns auf dem Weg zur Systematisierung des tibetischen Märchenmaterials und zur Zusammenstellung eines tibetischen Märchenkatalogs um ein tüchtiges Stück weitergebracht hat.[1]

Im Zusammenhang mit den tibetischen Märchen suchen die Märchenforscher im allgemeinen auf zwei bedeutende Fragen Antwort. Die erste Frage besteht darin, welche jene typisch tibetischen Spezifika sind, die den tibetischen Märchenschatz von den Märchen der benachbarten Völker unterscheiden. Da doch weder das

[1] Im VHG. Wissenschaftsverlag, Sankt-Augustin erschienen vier Bände mit tibetischen Erzählungen, und es soll sich den bereits erschienenen noch ein fünfter Band anschließen. Die Bände sind die folgenden: *Märchen, Sagen und Schwänke vom Dach der Welt.* Band 1: Erzählgut aus Zentral- und Osttibet, erzählt in der Sprache von Lhasa, gesammelt und ins Deutsche übertragen von Dieter Schuh, 292 S.; Band 2: Erzählungen westtibetischer Viehzüchter, gesammelt und ins Deutsche übertragen von Monika Kretschmar, 330 S; Band 3: Viehzüchtererzählungen sowie Erzählgut aus sKyid-groń und Diń-ri, gesammelt und ins Deutsche übertragen von Roland Bielmeier und Silke Herrmann, 266 S.; Band 4: Erzählgut aus A-mdo und Brag-g.yab, gesammelt und ins Deutsche übertragen von J. K. Phukhang und Peter Schwieger, 237 S.

tibetische Leben noch die Religion völlig identisch mit jenen der Nachbarn sind, ist es anzunehmen, daß auch im Märchenschatz tibetische Eigenarten zu finden sind. Die zweite Frage lautet gerade entgegengesetzt: Was verbindet den tibetischen Märchenschatz mit den Märchen der anderen Völker?

Bekanntlich war die tibetische Gesellschaft äußerst geschlossen, wer immer — ganz bis zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts — tibetischen Boden betreten hat, der riskierte sein Leben. Die Hin- und Herströmung der Märchen hatte also keine ganz freie Bahn. Und dennoch kamen Fremde ins tibetische Land: zuerst buddhistische Missionare aus Indien, dann Mönche aus der Mongolei und dem Land der Burjaten, um die heilige Stadt Lhasa und den Dalai Lama aufzusuchen. Es fragt sich, ob diese Kontakte Spuren im tibetischen Märchenschatz hinterließen und wenn ja, welche?

Die weiteren Fragen sind dann bereits rein praktischen Charakters. Welche sind die bedeutendsten tibetischen Märchengruppen, Märchentypen und was widerspiegelt sich am häufigsten in den tibetischen Märchen? Das bisher veröffentlichte Märchenmaterial läßt zwar noch keine sichere Beantwortung der aufgeworfenen Fragen zu, es ermöglicht uns jedoch, sie mindestens zu berühren.

Im folgenden möchte ich mich aufgrund des Materials der von D. Schuh geleiteten Forschungsgruppe mit einigen Eigenarten des tibetischen Märchenschatzes beschäftigen.

Bereits auf den ersten Blick fällt es einem auf, daß in dem übrigens sehr reichhaltigen Material die Anzahl der Tiermärchen ziemlich gering ist. Einstweilen ist es noch ungewiß, ob dies reale Verhältnisse widerspiegelt, oder ob es sich aus der Sammlung ergibt: vielleicht hatten die Märchenerzähler die Tiermärchen aus irgendeinem Grund weniger gern als andere Märchengruppen. Freilich kommen in den tibetischen Märchen häufig Tiere vor (dankbare Tiere usw.), doch sind diese keine ausgesprochenen Tiermärchen.

Jedenfalls ist es denkwürdig, daß man unter den tibetischen Tiermärchen kaum einige findet, die auf die spezifische Tierwelt Tibets hinweisen würden. Es gibt beispielsweise keines über den Yak, und obwohl in den Märchen eine Vermischung von Yak und Rind vorkommt, sind dies keine Tiermärchen: Die Tiere spielen entweder eine Nebenrolle oder sie sind Dämonen, die sich in Tiere verwandelten.

Die Helden der tibetischen Tiermärchen sind jene Tiere, die in aller Welt — vor allem aber auf dem asiatischen Kontinent — die Hauptfiguren der Tiermärchen sind: der schlaue Fuchs, der dumme Wolf und Bär, die Ziege, das Schaf, seltener auch tropische Tiere, wie der Affe und der Tiger.

Im tibetischen Märchenschatz ist z. B. die Geschichte vom schlauen, stehlenden Fuchs bekannt, freilich mit entsprechenden lokalen Änderungen:[2]

[2] *Märchen, Sagen und Schwänke* ... II. S. 284.

«Ein Mönch wanderte einmal nach Lhasa, um der wichtigen Aufgabe, mit der er beauftragt wurde, nachzukommen. Der eilige Lama trug ein schweres Paket mit sich, das die Aufmerksamkeit der gerade dort vorüberziehenden Tiergruppe erweckte. Der schlaue Fuchs legte sich dem Mönch in den Wege, seine Gefährtin, die Krähe aber ging um ihn herum, als ob sie gerade die Augen des verendeten Tieres aushaken wollte. Der Mönch freute sich über das unerwartete Glück, und beschloß das Fell des verendeten Tieres abzuziehen. Er legte sein Paket zur Seite, doch während er zu dem «verendeten» Fuchs eilte, stahlen es ihm die Tiere.»

Das Märchen ist im Aarne-Katalog unter Nr. 1 zu finden (The Theft of Fish). Es kommt vor allem in Europa vor, aber gewisse Varianten — gerade die der tibetischen nahestehenden — findet man auch in Indien.[3]

Im europäischen Märchenschatz sind die Märchen von den Zicklein und den Wölfen sehr populär. Eine Variante ist, in einer von der europäischen einigermaßen abweichenden Form, auch im tibetischen Märchenschatz bekannt:[4]

«Drei Zicklein lebten friedlich in ihrem Häuschen und gingen der Reihe nach zum Fluß, um Wasser zu holen. Der Wolf, der ihnen in der Nähe auflauerte, erblickte das älteste Zicklein, wagte aber nicht, es anzugreifen, da er noch niemals einem solchen Tier begegnet war. Er wandte also eine List an und begann das Zicklein auszufragen, welchem Zweck seine einzelnen Körperteile dienten. Das alberne Zicklein beantwortete aufrichtig die Erkundungsfragen des Wolfes, somit vermochte sich das Raubtier davon zu überzeugen, daß es das harmlose Zicklein leicht vernichten konnte.

Tags darauf erging es dem zweiten Zicklein genauso, während das Dritte am dritten Tag schon viel schlauer war, und auf die Fragen des Wolfes keck und drohend antwortete: «Ich habe vorn meine Hörner, um dich aufzuspießen!». Der dumme Wolf griff das Zicklein dennoch an, das ihm geschickt aus dem Wege ging, und der Wolf, der auf dem Eis und dem Kot des Zickleins ausglitt, versäumte seine Beute.»

Das Märchen ist im europäischen Märchenschatz und auch in Indien bekannt (AaTh 126. *The Sheep Chases the Wolf*).

Dem europäischen und im indischen Märchenschatz ähnlich kommt dem weisen Hasen auch in den tibetischen Märchen eine bedeutende Rolle zu. Das folgende Märchen ist eine Variante des in Europa allgemein bekannten «Reinecke Fuchs».

Dem tibetischen Märchen gemäß, lebte einst ein ehrgeiziger Hase, der sich in ein in der Umgebung wohnendes Tigerweibchen verliebte und beschloß, mit ihm zu flirten. Das Tigerweibchen aber wollte von der Sache nichts wissen und beschloß, den frechen Hasen zu töten und aufzufressen. Der Hase hingegen lockte den Tiger

[3] *Antti Aarne-Stith Thompson: The Types of Folktale.* Helsinki 1964, (*FF Communications* No. 184.)

[4] *Märchen, Sagen und Schwänke* ... III. S. 33.

in eine Falle: Während der Flucht verkroch er sich in sein in den Boden gebohrtes Loch und als das ihn verfolgende Tigerweibchen ihm nachkriechen wollte, klemmte es sich ein. Der schlaue Hase kroch durch ein anderes Loch heraus und vergewaltige das Tigerweibchen in seiner bedrängten Lage.[5]

Das Märchen ist im Aarne-Katalog zu finden (AaTh 36. *The Fox in Disguise Violates the Sea-Bear*).

Die Abweichung zwischen den europäischen und tibetischen Varianten ist scheinbar belanglos, dem ist aber nicht so, wenn wir die Tierfiguren betrachten. Dem Fuchs und Bär der europäischen Varianten gegenüber begegnen wir im tibetischen Märchen dem Hasen und Tiger, was eindeutig in Richtung Indien weist.

Die Beziehung zwischen Hase und Tiger stellt auch folgendes Märchen dar:[6]

«Ein Mann gelangte einst auf seiner langen Wanderung zu einem scheinbar unbewohnten Häuschen, er schaute zum Fenster hinein und sah dort einen Tiger liegen. Der vom Hungern erschöpfte Tiger bat den Wanderer, er möge ihn aus dem Haus befreien, wo man ihn eingesperrt hatte. Der Mann zögerte ein wenig — er hatte Angst vor dem Tiger —, als ihm aber das Tier versprach, ihm kein Leid anzutun, es sei ihm ja zu Dank verpflichtet, befreite er es. Kurze Zeit geschah auch nichts, später aber, nachdem sie über den Fluß gesetzt waren, behauptete der hungrige Tiger, der Fluß habe das Versprechen fortgespühlt und wollte seinen Befreier auffressen.

Zum Glück des Wanderers begegneten sie aber kurz darauf einem weisen Hasen, der, obwohl er sofort begriff, was geschehen war, so tat, als würde er nichts verstehen. Sie mußten also zu dritt wieder zum verlassenen Haus zurückkehren und dort die Befreiung des Tigers ihm wieder vorspielen. Der Tiger ging in das Haus zurück, das der weise Hase sofort zusperrte. So rettete er das Leben des Wanderers vor dem undankbaren Tiger.»

Das Märchen ist allgemein bekannt (AaTh 155. *The Ungrateful Serpent Returned to Captivity*). Laut Aarne-Katalog ist es auch in Indien bekannt, und auch die Märchenfiguren weisen auf Indien hin.

Vom weisen Hasen erzählt auch folgendes Märchen:[7]

«Ein Mutterschaf floh mit seinem kleinen Lämmchen vor ihrem bösen Herrn, der sie schlachten wollte. Während ihrer Wanderung begegneten sie einem schlauen Hasen, der in der Heide ein Papierstück gefunden hat. Der Wolf und der Bär wollten sie auffressen, da «las» der Hase vom Papier den Text vor, demnach auf Befehl des chinesischen Kaisers der Bär getötet werden mußte. Die beiden Raubtiere liefen davon, die anderen aber waren gerettet.»

[5] *Op. cit.* IV. S. 219.
[6] *Op. cit.* II. S. 289.
[7] *Op. cit.* I. S. 212.

Das Märchen gehört zum Typ AaTh 126 und ist auch im mongolischen Märchenschatz wohlbekannt und verbreitet. In den mongolischen Märchen ist ebenfalls der Hase der Retter und der Wolf der Angreifer, der Brief aber enthält einmal den «Befehl» des chinesischen Kaisers, andermal den des Dalai Lama.

Auch die Geschichte vom Frosch und der dummen Krähe weist auf indischen Ursprung hin:[8]

«Es wohnte einst in einem Teich ein Frosch, und als der Teich unerwartet auszutrocknen begann, beschlossen seine beiden Freunde, zwei Wildenten, ihn vor dem Tode zu retten. Sie nahmen einen langen Lederriemen in den Schnabel, an dem sich der Frosch festbiß, und versuchten ihn so in eine wasserreiche Gegend hinüberzuretten. Unterwegs benahm sich aber der Frosch albern: indem er auf die Spöttelei eines verwunderten Hirten antworten wollte, entglitt der Lederriemen seinem Mund und er begann zu stürzen. Eine vorbeifliegende Krähe erwischte ihn aber, doch nicht um ihn zu retten, sondern um ihn zu verzehren. Der bis dahin alberne Frosch wurde nun plötzlich schlau und fragte die Krähe, wo sie ihn verzehren wollte. Die Krähe schlug manche Orte vor, er riet sie aber von diesen ab, weil — so der Frosch — dort seine Eltern und Verwandten wohnten, die ihn rächen würden. Von der Krähe befragt, schlug er hierauf vor, ihn ins Wasser zu setzen, da er dort keine Bekannten habe, die sich für seinen Tod rächen könnten. Die dumme Krähe setzte ihn hierauf in ein Bach, wo der Frosch augenblicklich verschwunden war.»

Das Märchen stammt aus der indischen Pañcatantra-Sammlung und verrät zweifellos einen indischen Ursprung.

Eine andere Version des Märchens weist ebenfalls nach Indien:[9]

«Es lebte einst ein alter Affe auf einem Baum an der Meeresküste. Aus den Wellen erhob sich jeden Tag ein Untier, das die Affenleber für eine Delikatesse hielt. Einmal entschloß es sich, den Affen zu töten und seine Leber zu verzehren. Dem dummen Affen gefielen die verlockenden Worte des Untiers, mit denen es seinen «Freund» zu einer kleinen Seereise einlud. Der Affe befand sich auf den Rücken des Untiers und sie waren schon fast in der Mitte des Meeres, als er erfuhr, daß er sterben muß, da ihn das Untier nur seiner Leber wegen zur Seereise überredete.

Der dumme Affe wendete nun eine List an. Er belügte das Untier damit, daß er seine Leber nicht mitgebracht, sondern sie auf dem Gipfel des Baumes vergessen habe. Das noch dümmere Untier brachte ihn dann zur Küste zurück und befahl ihm, die Leber vom Baum zu holen. So gelang es dem Affen, sich vom Untier zu befreien und unternahm freilich nie wieder eine Seereise auf dem Rücken seines «Freundes».»

[8] *Op. cit.* II. S. 293.
[9] *Op. cit.* IV. S. 57.

Das Märchen ist mit dem AaTh 91 *[Monkey (Cat) who left his Heart at Home]* identisch.

Schließlich soll hier ein nicht ausgesprochenes Tiermärchen erwähnt werden, dessen einzelne Varianten wegen der in ihnen vorkommenden Tiere dennoch zu den Tiermärchen gezählt werden können.[10]

«Es gab einmal ein Mädchen, das ein Dämon auffressen wollte. Das Mädchen flehte das Ungeheuer verzweifelt an, ihm etwas Zeit zur Vorbereitung zu lassen; der Dämon möge es tags darauf holen. Auf dem Heimweg begegnete das Mädchen Tieren und verschiedenen Gegenständen, die sich bereit erklärten, ihm zur Hilfe zu eilen. Die Gegenstände waren ein Ei, eine Ahle, die Tiere ein Ochse, ein Hund, eine Maus und eine Schlange.

Die Gegenstände und Tiere griffen den tags darauf erscheinenden Dämon an: das zerplatzende Ei blendete ihn, die Ahle stach ihn, die Tiere aber zerissen ihn.»

Das Märchen ist in ganz Europa und Asien allgemein bekannt und populär (AaTh 210. *Cock, Hen, Duck, Pin, and Needle on a Journey*).

Aus dem Gesagten können folgende Lehren gezogen werden: Ein Großteil der tibetischen Tiermärchen ist nicht tibetischen Ursprungs, sondern gelangte durch Übernahme vor allem aus Indien nach Tibet. Auf diese Übernahme weisen nicht allein die Märchensujets hin, sondern auch die in den Märchen vorkommenden Tierfiguren. Bisher war keine Rede davon, daß die Helden mehrerer tibetischer Märchen Papageien sind, was ebenfalls auf eine Entlehnung aus tropischen Gegenden hinweist.

Es wäre aber ein Irrtum zu glauben, daß es keine original tibetischen Tiermärchen gibt und auch nicht geben kann, die Forschungen müssen auf diesem Gebiet fortgesetzt werden. Auch bedeutet diese Tatsache nicht, daß in den tibetischen Märchen keine Tiere vorkommen, ganz im Gegenteil, der tibetische Märchenschatz ist voll von Tierfiguren, diese Märchen sind jedoch keine Tiermärchen.

Es ist vorstellbar, daß infolge der Herrschaft des Buddhismus die früheren original tibetischen Tiermärchen in Vergessenheit geraten sind und ihren Platz den aus Indien stammenden Märchen überlassen haben. Diese gelangten zweifellos zusammen mit der buddhistischen Kultur nach Tibet, da es sehr wahrscheinlich ist, daß die großen indischen Märchensammlungen und andere, auch indische Märchen enthaltende Werke ins Tibetische übersetzt wurden und dadurch der Weg zur Verbreitung der indischen Märchen eröffnet wurde.

Eine besondere Gruppe der tibetischen Märchen repräsentieren die in der Sammlung vorkommenden Dremo- (Themo-) Märchen. Ein Teil dieser sind

[10] *Op. cit.* II. S. 209.

Tiermärchen, die Hauptperson aber — wie dies auch die Sammler und Übersetzer angeben — dürfte tatsächlich irgendein Bär sein.[11]

«Es geschah einmal, daß ein Mann auf seiner Wanderung über einen Fluß ging und einen, an den Brückenpfeiler gebundenen Themo fand. Als der Themo den Mann erblickte flehte er ihn an, ihn aus seiner Gefangenschaft zu befreien. Der Mann hatte jedoch Angst, daß ihn der Bär auffrißt, deshalb wollte er seine Bitte nicht erfüllen. Schließlich rührte ihn doch das Flehen des Themos und befreite ihn, dann wanderten sie gemeinsam weiter. Kurz darauf vermochte der Themo seines Hungers nicht mehr Herr zu werden und beschloß — Dankbarkeit hin, Dankbarkeit her — seinen Befreier aufzufressen. Nun begann der Mann zu flehen, bis sie endlich mehreren Tieren und dann einem Hasen begegneten. Der Hase ließ sich die Geschichte von der Befreiung des Themos erzählen und tat, als würde er die Sache nicht verstehen. Es blieb nichts anderes übrig, als zur Brücke zurückzugehen, um dort die Geschichte wieder abzuspielen. Der Mann band den Themo wieder an den Brückenpfeiler, dann ging er — von der Gefahr befreit — mit dem weisen Hasen seines Weges.»

Die Variante des zitierten Märchens haben wir schon weiter oben erörtert, es ist eine Version von AaTh 155 (*The Ungrateful Serpent Returned to Captivity*), mit dem Unterschied, daß der Hase das Leben des Mannes früher von einem Tiger, nun aber von dem sonderbaren Themo gerettet hat.

Die Hauptgestalt des folgenden Märchens ist ebenfalls der Themo:[12]

«Ein weiser Hase begegnete einst einem Mann, dem der Themo drohte, zu holen und aufzufressen. Der Hase erschrak vor dem Themo nicht, sondern schickte den Mann um einige Gegenstände eilig nach Hause, unter anderem um einen Sack. Der Hase sprang auf den Rücken eines Ziegenbocks, und als sich der Themo dem Mann näherte, um ihn zu fressen, begann der Hase die Themojäger nachzuahmen. Als der Themo hörte, daß Pferde und Jäger einen Themo suchen, erschrak er fürchterlich und bat den Mann, ihn zu verstecken. Der Hirt ließ den Themo schließlich in seinen Sack kriechen und so «rettete er ihn vor den Jägern». Den Sack band er rasch zusammen und so entfloh auch er dem Tode.»

Das Märchen ist mit einem der bekanntesten eurasiatischen Tiermärchen identisch. Der Bär erschrickt vor «den Jägern» und versteckt sich im Sack des armen Mannes, wo ihn sein Schicksal erreicht. Das Märchen ist eine Variante von AaTh 154 (*Bear-food*).

Es muß unbedingt erwähnt werden, daß beide Märchen aus Brag-g.yab stammen und der Name des in ihnen vorkommenden Wesens — Themo — die dortige Aussprache widerspiegelt.

[11] *Op. cit.* IV. S. 197.
[12] *Op. cit.* IV. S. 48.

Das folgende Dremo-Märchen stammt aus sKyid-groń.[13]

«Die Bewohner eines Dorfes arbeiteten gerade auf dem Feld, als einer von ihnen bemerkte, daß sie von den benachbarten Hügeln von Dremos beobachtet werden. Als sich dann die Bauern zur Nachtruhe begaben, ahmten die Dremos — obwohl sie keinerlei Geräte hatten — die Menschen genau nach. Anscheinend belustigte sie die Nachahmung der Menschen. Ein kluger Bauer hatte dann die Idee, man müßte den Dremos zeigen, wie man den Boden mit richtigen Geräten bestellen mußte, sie werden dann die schwerste Arbeit nachts verrichten. Sie ließen genug Geräte auf dem Feld, und die Dremos verrichteten nachts die Arbeit: Sie sammelten Steine, pflügten, säten. Die Menschen aber freuten sich, nicht arbeiten zu müssen. Die Dremos machten alles statt ihrer.

Die Ernte reifte schon schön heran, als das Unglück passierte. Ein Bauer brach eine Ähre, um zu sehen, ob sie schon völlig reif war und zerrieb sie in seiner Hand. Die Dremos beobachteten auch dies und vernichteten nachts aus purem Wohlwollen die ganze Saat.

Da beschlossen die Menschen die Dremos zu vernichten. Tags darauf imitierten sie mit Holzschwertern und Steinen eine Schlacht untereinander und hinterließen dann richtige Waffen auf dem Feld. Sobald es Nacht wurde, begannen die Dremos zu kämpfen, und bis zum Morgen vernichteten sie einander. Die Menschen aber freuten sich, daß sie die Dremos los waren.

Einige Dremos überlebten jedoch das Gemetzel und begnügten sich notgedrungen mit Menschenfleisch. Ein Dremo fraß bereits zwei Töchter einer Familie, und als die jüngste (die dritte) an die Reihe kam, nutzte diese den Nachahmungsbrauch der Dremos aus: sie tat als ob sie heißen Talg auf ihren Kopf schütten würde, nahm vom Feuer ein flammendes Stück Holz und schien ihre Haare mit diesem zu locken. Der Dremo, der das Mädchen beobachtet hatte, konnte der Versuchung nicht widerstehen, schüttete heißen Talg auf seinen Kopf und brannte sich mit dem glühenden Holzstück zu Tode.»

«Ein anderer Dremo stieg einmal auf das Hausdach des Mädchens und dieses zog zufällig einen langen Bambusspan aus dem Fuß des Dremos. Nächsten Tag näherte sich der Dremo dem Haus des Mädchens, doch die dort versammelten Menschen ließen ihn nicht in seine Nähe. Morgens, als sie das Haus verließen, fanden sie eine getötete Antilope vor der Tür. Der Dremo brachte sie ihr als Geschenk, weil sie den Dorn aus seinem Fuß gezogen hatte.»

Aus dieser Geschichte geht klar hervor, daß dieser Dremo wohl kaum mit dem Themo identisch sein konnte, selbst wenn die beiden Namen identisch sind. Die Dremos wandern nämlich in Gruppen, beobachten die Menschen und sind auch

[13] *Op. cit.* III. S. 104.

geschickter als die Tiere, da sie die Menschen in allem nachahmen können, ja sie erlernen sogar das Böse von ihnen. Ihre Nachahmungsfähigkeit und der Umstand, daß sie nicht einsam sind, könnten den Forscher an die Affen erinnern, zugleich aber weist die Menschenfresserei doch auf andere Tiere hin.

In der folgenden Geschichte benimmt sich der Dremo fast wie ein Mensch. Das Märchen wurde übrigens in Amdo gesammelt.[14]

«Ein Pilger war einst auf dem Wege nach Lhasa, als er sich einen Splitter in den Fuß eintrat und seinen Weg nicht fortsetzen konnte. Nachts zog er sich in eine Höhle zurück, wo ein weiblicher Dremo wohnte. Als der Dremo nach Hause kam, tat er dem Mann nichts an, sondern gab ihm Fleisch, dieses war aber Menschenfleisch, daher aß der Pilger nicht davon. Das Dremo-Weibchen kam darauf, daß der Mann nur Tierfleisch ißt und brachte ihm solches, dann lebten sie miteinander wie Mann und Frau.

Inzwischen heilte die Wunde des Pilgers und in einem unbeobachteten Moment entfloh er, um sich einer dort vorbeiziehenden Karawane anzuschließen. Inzwischen gebar das Dremo-Weibchen ein Kind und eilte mit diesem dem Entflohenen nach, da aber die Leute der Karawane auf ihn zu schießen begannen, konnte der Dremo nicht in ihre Nähe gelangen. In seinem hilflosen Zorn zerriß er das Kind und warf es vor die Füße des Vaters.»

Das folgende Dremo-Märchen weist ebenfalls darauf hin, daß zwischen dem Themo und dem Dremo ein bedeutender Unterschied besteht.[15]

«Es geschah einmal, daß zwei Männer auf die Jagd gingen. Sie vereinbarten sich im voraus, daß, falls sie einem Dremo begegnen würden, sie ihm nicht sagen werden, wohin sie gehen, weil der Dremo ihnen folgen würde, und wer weiß, was dann geschehen könnte. Kaum waren sie aber auf dem Weg, tauchte plötzlich ein Dremo vor ihnen auf. Auf seine Frage antworteten die Männer, daß sie nur ein wenig in der Gegend herumspazieren wollen. Der Dremo verließ sie dann, und die Männer gingen weiter. Als es Abend wurde, legten sie sich ans Lagerfeuer und schliefen ein. Als am Morgen der eine Jäger erwachte, bemerkte er, daß sein Freund tot war. In der Nacht wurde er am Kopf schwer verletzt. Da er nicht glaubte, daß es Räuber gewesen sind, meinte er, daß nur der Dremo seinen Gefährten getötet haben konnte.

Nachts darauf tat der schlaue Jäger einen Topf unter die Decke, an die Stelle seines Kopfes und richtete die Decke zurecht, damit der Lauernde meinte, er liege darunter. Er selbst aber versteckte sich mit geladener Flinte im Gebüsch. Genau um Mitternacht tauchte dann der Dremo plötzlich auf, trank den Rest der Suppe, schlug seine mächtigen Brüste über seine Schulter, streckte seine scharfen

[14] *Op. cit.* IV. S. 47.
[15] *Op. cit.* IV. S. 199.

Schneidezähne vor und warf sich auf «den liegenden Mann». Unter seinen Zähnen zerkrachte der Topf, und bevor noch der überlistete Dremo sich aufgerafft hätte, schoß der Jäger aus dem Versteck und tötete ihn.»

Aus dem Gesagten geht hervor, daß der Dremo auch keinem Bären ähnlich ist, die mächtigen Zähne und die über die Schulter geworfene Brust erinnern eher an irgendeine dämonische Gestalt.

Schuhs Material nach gibt es zwei Auslegungen des Themos bzw. Dremos in der tibetischen Folklore. In der Umgebung von Brag-g.yab, wo der Themo-Wortlaut gebräuchlich ist, ist der Themo eher eine Tierfigur und auch die Märchen sind Tiermärchen. Demgegenüber gleicht der Dremo in der Gegend von sKyid-groń und in Amdo mehr irgendeinem primitiven Menschen.

Die Untersuchung der Folklore der Nepaler Sherpa bringt uns der Lösung dieser Dualität näher.

Der Name Dremo (Themo), bzw. die sich dahinter verbergende Märchengestalt ist auch in der Folklore der Sherpa bekannt.[16]

«Die Sherpa bezeichnen seit altersher als Yeti eine Gruppe von koboldartigen Fabelwesen. Diese Wesen sind auch in zwei erst kürzlich entdeckten und veröffentlichten Ritualtexten erwähnt. Der eine ist das *Yuldog Do* (Negative Mächte vertreiben), der andere wird *Kandjur Tjindi* genannt und ist ein dem großen Mystiker Padmasambhava zugeschriebener Offenbarungstext. Dort sind diese Fabelwesen, auch *Dred* genannt, mit dem jeweiligen Zusatz *-po* (männlich) oder *-mo* (weiblich). In beiden Fällen sprechen die Texte von den *Dred* oder *Yeti* nur als von Wesen, die sich durch absolute Kulturlosigkeit, durch Barbarismus vom wahren Menschentum unterscheiden. Sie sind gewissermaßen eine negative, abstrakte Größe. Anderseits bezeichnet man mit dem im Tibetischen wie in der Sherpa-Sprache gebräuchlichen Wort *Dred* aber auch den roten oder Schneebären, den die Naturwissenschaft als «ursus isabellinus» bezeichnet.»

Es ist demnach klar, daß der Name eine Bärengattung sowie den Schneemenschen bezeichnet. Folgende Geschichte ist in der Sherpa-Folklore bekannt und ist mit dem Yeti verbunden.[17]

«Die gefährlichste Art der *Yeti*, die menschenfressenden *Miti*, waren einst in der Landschaft Khumbu unmittelbar unterhalb der heiligen Berge Everest und Tseringma so zahlreich, daß ihnen die Menschen in großer Anzahl zum Opfer fielen. Meist saßen sie tagsüber auf steilen Felsen, um den Sherpa bei ihrer Feldarbeit zuzusehen. Wenn die Nacht dann einbrach, stiegen sie herab und ahmten all das nach, was sie während des Tages bei den Menschen gesehen hatten.

[16] Friedrich W. Funke: *Die Sherpa und ihre Nachbarvölker im Himalaya*, Frankfurt am Main 1978. S. 121.

[17] *Op. cit.* S. 123.

So zerstörten sie die Gerstenfelder, und wenn ihnen ein Mensch in die Finger fiel, töteten sie ihn, um sein Blut zu trinken. Deshalb beschlossen die Khumbu-Bewohner, dieser Plage ein für allemal ein Ende zu bereiten. Einen ganzen Tag lang veranstalteten sie ein großes Fest, bei dem Unmassen von Chang getrunken wurden. Dann spielten sie allesamt die Betrunkenen und begannen, mit Holzschwertern aufeinander loszuschlagen. Das dauerte an, bis der Abend hereinbrach. Kurz vor dem Schwinden des letzten Tageslichtes aber wurden die Holzschwerter gegen echte, scharfe Schwerter ausgetauscht. Dann verbargen sich die Menschen in ihren Häusern. Sogleich tauchten die *Yeti* auf, um die Menschen wiederum nachzuahmen. Sie betranken sich sinnlos am Inhalt der zahllos bereitgestellten Chang-Fässer und begannen schließlich, mit den Schwertern gegeneinander zu fechten. Ihre Trunkenheit aber machte sie tatsächlich rasend, und so erschlugen sie sich allesamt. Als der Morgen graute, lagen alle *Yeti* tot am Boden. Nur eines ihrer schwangeren Weiber war dem wüsten Treiben ferngeblieben. Deshalb überlebte sie ganz allein. Bald gebar sie mehrere Kinder. Von denen stammen die heute so seltenen *Yeti* ab.»

In Schuh's Sammlung ist uns dieses Märchen aus der tibetischen Folklore schon früher bekannt geworden.

Schließlich kann behauptet werden, daß ein Teil der tibetischen Dremo-Geschichten Tierfabeln und auch ihre Hauptfiguren Tiere sind, während der andere Teil der Erzählungen keine Tierfabeln sind. In diesen ist die Hauptperson der Yeti, den die Folklore von den Tieren klar unterscheidet. Im letzteren Fall ist die Übersetzung des Namens Dremo als «Bär» falsch.

Zusammenfassend: Die tibetischen Tiermärchen stammen zum großen, ja zum überwiegenden Teil aus Indien, es gibt nur sehr wenige originale Tiermärchen, die in Tibet entstanden sind. Zweifellos gibt es solche, ihre Sammlung und Systematisierung ist jedoch noch eine Aufgabe der Zukunft. Eigenständig tibetische Tiermärchengruppen scheinen die Dremo-Erzählungen zu sein, ihre eingehende Untersuchung beweist jedoch, daß sie nur zum Teil Tiermärchen sind (die Typen gehen auch in diesen Fällen auf indische Vorlagen zurück), während es sich beim anderen Teil nicht um Tiermärchen handelt und auch die Hauptgestalt kein Tier, sondern der legendäre Schneemensch, der Yeti ist.

Abschließend möchten wir Herrn Professor D. Schuh und all den Forschern herzlichst danken, die das reichhaltige tibetische Märchenmaterial veröffentlicht und damit den Weg zur Bearbeitung und Typisierung der tibetischen Märchen eröffnet haben.

RELIGION IN TIBET AT THE TIME OF SRONG-BTSAN SGAM-PO: MYTH AS HISTORY

BY

ALEXANDER W. MACDONALD (Paris)

The New Delhi, 1973 reprint of the famous *Essay towards a Dictionary, Tibetan and English* by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös contains the following entry on p. 302: «Srong-btsan sgam-po, name of a celebrated king in Tibet, in the 7th century of our æra, under whom Buddhism was first introduced into Tibet». It seems appropriate, in a volume dedicated to the memory of the great pioneer of Tibetan studies in Europe, to comment on this entry in the light of more recent work in the field.

Tibetan oral and written traditions concerning the deeds of Srong-btsan sgam-po have been analyzed by a lot of foreign researchers in recent years: and attempts have been made, in this context and with regard to particular events, to separate History (what actually happened) from Myth (stories about what actually happened). However no general consensus has emerged from such debates as to the great king's own beliefs and the extent of Buddhist influence in Tibet in his life-time. Moreover, there is little agreement about the religious substratum on which Buddhism was imposed. Was this Animism, Shamanism, unsystematized Bon or Bon already organized as a religion ? Did Taoism precede Buddhism in certain areas of Tibet and what were its links, if any, with what Prof. R. A. Stein calls the «nameless» religion ? Did some or all of the above-mentioned aspects of religious life co-exist already in Tibet in the first half of the 7th century, in what proportions and in what cooperative or antagonistic relationships ? That Srong-btsan sgam-po was a Buddhist, was indeed the great promoter of the early phase of Buddhism's spread in Tibet is an article of faith for most Tibetans, even today.[1] The extent to which he was a Buddhist, if indeed he was at all, are matters of controversy among foreign scholars. So the first impression derived from a reading of the relevant literature is that we are confronted, on the one hand, by folk-beliefs and, on the other hand, by scholarly doubts as to the reasonableness of such beliefs. The second impression is that little effort has been devoted to understanding why Tibetans believe and write what they have done on the subject.

In order to substantiate the above remarks, it is perhaps necessary to stress just how divergent are the views expressed about Srong-btsan sgam-po. I will therefore

[1] See, for instance, D. Jackson, *Gateway to the Temple*, Kathmandu (Ratna Pustak Bhandar) 1979, p. 18, who translates a Tibetan text published in 1971. Letters given to me in Lha-sa June, 1980, frequently mentioned Tibet's cultural unification as dating from the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po.

begin by enumerating the views of some western authorities. One of the early western authors to comment on what an anthropologist would call «The Gesture of Srong-btsan sgam-po» was Jacques Bacot. Concerned primarily with the Chinese marriage of the Tibetan sovereign, Bacot edited and translated into French a *Maṇi bka' 'bum* version of this episode in «The Gesture», making use in his commentary of the Tun-huang Chronicle and of Pelliot's translations from the T'ang *Histories*. His article was a pioneer effort in the comparative use of the literary sources available at the time he wrote. His analysis led him to conclude that Srong-btsan sgam-po «fut surtout guerrier beaucoup plus que bouddhiste».[2] More recently D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson have opined that «Buddhism during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po was probably restricted to the court, and its priests were Indian or Chinese. A few Tibetans may have studied the new faith and helped in the first translation of religious books but even this is not certain».[3] R. A. Stein writes that «au début, il ne s'agissait sans doute que de premiers contacts, et non d'une pénétration véritable du bouddhisme, même pas à la cour. C'est du moins l'impression que donnent les sources chinoises».[4] For T. V. Wylie «Srong-btsan sgam-po was in all probability an illiterate monarch who practised the Shamanistic religion of the Tibetan people until his death in 649 A. D.».[5] For P. Demiéville, «ce n'est pas au VIIe siècle, comme le veut la tradition indigène, ce n'est pas à Srong-btsan sgam-po (†650) et à son épouse chinoise la princesse Wen-tch'eng (†680), ce n'est pas non plus à la première moitié du VIIIe siècle, au roi Khri-lde gcug-bcan (†755) et à la princesse de Kin-tch'eng (†739) que remonte la conversion du Tibet au Bouddhisme; c'est à Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan (755–797) et à ses successeurs, à partir du VIIIe siècle, et plutôt à la fin de ce siècle».[6] For G. Tucci also «there can be no question of a conversion of king Srong-btsan sgam-po or of an extensive diffusion of the faith carried out by him».[7] Tucci was moreover the first scholar to question the historical reality of the episode in «The Gesture» constituted by the king's marriage with the Nepalese princess Bhṛkutī. «Just as Padmasambhava had his two wives Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal and Mandarava», he wrote, «so also Srong-btsan sgam-po was identified with Avalokiteśvara assisted by his two Tārās. The disregard of the historical facts by the religious community, only eager to glorify him as a god, is

[2] J. Bacot, *Le mariage chinois du roi tibétain Sroṅ-bcan sgan-po*, in: *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, t. III, 1933–35, Bruxelles 1935, pp. 1–60.

[3] D. Snellgrove & H. Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, London (Weidenfeld and Nicolson) 1968, p. 77.

[4] R. A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, 2nd edition, Paris (L'Asiathèque) 1981, p. 38.

[5] T. V. Wylie, *Some political factors in the early history of Tibetan Buddhism*, in: A. K. Narain (ed.), *Studies in History of Buddhism*, Delhi (B. R. Publishing Co.) 1980, p. 366.

[6] P. Demiéville, *Le Concile de Lhasa*, Paris (Imprimerie Nationale de France) 1952, pp. 188–189.

[7] G. Tucci, *The Religions of Tibet*, translated by G. Samuel, London (Kegan Paul) 1980, p. 2.

testified also by the fact that he is not said to have died but to have disappeared into the self-originated image of Bcu-gcig zhal after the Nepalese wife had disappeared into his right shoulder and the Chinese one into his left shoulder. The trilogy imposed on Srong-btsan sgam-po cannot be dissociated from his being identified with Khasarpana, one of the usual forms of Avalokiteśvara which has his female companions Syāmā Tārā, the Chinese princess, and Bhṛkutī (Khro gñer can), the Nepalese princess».[8] Even in Nepal doubts are now being cast on the historical reality of the Nepalese marriage, one author arguing that the exemplary Buddhist behaviour of Bhṛkutī in Tibet scarcely ties in with her background as a Hindu princess.[9] The most novel, most deeply researched view of Srong-btsan sgam-po's religious convictions and acts, in the context of his times, is that to be found in the well-known article by D. A. Macdonald.[10] The ideas put forward in that article have been summarized by A.-M. Blondeau on three occasions. «Later sources», she writes, «attribute to the initiative of [Srong-btsan sgam-po] the invention of writing and grammar, borrowed from India, and to his conversion the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet. Early sources, silent on the latter point, lead us on the contrary to consider that during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po elements of the old religion were organized into a royal religion: the deified *btsan-po* re-enacted the same'descent' from the world of the gods on high as the first mythical king, and thus legitimated his power. Until the fall of the royalty, and despite the real conversions of sovereigns to Buddhism, their edicts invoke these principles on which was based their authority».[11]

The surprise and even incredulity engendered in the minds of some western scholars and most Tibetans by the findings of D. A. Macdonald's article would have been tempered had they paid heed to a law in the development of religions adumbrated nearly fifty years ago by Paul Mus. As little attention seems to have been paid to its formulation in French, I will quote its English version. «The way in

[8] G. Tucci, *The wives of Srong-btsan sgam-po*, in: *Oriens Extremus*, 9 Jahrgang, Heft I, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 126. See also P. Kvaerne, *Mythes anthropogoniques au Tibet*, in: *Dictionnaire des Mythologies*, Paris (Flammarion) 1980, pp. 22–30 of the offprint.

[9] K. K. Adhikari, *A brief survey of the historiography of Nepal*, Kathmandu 1980, p. 47.

[10] D. A. Macdonald, *Une lecture des Pelliot tibétain 1286, 1287, 1047 et 1290: Essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po*, in: *Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris (A. Maisonneuve) 1971, pp. 190–391. Almost simultaneously G. Uray reached similar conclusions on several points in The narrative of legislation and organisation of the Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston. The origin of the traditions concerning Sroṅ-brtsan sgam-po as first legislator and organiser of Tibet, *AOH*, 26, 1, Budapest 1972, pp. 11–68.

[11] A.-M. Blondeau, *Le Tibet, Aperçu historique et géographique*, in: *Essais sur l'Art du Tibet*, Paris (A. Maisonneuve) 1977, p. II. See also A.-M. Blondeau, *Les religions du Tibet*, in: *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire des Religions*, III, Paris 1976, pp. 239–247; et *Les études tibétaines*, in: *Journal Asiatique*, t. cclxi, 1–4, Paris 1973, pp. 160–165.

which a belief is described and explained once it is formed, and the origins which are attributed to it at that stage, are necessarily different from the way it was invented and from its real origins — if only because when, having it, people try to explain it, they possess it, which was not the case with the inventors. It is born out of something that is not itself and, once separated, rejects what is not itself, even though this was its source.»[12] The manner in which Tibetan Buddhist authors have worked to efface from the memory of their compatriots elements compounded in the royal religion and even its very name (*gtsug*) seem to be a good illustration of the workings of this law.

A particularly significant episode in «The Gesture» has recently been analyzed by Michael Aris. Making use of ten Tibetan sources which he dates and lists, his analysis concerns the reputed founding by Srong-btsan sgam-po of twelve temples: «the four great Horn -suppressors (*Ru-gnon chen-po bzhi*); the four «to tame the borders» (*mtha' 'dul*); and the four to tame «the area beyond the borders» (*yang 'dul*)». Aris seems perfectly justified in including two ancient Buddhist temples of present-day Bhutan, Skyer-chu lha-khang and Byams-pa'i lha-khang, as two of the twelve. He quotes with approval Prof. R. A. Stein's remark that «the conquering and civilising function of the first king, once he was established at the centre, was performed in accordance with Chinese ideas: in square concentric zones, each boxed in by the next and extending farther and farther from the centre». To substantiate this viewpoint, Aris draws attention to the Five Zones of Control figured in the *Yu kung*: «1) the royal domains 2) the princes' domains 3) the pacification zone 4) the zone of allied barbarians and 5) the zone of cultureless savagery.» «The Tibetan scheme», he writes, «must surely have been a contraction of this or similar schemes in which zones 1), 4) and 5) may perhaps have been selected as most appropriate to the Tibetan world — a world which, let it not be forgotten, the rulers of the 7th and 8th centuries held to be the equal if not on occasion the actual superior of China».[13] While Marcel Granet had emphasized many years earlier the Chinese preference for envisaging the Earth as a series of five emboxed squares,[14] I do not know of any passage in the texts used by Aris in which the Tibetan authors stated that they were consciously invoking Chinese emboxment theories. While it is unlikely that the notion of *rājmaṇḍala* as developed in Kauṭilīya's *Arthaśāstrā*[15] influenced early Tibetan historiography, we should

[12] P. Mus, *India seen from the East, Indian and Indigenous Cults in Champa*, translated by I. W. Mabbett, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, № 3, Monash University, 1975, p. 22.

[13] M. Aris, *Bhutan, The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*, Warminster (Aris & Phillips Ltd.) 1979, p. 18.

[14] Marcel Granet, *La Pensée chinoise*, New Edition, Paris (Albin Michel) 1968, p. 83; also *Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne*, Paris 1926, pp. 231–232.

[15] R. P. Kangle, *The Kautilīya Arthaśāstra, Part III, A Study*, Bombay 1965, pp. 248–250.

remember that emboxed power-centres are attested to in many other Little as well as Great Asian traditions[16] and that the early Tibetan kings seem to have been entombed in the central of nine squares.[17] What, to my mind, it is essential to grasp in the Tibetan twelve-temple scheme analyzed by Aris is that it constitutes a whole. To nail down only the hips and shoulders of the demoness who exemplified the king's domain would have served little purpose; to establish Buddhist order he had to immobilize her entire body.

One of the important points made by Aris is that «The Gesture» evolves in Tibetan sources with the expansion of Buddhism in Tibet and that it is absent in the earliest Tibetan documents. One might also stress that certain episodes in «The Gesture» which do seem to be truly historical — for instance, the military conquests — are often not mentioned at all in Tibetan renderings of « The Gesture». Inversely «The Gesture» as conserved in the Sherdukpen context of our days seems to lack any historical foundation whatever.[18]

I have argued elsewhere that, in Himalayan tribal contexts, powermodels are deliberately formulated and exploited by certain élites and are used as instruments of social control.[19] The deeds of Srong-btsan sgam-po, as exemplified in Tibetan

[16] S. J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) 1976, p. 103.

[17] G. Tucci, *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome (Is. M. E. O., Rome) 1950, p. 9.

[18] R. R. P. Sharma, *The Sherdukpens*, Shillong 1961, p. 5: «Sherdukpen tradition claims that the tribe originally came from Tibet. The Tibetan king Be Srongtsen Gompo used to live in Devalajari in Lhasa with his Tibetan queen, Be Mu Za, by whom he had a son called Gepu Roding Dorjee Chhung. In course of time he heard that the king of Assam had a very beautiful daughter and he began to long for her. He therefore sent his ablest minister, Rigpu Chhan, to Sibsagar to ask for her hand in marriage... In the beginning, the Ahom king was reluctant to send his daughter to a distant unknown land and made the minister pass through a series of severe tests before he agreed to the alliance and sent his daughter with the minister.

At last they set out on their journey homewards and came to the Brahmaputra and crossed over the far side. There the minister seduced the princess. The party finally arrived at Devalajari after passing through Sibsagar, Satiya, Morshing, Bumla and Tsona. The king of Lhasa was delighted to see his new bride and married her with great pomp and ceremony. Soon afterwards he noticed to his great dismay that his wife was pregnant. He realized that his minister had betrayed him and so had the minister imprisoned and punished.

The child that was born had the body of a human being, the face of a dog and the horns of a goat, and was accordingly named Khi Bu Rowa. When the king saw him, he had the child taken to the forest and left there to die.

As the king deeply loved his beautiful young wife, he forgave her previous act of infidelity. In course of time he had two sons by her — the oldest was named Japdung Ngowang Namje and the younger Japtang Bura. When the boys grew up, Jabdung Ngowang Namje succeeded to Bhutan while Japtang Bura took over the present Sherdukpen territory and thus became the first Sherdukpen king.»

[19] Creative Dismemberment among the Tamang and Sherpas of Nepal, in *Tibetan Studies in honour of Hugh Richardson*, edited by M. Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, Warminster (Aris & Phillips Ltd;, Warminster) 1980, pp. 199–208.

recensions of «The Gesture», seem to be a further instance of such practices. It was Buddhism that made Tibet literate. It was Buddhism that made of Tibet a cultural and political unit. In order to impose on the minds of the people a certain image of their first great Buddhist king, Tibetan authors, engaged as they were in the building-up of long-term Church-State power-relationships in Tibet, did not just take over certain schemes of power-installation in that country and blend them to some selected historical events. In all they wrote, from at least the 8th century onwards, they were influenced by Buddhist, Indian historiography. Now in India, as B. G. Gokhale has pointed out, history (commonly understood as *itihāsa*) is lumped together by the Buddhist as a variety of 'low' or 'unedifying' talk. At no point did the Buddhists deign to call what they compiled as 'histories' (as *itihāsa*) but took special care to designate them as *vamsas*. Properly speaking, therefore, the Buddhist historical consciousness was designed to articulate itself in terms of a *vamsa*, a chronicle concerning primarily the Buddha, the tradition of oral, recitational or written tradition. Whatever was relevant to these grand themes became legitimate parts of the *vamsa* but not *itihāsa*. The principle idea was that of an unbroken continuity, whether of pupilary succession or royal and dynastic sequences regarded as relevant to the main purpose of Buddhist history. That purpose was ethically conceived; i. e. that the composition should provide joy and delight, «full of faith, pleasant and that which consists of various forms» leading to elation. It should be a chronicle handed down from generation to generation. It should be composed for the «furtherance of teaching (*sāsanavuḍḍhi*)», for «the creation of faith among listeners», to «arouse serene joy and emotion».[20] It was as inheritors of this *vision engagée* of «History» that Tibetan authors penned their chronicles and later printed them.

Before pursuing this line of thought it is perhaps useful at this point to consider «The Gesture» in another perspective. Up till today the coming of Buddhism to Tibet seems, by common consent, to have been considered such a serious matter that it should be left solely to philologists to analyze. However, sufficiently good work has surely been done by now by these specialists to enable us to proceed with comparative studies in the aim of situating Tibet in the wider context of the development of national cultures in particular geographical and cultural areas. «The Gesture» should surely take its rightful place in what G. S. Kirk calls «a recurrent phenomena in the development of cultures», the Heroic Age. «The reason for the similarity of these products is», he writes, «that they arose from a Heroic Age or its immediate successor. The main components of such an age, which tend to

[20] B. G. Gokhale, *On Buddhist Historiography*, in: A. K. Narain (ed.), *Studies in Pali and Buddhism, A Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap*, Delhi (B. R. Publishing Corporation) 1979, pp. 99–108: the quotation is from p. 104.

occur in the development of many different nations, seems to be a penchant for warfare and adventure, a powerful nobility, and a simple but temporarily adequate material culture devoid of much aesthetic refinement».[21] C. M. Bowra, in his remarkable book *Heroic Poetry*, had already noted that «the audiences of heroic poetry usually assume that it is a record of fact, and it certainly takes the place of history in societies which have no written annals, is believed to speak with authority about the past, and may even be used to settle disputes on such matters as land or ancestors.»[22] Both Bowra and Kirk, in my opinion, overestimate, in the elaboration of heroic popular traditions, the role of poetry at the expense of prose. Moreover the massive and masterly studies of Prof. R. A. Stein on the *Gesar* epic have tended to distract attention from other lesser epic manifestations in the Tibetan oral and written traditions.

In Tibet, with the introduction of Buddhism, oral traditions came to be written down and in this manner were stabilized so that in time oral traditions became more and more tributary to written documents. The oral versions of *ro-sgrung* which I recorded in 1959 in Kalimpong from a practically illiterate Tibetan *sgrung-mkhan* are filled with material which derives from printed books and manuscripts, which the story-teller had never read but which he had heard recounted.

In the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, there seems to have been little direct knowledge of Indian chronicles. E. Haarh, who has drawn attention to the regret expressed by the author of the *Deb-ther sgnon-po* (1478) that he could not write down the history of Aśoka as he did not know anyone possessing an Indian royal chronicle relating the succession of reigns, has summarized «a rather firmly established» Tibetan tradition concerning four Indian kings who «belonged to various branches of the Śākyas all of them considering themselves the descendants of the original king of India, Mahāsamadhi or Mahāsammata (Maṅ-po (b)skur-ba)».[23] Haarh writes: «Obviously the object of the Buddhist tradition was — p a r t l y to establish, at a certain time, a sufficiently distinguished and imposing ancestry of the Yar-luṅ Dynasty by connecting it with the Śākyas in the same way as in a later time the Mongol Qaγans, by claiming descent from the Yar-luṅ kings, considered themselves the descendants of Mahāsamadhi, and -p a r t l y, to establish, from the very beginning, a Buddhist background for the Dynasty and...a legendary foreboding of the appearance of Cakravartin kings in the Tibetan dynasty by choosing Bimbisāra, Prasenajit or Udaya as an ancestor and emphasizing the prodigious signs with which Gnya-khri btsan-po was born».[24] He

[21] G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge (C.U.P) 1962, p. 57.

[22] C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, London (Macmillan & Co. Ltd.) 1961, p. 508.

[23] E. Haarh, *The Yar-luṅ Dynasty*, Copenhagen 1969, p. 186.

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 187.

has shown that the 32 *lakṣana* of a *mahāpuruṣa* were at first neither well known nor well understood in Tibet and that authors included, in their lists of these, ancient Tibetan, non-Indian elements.[25]

The problem that Buddhist chroniclers faced, as was well understood by Gokhale, and his remarks quoted above are also pertinent to the Tibetan context, was to establish «an unbroken continuity, whether of pupilary succession or royal and dynastic sequences». Quite simply, they strove to attach the first Tibetan dynasty in historical times to India, the homeland of Buddhism and the Buddha. To state this is not to deny that Chinese geomancy, and Confucian and Taoist theories of the universe and of sovereignty influenced early Tibetan «historical» compositions. But the master-plan in what Paul Mus would have called «l'opération Bouddhisme» was to link Tibet to India. However, at the same time, the intention was also nation-building: Tibet was to be established as a cultural entity distinct from India.

In India itself the Buddhist *cakravartin*, par excellence, was, of course, Aśoka. That Aśoka did not, in his inscriptions, designate himself as a *cakravartin* is irrelevant in the context of the present analysis. He is renowned, in oral and textual tradition, as the builder of 84,000 *stūpa*, a gesture not merely architectural but with political and religious implications also. That gesture in turn derived from, while at the same time it rejected, its Brahmanical precedent. Mus has put the matter succinctly: «L'*agnicit* construit ses autels brique par brique selon le schéma temporel que nous avons indiqué. Chaque brique correspond à la fois à une parcelle du corps de Prajāpati et à une section du *Veda*, c'est à dire à une portion des deux manifestations principales du brahman. L'ensemble des autels reconstitue le brahman au complet, ou Prajāpati au complet. Aśoka, selon la légende, n'a pas agi différemment. Son appui transcendant n'est plus le brahman, mais le *dharma*, incarné dans le Buddha, et représenté par le Canon. Le Canon comprend en principe 84,000 sections, comme le *Ṛg Veda* 10,800 stances théoriques. Ainsi Aśoka construit-il 84,000 *stūpa* voués chacun à un atome du corps de la Loi. Ces 84,000 fondations recomposent l'unité du corps de la Loi et sont équivalentes, dit le Pali, au corps complet du Buddha. Le roi bouddhiste, le roi de la Loi, fonde ainsi son autorité sur un schéma constructif mis en faveur par la tradition brahmanique. Toutes réserves faites sur l'interprétation dogmatique, on peut admettre qu'en pratique, pour l'exercice de la religion royale, le dharma est au cakravartin bouddhiste ce que le brahman de l'*Aitareya* ou du *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* est au roi brahmaniste. Ce dernier incarnait le brahman, il le recevait en lui, et il en répandait autour de lui l'influence régulatrice, au profit de son royaume. Car le brahman est l'ordre dans l'univers. Transporté au centre du royaume, il fait l'ordre dans celui-ci. De même, le

[25] *Op. cit.*, pp. 197-198, 203-204.

dharma dont s'auréole Aśoka et qu'il enseigne à ses sujets: cette entité engendre dans le royaume l'équivalent de l'ordre cosmique des brahmanes, c'est à dire, si l'on transporte en valeurs bouddhiques, un état analogue à celui qu'offre le monde, lorsque la présence d'un Buddha l'éclaire».[26] More recently, with regard to Theravāda areas of the Buddhist world, S. J. Tambiah has argued in favour of considering the Aśoka paradigm as «a model both generating and legitimating political action».[27] Now while Buddhist authors succeeded in linking the name of Aśoka with the introduction of Buddhism to Khotan, to Kashmir and to Nepal, it has never been suggested that his dominion extended to Tibet nor that he introduced Buddhism to that country. In any case the *dharma*, acceptable to a poly-religious and multi-ethnic society, as proned in the later Aśoka's inscriptions and edicts, even had it been known to the Tibetan Buddhist authors of early *vamsa*-type compositions, which seems unlikely, would have offered little interest to them, in their context. What intrigued them was the legendary Aśoka: and the life-patterns of Aśoka and Srong-btsan sgam-po were not so very different. Certain stock epithets, as Malalasekera has pointed out, are used to describe a Cakkavatti: *dhammiko, dhammarāja, cāturanto, vijitāvī, janapadatthavāriyapatto*, etc.: «his dominion is established not by the scourge nor by the sword but by righteousness (*adaṇḍena asatthena dhammen'eva abhivijiva*)».[28] Both Aśoka and Srong-btsan sgam-po having conquered their kingdoms by the sword, consolidated them, after their conversions, by displays of righteousness. Srong-btsan sgam-po, like Aśoka, was influenced by his queens. As Gokhale has noted, «there is the obvious aim to interpret greatness in terms of the transforming influence of Buddhism on character. Aśoka before his conversion is a monster who almost becomes a saint after his conversion to Buddhism».[29] Precedents (*dpe*) have always been important in Tibetan thinking whatever the sectarian or social background of the author. It was comparatively easy to transfer on to the Tibetan hero Srong-btsan sgam-po certain legendary themes linked with Aśoka.

So, to my mind, it is the 84,000 *stūpa* model which lurks behind the 12-temple episode in «The Gesture». The latter should not be reduced to the dimensions of the static application of an emboxment theory, whatever its origins, to the body of an agitating demoness. The great king's gesture was a dynamic one: it inaugurated, in the tradition of the Indian *cakravartins*, a religious revolution. Just as the Aśokan

[26] P. Mus, *Barabudur. Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes*, t. I, Hanoi (Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient) 1935, p. *101.

[27] S. J. Tambiah, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[28] G. P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, London (Luzac & Co.) 1960, article: *Cakkavatti*: pp. 1343–1345.

[29] B. G. Gokhale, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

model took its distance from the Brahmanical one, so in Tibet did Srong-btsan sgam-po's «Gesture» take its distance from the Aśokan model. To have attributed to Srong-btsan sgam-po the construction of 84,000 sanctuaries would not have marked off Tibet from India. The objective in installing the 12 temples was similar to that aimed at in the Aśokan pattern: to bring to order, to stabilize, to subdue the local earth and its inhabitants, to implant the Doctrine and its sites for worship, *lha-khang* and *mchod-rten*, up to the limits of the national domain. There are other epic, religious heroes in Tibetan tradition, such as Padmasambhava, but their role is not one of national, political unification.

It is well-known that in Tibetan oral and written tradition Avalokiteśvara-Lokeśvara passes for a *cakravartin* whereas his emanation Srong-btsan sgam-po is the first of the three great *chos-rgyal*. In a recent, beautifully illustrated article, Pratapaditya Pal has opined that «despite the fact that no image of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara has so far been found in India, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the cult of this cosmic form of the most important Bodhisattva was not altogether unknown. Both manifestations (the Eleven-headed and the Thousand-armed) were familiar in the region known as Konkan in Maharastra, where the cult of Avalokiteśvara appears to have flourished between the fifth and eighth centuries. Apart from Kanheri, Ellora is another site where Avalokiteśvara figures prominently. Thus the Tibetan tradition that the cult was brought from that country may not be far-fetched. However, specific iconographic types may have entered Tibet from Central Asia».[30] To relate the sculptural to the textual evidence for the introduction of the cult of Avalokiteśvara to Tibet is no easy matter. At the time he wrote Pal had not seen Professor R. A. Stein's analysis of very important Tibetan and Chinese textual material relevant to this question. Among other points, Prof. Stein discusses whether Avalokiteśvara, considered not as a *bodhisattva* but as a *buddha*, should be connected with and opposed to the Buddha the one being visible whereas the latter can not be seen.[31] It seems to be now fairly

[30] P. Pal, *Cosmic Vision and Buddhist Images*, in: *Art International*, XXV, 1–2, 1982, pp. 8–40. The quotation is from p. 30.

[31] See R. A. Stein, *Divinités du panthéon tantrique sino-japonais*, in: *Annuaire du Collège de France*, Vol. 77, pp. 599–607, and *Les formes féminines de Kouan-yin*, in: *ibid.*, 1977–1978, pp. 639–647. M. Stein in the course of his analysis notes that «parfois confondues et souvent distinctes, les deux formes (d'Avalokiteśvara) à onze têtes et à mille bras/mille yeux sont en fait inséparables». He makes a very important suggestion which seems to have escaped the attention of most researchers. «Avalokiteśvara traité non pas en *bodhisattva* mais en *buddha*, se rapproche-t-il et s'oppose-t-il au Buddha comme pouvant être vu vs. ne pouvant pas être vu ? . . . ce rapprochement a été opéré par les fidèles eux-mêmes, et cela dès le Ve siècle au moins, date de la traduction en chinois du *sūtra* de la contemplation d'Amitāyus (T. 365) . . .» La dixième contemplation a pour objet le *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara qui est décrit dans son corps apparent de Réalité (absolue). Son corps est immense, rouge et des lumières qui en émanent

accepted that behind the iconography of Avalokiteśvara lurks that of the Vedic *Puruṣa*, the prototype also of the 1000-eyed, 1000-armed Viṣṇu, of 1000-eyed Indra and Śiva. With regard to the introduction of the *cakravartin* concept to Tibet, we may note that Madame Benisti has suggested that it was at Bodh-Gayā that the glorification of the Buddha *cakravartin* was emphasized architecturally: «elle s'y intensifia et c'est de là vraisemblablement qu'elle rayonna dans d'autres régions, hors de l'Inde notamment».[32] A. Forte, from a textual viewpoint, has provided fascinating glimpses of the discussions sparked off when the *cakravartin* concept was introduced to China.[33]

In conclusion, we might compare the roles which Buddhist authors have attributed, in their respective spheres, to Srong-btsan sgam-po in Tibet and to Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī in Sri Lanka. The latter is, in the words of Walpola Rahula, «the greatest national hero of early Buddhist Ceylon... His war-cry was 'Not for kingdom, but for Buddhism!' This was the beginning of nationalism among the Sinhalese... A kind of religo-nationalism, which almost amounted to fanaticism, roused the whole Sinhalese people. A non-Buddhist was not regarded as a human being».[34] Gāmaṇī «the bad» — compare *caṇḍa* Aśoka — delivered the Island from the domination of Elāra, the Chola prince whom the authors of the Ceylonese Chronicles depict as a just monarch who did not seek to suppress Buddhism. In the 25th chapter of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī is made to express regret, after his conversion to Buddhism, for having killed so many men in his victorious wars, a regret which parallels that of Aśoka. Heinz Bechert has written excellent pages on this formative period of Ceylonese Buddhist traditions.[35] Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī reigned

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englobent les êtres des cinq *gati*. Sur le sinciput il porte un joyau (*śakrābhilagna-ratna*) qui est propre à Indra, se trouve au sommet du Sumeru et éclaire et fait apparaître tout. Il n'y a *aucune différence* entre lui et le Buddha, sauf que la marque de l'*usnīsa* et la sous-marque de l'*anavalokita-mūrdhatā* ne valent pas celles du Buddha. Quiconque contemple *d'abord* l'*usnīsa* puis le reste est sauvé de tous les péchés et mauvais *karman*. On a donc: le *buddha* Avalokita dont l'*usnīsa* peut et doit être vu (d'en bas) vs. le Buddha dont la *mūrdhatā* (= *usnīsa*) ne peut et ne doit pas être vu (d'en haut)» (*A. C. F.*, vol. 77, p. 601).

[32] Mireille Benisti, *Contribution à l'étude du stūpa bouddhique indien: les stūpa mineurs de Bodh-Gayā et de Ratnagiri*, t. I; Publications de l'Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient, Vol. CXXV, Paris, E. F. E. O, 1981, p. 136.

[33] A. Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* ... Napoli (Istituto Universitaris Orientale) 1976, p. 137.

[34] W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon, The Anuradhapura Period*, Colombo (M. D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd.) 1956, pp. 79–80.

[35] See Heinz Bechert, *Zur Ursprung der Geschichtsschreibung im indischen Kulturbereich*, in: *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaft in Göttingen*, I, *Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1969, №. 2, pp. 33–58, particularly pp. 47–48; and *The beginnings of Buddhist Historiography*, in *Ancient Ceylon*, 3, 1979, pp. 21–28, particularly pp. 24–27. Some relevant remarks by the same author are to be found in *Sangha, State, Society, «Nation»: Persistence of Traditions in «Post-Traditional» Buddhist Societies:*

from 101 to 77 B. C. Like Aśoka, he erected many religious edifices notably the *Mahāthūpa* (Ruvanvälisäya) at Anuradhapura, the most venerated Dāgōba in Sri Lanka. His reign marks the period when the Island forged its independence from Indian cultural domination from the mainland. Buddhist historiographical developments in Ceylon at the time when the local chroniclers played their part in forging the ideological background to the foundation of a Buddhist nation-state prefigure, in a striking manner, what was to occur in Tibet from the 7th century A. D. onwards.

Daedalus, Winter 1973, *Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 102, №. 1, pp. 85–95; and in *Einige Fragen der Religionssoziologie und Struktur der südasiatischen Buddhismus, Beiträge zur religions-sociologischen Forschung: International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religions*. Bd. 4, Köln and Opladen 1968, pp. 250–295. On the *Mahāvaṁsa*, see recently Sirima Kiribamune, *The Mahāvaṁsa: A Study of the ancient historiography of Sri Lanka*, in: *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume*, Colombo 1965, pp. 125–136.

ON THE SANSKRIT SUBHĀṢITA-LITERATURE IN TIBET

BY

T. MALANOVA (Ulan-Ude)

The Tibetan versions of the Sanskrit subhāṣita-literature — eight nīti-collections of the Tanjur — became known to scholars due to the publications dedicated to the analysis of the Kanjur and the Tanjur (1834–1836) made by the outstanding Hungarian tibetologist Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. Afterwards the texts frequently drew attention of the scholars for reconstructing Sanskrit Subhāṣitas (A. Schiefner, S. Ch. Das, S. K. Pathak) and served as useful comparative material to study the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* of Sa-skya paṇḍita (A. Csoma de Kőrös, J. Bosson, G. Bethlenfalvy, L. Sternbach, M. Hahn etc.).[1]

A comprehensive book on the Tibetan versions in the Tanjur was written by Prof. S. K. Pathak.[2] It contains a brief description of the Tibetan texts and an analysis of a number of the 9th–11th century translations. His findings concerning the development of translating subhāṣitas into Tibetan might be summarized as follows: «. . .the standard of translation of the Indian Nīti-texts in Tibetan had developed the more as the Lo-tsa-bas could follow Sanskrit».[3]

The aim here is to review some other aspects of the evolution of the lo-tsā-bas work that laid the basis for the further development of written aphoristic poetry in Tibet.

First, I would like to say some words about the origin of some verses of the nīti-collections, the verses that were constructed, in my opinion, by borrowing the wise sayings from the nīti-collections translated earlier. Furthermore, I will try to concisely analyze the main achievements in translated aphoristic poetry of the 9th century, illustrating it by some examples from the texts.

I. The nīti-collections of the Tanjur consist of short verses, most of which are quatrians. They were translated into Tibetan in the 9th–12th centuries.

All the verses can be divided into two groups: firstly, the verses translated from Sanskrit, which form the major part of all collections, and secondly, different transformations of the earlier translated ones.

[1] Bibliography on Tibetan Subhāṣita-literature cf.: Ludwik Sternbach, *Indian Wisdom and its Spread beyond India*: *JAOS*, Volume 101, 1981, pp. 124–125.

[2] S. K. Pathak, *Indian Nītiśāstras in Tibet*, Delhi 1974.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

Let us compare 3 variants of a verse in different collections translated in the 9th–12th centuries:

1. *Prajñā-daṇḍa* (abbr.: *PD*, first half of the 9th century) No. 26

dam-pa'i 'gro-ba gnyis yin-te
me-tog-dag ni mgo-lcogs bzhin
'jig-rten kun-gyi spyir-bkur-ba'am
nags-nyid-du ni deng-par bya

«The destiny of the holy people is of two kinds,
Similarly to [the destiny] of the flowers, waving their heads:
Who either draw salutation of the whole world
Or disappear in a forest.»

2. *Śata-gāthā* (abbr.: *ŚG*, 10th century) No. 14

me-tog-gyi ni mgo-lcogs bzhin
dam-pa'i 'gro-ba gnyis yin-te
'jig-rten kun-gyis spyir bkur-ba'am
nags-nyid-du ni dengs-par bya

«As flowers, waving their heads,
There are two [kinds of] holy people:
Who either draw salutation of the whole world
Or disappear in a forest.»

3. Cāṇakya (abbr.: Cāṇ, 11th century) No. 8

me-tog dri dang kha-dog-ltar
dam-pa'i tshul ni gnyis yin-te
'jig-rten kun-gyis spyir bkur-ba'am
nags-nyid-du ni dengs-pa'o

«Like flowers [differing] by scent and colour
Holy people's way of being is of two [kinds]:
To either draw salutation of the whole world
Or to disappear in a forest.»

The first two translations differ from each other very slightly: two lines of the first semi-stanza from the *PD* had changed their places in the *ŚG* with the aim of

transmitting the main thought of the stanza «There are two kinds of holy people» to the end. Besides, instead of *-dag* — the particle of the Dualis (which is a characteristic feature of verbal translation from Sanskrit), there is in the *ŚG: -gyi* — the attributive particle. It seems that the *ŚG* stanza was borrowed from the *PD*-collection, not from the Sanskrit text. Here probably the lo-tsā-ba also tried to make the verse more Tibetan.

To compare example 3 with the others, there is the complete coincidence of the lines 3–4 (only *-bya* in the end of it is omitted). But the first two lines of Cāṇ. are rather different from the other two translations. It is possible to suppose that new words «by scent and colour» were introduced into the verse by the lo-tsā-ba of Cāṇ. to make the obscure analogy of the line more exact and more correct than in the first two collections («As flowers, waving their heads»). Comparing the verse of Cāṇ. with the first ones it seems that the structure of its first semi-stanza is similar to the structure of the first semi-stanza from the *ŚG*. The lo-tsā-ba of Ćāṇ. probably borrowed the verse from the *ŚG*-collection, but not from the *PD* written earlier.

Further transformations of earlier translated verses could be divided as follows:

a) the basic idea of the verse is unchanged, sometimes it becomes more concrete and has some difference in wording and grammar,[4] for example:

PD No. 147

phyug-po kla-klo-rnams-la'ang yod
dpa'-bo dud-'gro-rnams-la'ang mang
sna-tshogs don-gyi gtam sgra-pa'i
dam-pa-dag ni kun-tu dkon

«Even among barbarians [there are] rich people
Even among animals [there are] many heroes.
[But] holy [people] telling various useful sayings
are rare everywhere.»

Jantu-poṣana-bindu-nāma (abbr.: *Bind.*, 9th century.) No. 16

phyug-po kla-klo-rnams-la yang yod
dpa'-bo dud-'gro-rnams-la yang yod
don-dag-ldan-pa'i tshigs smra-ba
'jig-rten 'di-na shin-tu dkon

[4] Sometimes the verses adopted from collections written earlier did not undergo any changes at all. This is typical, especially for the *ŚG*-collection, which has many verses from the *PD*.

«Even among barbarians [there are] rich people.
Even among animals [there are] heroes.
[But people] speaking useful verses
Are very rare in this world.»

The second stanza is improved in grammar, lexis and syntax. The lo-tsā-ba completed the parallel structure of the first semi-stanza by the repetition of the verb (*yod — yod —* «to have») in line 2; he also clarified the statement of the second semi-stanza by removing the subject to the line 3 (it was partly in the line 4 in the *PD* verse) and making more concrete lexis of the last line (*PD:* «Holy people [are] rare everywhere»; *Bind.:* «In this world [they] are very rare»). Thus the idea is the same, but the verse is more exact and more aphoristic.

b) transformations in which the basic idea of the verse is changed, for example:

PD No. 111

rgyal-po nor-sogs ngom-pa med
mkhas-pa legs-bshad-kyis mi ngom
rgya-mtsho chu-yis ngom-pa med
'jig-rten sdug-la bltas mi ngom
me-la shing-gyis ngom-pa med
byis-pa 'dod-pas ngom-pa med

«A king is not sated by wealth.
A wise [man] is unsated by Subhāṣitas.
The sea is not sated by water.
The world can never be sated by seeing sufferings.
The fire is not sated by wood.
A child is not sated by fancies.»

Cāṇ. I No. 25

rgyal-po nor-gyis ngom-pa med
rgyal-po nor-sogs ngom-pa med
rgya-mtsho chu-yis ngom-pa med
mkhas-pa legs-bshad-kyis mi ngom

«A king is not sated by wealth.
A king is not sated by wealth and other (things).
A sea is not sated by water.
A wise [man] is unsated by Subhāṣitas.»

Looking at the first example it can be seen that lines 1, 3, 5 and 6 are fully paralleled. Line 2 and 4 differ from the others by the construction of the end (cf.: *ngom-pa med — mi ngom*). But the basic idea, which is concluded in line 4, is stressed by introducing an extra word *bltas* — «to look», thus, the parallelism of the line breaks here: («Glance is unsated by sufferings of the world»).[5] In the next example, lines 4, 5, 6 are absent. The main thought («A wise man is unsated by Subhāṣitas») is stressed not only by transferring the line (which is line 2 in the first verse) to the end, but also by the distinction of the end of the line from the same of the other lines.

It seems that the later translators knew the translations of their predecessors[6] and sometimes included their translations into their own collections.

c) A new verse could be created on the basis of several verses, which had been translated into Tibetan earlier. Not only lines or stanzas, but also the constructions could be borrowed. For example, the following stanzas from the *Gāthā-Koṣa*-collection (abbr.: *GK*, 9th–10th century) were borrowed for composing a new verse in *ŚG* (10th century).

1. *GK* No. 76

yon-tan-ldan-pa phyug-po dkon
phyug-po phal-cher yon-tan med
me-tog rna-rgyan rab-mdzes kyang
li-shi'i me-tog dri rab zhim

«[Those] possessing merits are rarely rich
The rich usually have no merits.
Ear-ornaments flower is nice, yet[7]
The pink-flower [has] the finest perfume.»

2. *GK* No. 89

'gro-ba shin-tu grags-med kyang
sems-can yon-tan-ldan-pa dkon
yul-ljongs dpag-tu-med mod-kyi
rin-po-che-dag 'byung-ba skon

[5] *sdug* — «sorrow, misery», etc., can also be translated as «nice, attractive, dear» (S. Ch. Das, *Tibetan–English Dictionary*, pp. 715–716) so this phrase can be translated as follows: «Glance is not sated by the charms of the world.»

[6] This is one more confirmation of the supposition made by Géza Bethlenfalvy in his paper: *On the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi (Echoes and Conception)*, in: *Papers on the Literatures of Northern Buddhism*, Delhi University, Delhi 1980, p. 34.

[7] This refers to a flower made of metal that does not have any aroma.

«[The number of] the creatures is greatly countless, but
The people possessing merits [are] rare.
The lands are limitless — but
Jewels [on it] appear rarely.»

3. *ŚG* No. 5

yon-tan-ldan-la phyug-po dkon
phyug-po-la yang yon-tan dkon
yul-ljongs dpag-tu-med mod-kyi
rin-po-che-dag skye-ba dkon
'gro-ba dpag-tu-med mod-kyi
pha-ma rnyed-pa shin-tu dkon

«Among those possessing merits the rich are rare
But among the rich merits are rare.
The lands are limitless, but
The birth of jewels is rare.
[The number of] creatures is greatly countless, but
It is very difficult to find parents.»[8]

It becomes clear from what was said before that even at the earliest stage of the development of Tibetan literature, the process of «Tibetanization» of the translated literature began. There was an attempt by the Tibetan lo-tsā-bas not only to convey the original exactly, but also to create the basis for the further development of Tibetan literature in the field of aphoristic poetry.

II. While translating Subhāṣitas into Tibetan the lo-tsā-bas could not avoid taking into account the tendencies of historically conditioned forms of Tibetan folk-tradition.

It is well known that most of the verses translated from the Sanskrit Subhāṣita-literature are quatrians with seven syllables in each line. Ancient Tibetan texts make the fact obvious that the seven syllable line (in an undeveloped state) was known to the Tibetans before they came into contact with Indian culture. Thus extracts from the so-called «mo»- books — «books of fate» frequently began with a seven syllable line (the following lines consisting of six syllables).[9]

In addition, there was a strong tendency in Tibetan nīti-texts to divide the lines into two parts: 4 syllables and 3 syllables. Very often the fourth syllable was a

[8] I.e. to obtain a favourable incarnation in future life.

[9] F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Folk Literature from North-Eastern Tibet*, Berlin 1957, pp. 118–129.

particle, especially the particle *ni* with a pause after it. Though there is no consensus about the pause, its existence as an element of Tibetan folk tradition seems to be confirmed by aphorisms in prose from the Sum-pa region, where the particle *ni* is followed by a *shad* or a double *shad*.

Examples from «The Sum-pa mother's sayings»:

pha ma gñis ni || btsal kyis myi rñed la || — «Father and mother: are not acquired on request.»

ñan gtum bskrags na ni | byams drin cen yañ dgrar gyur ro || — «Violently abused: even a kind, friendly person becomes an enemy.»

ma ñes par bsad pa ni | sprul gdugs yañ sñiñ rje ḥo || — «Killing where there is no offence: is the poisonous snake's mercy.»[10]

It is quite possible to assume that a seven syllable line in Tibetan translated aphoristic poetry is characterised by the division into unequal syntagms (4 and 3 syllables) with a pause between them and that this form already existed in an undeveloped state in the Tibetan literature tradition of the pre-Indian period. By adopting the Indian literary tradition, such a line structure acquired a complete form.

The earliest translated work of the Tanjur's nīti-collections is the *Prajñā-śataka* (Tib. *Shes-rab brgya-pa*). While translating the collection lo-tsā-ba dPal-brtsegs strived to keep within the established limits as well as of the quatrians and of a separate line with the pause after the fourth syllable in every line. Therefore sometimes he could not clearly convey the idea of the original. In *Prajñā-śataka*, abbr.: *PŚ*, there are many abbreviations, for example: *lag-pa-na* (in hand) is abbreviated as *lag-na*, and so on. In addition, auxiliary particles and form words are often omitted. The division of a line is not retained only in a very small number of the verses (in 2 or 3 verses out of a hundred). In some verses every fourth syllable of a line is a particle. The translator of the *PŚ* tried to concern himself not only with rhythm and the metre of the verses, but also with its phonetical structure. About the one-third of all the compositions have cross-paralleled final syllables in two lines. As a rule, the repeated syllables are particles or form-words (*yi-yi, la-la, dang-dang, yang-yang*) very seldom verbs are repeated, as in the following verse:

PŚ No. 80

thabs mkhas cho-gar-ldan-pa-la
dgra-rnams-kyis ni rdzi mi 'gyur
cho-ga rab-tu sbyar legs na
dug kyang bdud-rtsi nyid-du 'gyur

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 107–109.

The verses of the *PŚ* may be termed word-for-word translations, but not poetical ones.

The next collection of the 9th century translated after the *PŚ* is the *Prajñā-daṇḍa* (Tib.: *Shes-rab sdog-bu*). It is the most outstanding collection of the 9th century nīti-poetry. It comprises both the weak and the best qualities of Tibetan translated aphoristic poetry. The *PD* consists of 260 verses. Most of them are quatrians with seven-syllable lines. 40 verses contain 9 syllables in a line, and the remaining 11 stanzas have longer lines.[11]

The division of a line into 4 and 3 syllables is altered only in 8 lines. Occasionally, the fourth syllable in a line is also a particle or a form-word, as for example, in the next stanza:

PD No. 226

rig-pa slabs dang *dpa'-bo dang*
gang yang gzugs bzang ldan bud-med
gang dang gang-du *'gro 'gyur-ba*
de-dang der ni *dpal chen thob*

«A learned man, a hero
And any woman with nice appearance
Wherever they come
Everywhere acquire great fame.»

The translator of the *PD* sometimes failed to clearly convey the limits of a verse the lexis and the idea of a stanza. For example, in this composition — an allegory about collecting taxes:

PD No. 8

kun-dga-ra-ba'i phreng-rgyud ltar
me-tog rgyas-pa btu bya-yi
ji-ltar sol-ba-mkhan bzhin-tu
rtsa-nas bcad-par mi bya'o

«Full-blown flowers should be plucked
As a weaver of garlands[12] in an *ārāma* [does it].
[They] should not be uprooted
In the same way as a char-coal burner [does].»[13]

[11] Verses Nos 129, 181 and 205 consist of 11-syllable lines, No. 81–13 syllables, Nos 101, 102, 115, 143, 147 and 123 have a mixed number of syllables: 8 + 5, 10 + 5, 11 + 10, 11 + 9, 19 + 15.

[12] I.e. garlands of flowers.

[13] He cuts off the plant completely for making coal.

Here the Tibetan text is not clear enough. It can be explained by the following Sanskrit aphorism: *puṣpam puṣpam vicinvīta mūlac-chedaṃ na kārayet | mālākāra ivā'rame na yathā-'ṅgārakārakaḥ* || «One should pluck one flower after the other without uprooting the plants like a gardener in a garden and not like a producer of charcoal».[14]

Translating poetical texts, the lo-tsā-ba it seems tried to convey the variety of their metres. For instance, the following verse has lines with 18–19 syllables:

PD No. 123

snying-rjes gdung-pa'i yid dang dbang-po dul zhing sems ni chog-shes-dag-la dga'-ba dang |
chags-bral mngon-dga'i sems dang shing drung-dag-na lhung-ba'i 'bras-bus bza'-ba'i bya-byed |
lus-rig shing shun gyon zhing rgyal-ba rgyal-ba zhes ni snyan-pa lta-bur sgra-sgrogs-la |
ba-ra-ṇā-ser gshin-rje'i dbang-gyur bcom-pa'i lus tshig 'di-nas nam-zhig spong-bar 'gyur |
bstan-bcos 'dzin-pas thar-pa min lus mi dub-pas-kyang ma yin-te ||

«Being striken by compassion, having subdued his senses and mind, devoid of passions, enjoying true happiness, eating fallen fruit from the trees, having covered his worn-out body by tree-bark, «conqueror, conqueror» — so singing, as if reciting [poems], in Benares he conquered Yama, but with the body even he had to part. Even having grasped the essence of śāstras there is no salvation until there is freedom from the body.»

Various kinds of repetition are freely used in this collection. There are the repetitions of the final, initial and middle syllables in two different lines, various modes of consonance, «disturbance» of repetitions and consonances, and parallel constructions of all the lines. For example, the following quatrian consists of fully paralleled lines:

PD. No. 162

mkhas-pa'i tshul ni rig-pa yin
khu-byug tshul ni sgra-snyan yin
dka'-thub tshul ni bzod-pa yin
bud-med tshul ni nyon-mongs yin

«The way of a wise man is knowledge,
The way of a cuckoo is sweet voice,

[14] L. Sternbach, *Mahabhārata-verses in Cāṇakya-Compendia: JAOS*, Vol. 82, p. 45.

The way of an ascetic is patience,
The way of a woman is defilement.»

The structure of the next composition is based on the word-repetition in the middle of the lines («desiring to decrease»). The irony of the verse is achieved by gradual lowering of the concept from one line to the other:

1. sin	1. Tathāgata
2. happiness	2. villain
3. kin	3. fools and cripples
4. crop	4. fire in the stomach

PD. No. 61

sdig-pa zad 'dod bde-bar-gshegs-la dad
skal-pa zad 'dod skye-bo ngan dang sten
rigs-rgyud 'dod-glen zhing lkug-pa skye
'bru-rnams zad-'dod pho-ba'i me drod skye

«Desiring to decrease sins, [they] believe in Tathāgata.
Desiring to exhaust happiness, [they] lean upon villains
Desiring to put an end to the family's lineage, [they] give birth to fools and cripples
Desiring to impoverish crops, [they] produce fire in [their] stomach.»

In the *PD* there are stanzas with bi-planned semantic structure.[15] For example:

PD No. 60

gang zhig rig-ldan de-bzhin brtan-pa dang
dam-pa phongs-kyang yon-tan gtong mi byed
nyi-ma'i rang-bzhin tsa-bas gdungs-kyang ni
kha-ba grang-ba'i rang-bzhin gtong mi byed

«He, who possesses knowledge is firm.
Even in hardships a holy man does not lose [his] qualities
So as snow does not lose its natural cold
Even being scorched by the natural heat of the sun.»

[15] The poetry which is represented by verses of the *GK*, translated a little later. About the *GK* cf.: T. Malanova, «*Gatha-kośa*» *Ravigupty: Drevnij i srednevekovij Vostok*, Moscow, 1983.

Due to the play of the words *de-bzhin* and *rang-bzhin* the second plan of the context of the stanza means: «the qualities of the sun and snow are their natural ones, but merits of a man become his qualities only with the acquirement of knowledge.»

Different means are used to single out the main thought of the verses. Thus, the idea of the following stanza is stressed not only by differences of the line's ends (*brtan ma yin — brtan ma yin — sten*), but probably also by the consonance of *brtan* and *bsten*:

PD No. 110

'jig-rten 'tsho ba brtan ma yin
nor dang long-spyod brtan ma yin
bu dang chung-ma brtan ma yin
chos dang grags-pa snyan-pa bsten

«The earthly life is unstable
Wealth and enjoyment are unreliable
Children and wives are untrustworthy
Attend on religion and reputation.»

Summing up the main attainments of the 9th century lo-tsā-bas, it can be said that they not only laid the foundation of a faithful translation of the aphoristic poetry, but taking into account the experience of a traditional folk poetry, they carried out enormous preliminary work in the spheres of metrics, rythmics and sound organisation of translated poetry, and also created the basis of written Tibetan aphoristic poetry on the basis of the synthesis of two cultures, Indian and Tibetan.

The earliest versified stanzas, which as a rule had a clear and evident connection with the Sanskrit aphoristic literature, were a source for the creation of new poems for later centuries. Thus the study of different transformations of a single stanza from the *PD* might contribute to the better understanding of the history of this genre in Tibet.

PD No. 191

gang-zhig yid-dang-rjes mthun-pa
ring-na gnas-kyang nye-ba yin
gang-zhig yid-la brtan mi gnas
drung-na gnas-kyang ring-ba yin

«Who is agreeable to [your] soul
Even being far apart is yet near.
Who has no place in [your] soul
Even being near to you is yet far away.»

THE SA-SKYA EPISODE IN THE NEPAL CAMPAIGN OF 1791–1792

BY

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During the reign of the 5th Dalai Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mcho (1617–1682) and his regent Saṅs-rgyas Rgya-mcho (1624–1705), the power of the dge-lugs-pa sect or, as it was called in China, the «Yellow Faith» founded by the reformer Coṅ-kha-pa (1357–1419) grew considerably in Tibet. The unreformed «Red Hat» sect lost most of its former influence, its possessions dwindled and the number of its followers decreased. G. Schulemann has evaluated the proportion of followers of the old faith and the dge-lugs-pa as close on No: 6.[1] The achievements of Coṅ-kha-pa's followers were due, to a considerable extent, to the Mongols who were keen on spreading the «Yellow Faith» through the whole of Tibet. An example of their efforts was the joint military expedition of Mongolian and Central Tibetan troops into Mṅa'-ris in 1683, after which the area to the West of Tibet acknowledged the Dalai Lama's sovereignty and a number of monasteries were turned to the «Yellow Hat» from the «Red Hat». Alexander Csoma de Kőrös was able to see the triumphal march of Coṅ-kha-pa's teaching in person, so to say, as it was in one of those re-organised monasteries, Ka-nam, where he studied the Tibetan language and literature from 1827–1831, and his studies there laid the foundations of European Tibetology.[2]

Later, however, the process of political and religious unification in Tibet slowed down due to a series of historical reasons. Tibetan Buddhism could not achieve a homogeneous character and the Dalai Lamas were unable to extend their rule over the whole of Tibet. The land of the Sa-skya high priests, an island of political and religious independence, deserves special attention. They not only defended their religious independence from Coṅ-kha-pa's followers but also preserved their rule over a relatively large, though incompact, territory and survived until the mid-20th century in the form of a large — by Tibetan standards — political formation enjoying an almost complete autonomy.

In a monography explaining the Sa-skya's marvellous political survival, C. W. Cassinelli and R. B. Ekvall suggested that one of the reasons was the territory's complete isolation from international affairs and the problems connected with

[1] Schulemann G., *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*, Leipzig 1958, p. 271.

[2] *Ibid.*

them.[3] The above opinion deserves attention and it seems to be verified by confirmation of the Nepal campaign over the years 1791–92. At that time, the Sa-skya high priests, much against their inclination, got entangled in rather tense international issues and paid dearly for it by almost losing their political and religious autonomy, their possessions and subjects. This episode is particularly dealt with in detail connected with the military expedition of the Manchu troops into Nepal.

The Nepal expedition of the Manchu troops was brought about by the introduction of money circulation in Tibet. Nepalese coins flowing in spontaneously along the trading routes had been used in Tibet and, in addition, had been bought by the government of the Dalai Lama on the money markets of Nepal. Having taken over in Nepal, the Gurkha started to issue a new coin, making great efforts to ensure a monopoly circulation of it in Tibet or an enforced high exchange rate in relation to the old Nepalese coins. Tibet and the Gurkha entered into long, difficult and fruitless negotiations on the question, but talks were broken off in the summer of 1791 when the Tibetan delegation was taken prisoner by the Gurkha and transported to Kathmandu. The reasons for the Tibetan–Nepali conflict and the process of their negotiations have been satisfactorily cleared up in the special literature on Tibet. Thus it is not necessary to deal with them in detail.[4]

It should merely be remembered that, following the capture of the Tibetan delegation, the Gurkha ordered a large contingent of troops into Tibetan territory. The Tibetans had close on nothing to face the attackers, therefore one of the Nepalese divisions soon found itself under the walls of the Sa-skya high priests' residence. The Sa-skya lamas, seemingly, managed to persuade the Gurkha to leave their monastery alone and they, avoiding the Sa-skya, marched on to Bkra-šis-lhun-po. It is highly possible that such an unimportant episode of history would have been forgotten but for the conscientious Manchu, Pao-t'ai, who was the *amban*, i.e. resident of the Imperial Government in Tibet, and who, to the misfortune of the «Red Hat» lamas, was staying with the Sa-skya. Facing the attackers with a small number of troops, the amban could not and, possibly did not even want to, take any decisive steps, but as he was compelled to report to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung on everything that had happened in Tibet, he had to give some explanation for the Nepalese troops' unhindered march across Tibetan territory. In his reports to Peking, Pao-t'ai emphasized the total fighting incapability of the Tibetan troops.[5]

[3] Cassinelli, C. W., Ekvall, R. B., *A Tibetan Principality*, The Political System of Sa skya, Ithaca 1969, p. 51.

[4] Shakabpa, W. D., *Tibet, a Political History*, New Haven—London 1969, pp. 160–161.

[5] *Ch'in-ting Ko-êrh-ka chi-lüe* (A collection of documents on the war with Nepal printed with the highest permission) (s.l. s.a.) chüan 2, f. 2–9.

In this respect the connection of the Sa-skya lamas with the Nepalese could not have come more to the purpose. Pao-t'ai could report to the Emperor that not only did the Tibetan soldiers run away, but, on top of this, the Tibetan lamas received the Gurkha army with respect.

Having read about the Sa-skya lamas' receiving the Gurkha with respect and offering them *kha-btags*[6] the Emperor expressed his sorrow about this but did not attribute any importance to the event. A year later, however, when the Manchu army led a victorious campaign into Nepal, the offer of *kha-btags* was viewed in a different manner. It seems that three different reasons influenced the re-evaluation, two of them domestic (Tibetan) and the third one all-Imperial. Avoiding the Sa-skya, the Nepalese army marched on to the residence of the Panchen-lama, the monastery of Bkra-šis-lhun-po. The young Panchen-lama Bstan-pa'i ñi-ma (1781–1852) had already been transported by the amban to the residence of the Dalai Lama, the Potala. Left without their spiritual leader, the monks in Bkra-šis-lhun-po did not even try to defend their monastery and, if one can believe the reports of the Chinese officials, heedlessly ran away. The Gurkha could find only nine people in the whole huge deserted monastery, from whom they tried to learn where the Panchen-lama's treasures had been hidden. Taking everything they could get hold of, the Nepalese troops left Bkra-šis-lhun-po.[7]

The fate befalling the Panchen-lama's residence contrasted so strongly with that of the Sa-skya that it obviously aroused suspicion. In addition, the figure of the step-brother of the 11th Panchen-lama, known in history as Žva-dmar-pa (i.e. Red Hatted) cast an unwelcome shadow over the «Red Hat» sect.

Having quarrelled with his brother, the chief administrator of the province Gcaṅ, over the distribution of the late Panchen's inheritance, Žva-dmar-pa travelled to Nepal where he played a significant role in inciting the Tibetan-Nepalese differences to an armed conflict. Consequently when the Manchu expedition to Nepal finished, both the Manchu and the Nepalese sides adopted a version favourable for both: i.e. that the blame for all the inconvenient events should be put on Žva-dmar-pa who had died by that time. The Gurkha handed over his remains to the Manchu authorities who ordered the possessions of the deceased to be handed over to the Treasury, Žva-dmar-pa's monastery, Yang-pa-chin (Chinese transcription) to be presented to another incarnate lama and Žva-dmar-pa's gilded statue to be moulded into coins to be distributed among the soldiers as payment. The «Red Hat» monks, the pupils and followers of Žva-dmar-pa, were given the following choice: if they wished to stay in Tibet they had to convert to the «Yellow Faith», but if they refused to become Coṅ-kha-pa's followers they were to be transported by

[6] *Op. cit.*, f. 9.

[7] *Op. cit.*, chüan 3, f.1, chüan 4, f.9, chüan 5, f.25, chüan 7, f.1, 4, 18, chüan 14, f. 1–5, 7–9, 14–15.

force from Tibet to Peking.[8] It is not surprising in this context that the Sa-skya lamas were seriously endangered because of the *kha-btags* allegedly offered to the Nepalese.

The danger was considerably increased as the Emperor Ch'ien-lung sharply responded to Bkra-šis-lhun-po being taken by the Nepalese troops. In fact, the ageing Emperor was at that time involved in the idea of «setting up a final peace» in an effort during the last years of his rule to copy the blessed times of the legendary ancient Emperors of China, Yao and Shun.[9] The events in Tibet, however, made the image of a «final peace» rather doubtful, especially for the Mongols, and Ch'ien-lung was aware of that.[10] Therefore he decided on a series of steps to be taken in Tibet, in order to prevent similar events being repeated there in future. The first was a punitive expedition into Nepal to «frighten» the Gurkha. The second was to ensure a complete breach of relations between Tibet and Nepal, which also meant a ban on trading relations and a re-organisation of money circulation in Tibet on the pattern of the «inner lands». And the third step was to enlarge the power of the amban in Tibet. In fact, only the latter was to be put into effect.[11] The first and second steps remained on paper, since they would have involved a colossal amount of expenditure and contradicted the really important needs of Tibet.[12] The plan concerning to the further fate of the Sa-skya lamas was, as far as one can judge from the official Chinese documents, among those grandiose Imperial plans.

Enumerating a series of measures aimed at the re-organisation of the government in Tibet, the Emperor also mentioned the Sa-skya lamas in one of his decrees. Because of the *kha-btags* offered by them to the Nepalese, the Emperor originally wanted to «frighten» the lamas by troops, convert their followers to the «Yellow Faith» and re-settle them in the «inner lands».[13] But, as it was explained to the Emperor, there were too many people, several tens of thousands, involved and it seemed almost impossible to organise their re-settlement especially following the huge expenditure on the Nepalese expendition. In addition, the head of the Sa-skya lamas, Mthu-čhen dbaṅ-sdud (1763–1806), who was apparently the «Great Throne» to them, had taken a really far-sighted step, which may have had a decisive effect on the Imperial plans concerning the Sa-skya. He had appeared in the camp of the Chinese troops in person and had offered the Throne his co-operation in the

[8] *Op. cit.*, chüan 37, f. 1–2, 21–22, chüan 40, f. 19–20, chüan 41, f. 1–5, compare also *Wei Tsang t'ung-chih* (A description of Tibet), in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*, Sanghai 1936, pp. 283–284, 296–300.

[9] Kahn, H. L., *Monarchy in Emperor's Eyes*, Cambridge 1971, p. 201.

[10] *Ch'in-ting K'o-êrh-k'a chi-lüe*, ch. 7, f. 4, ch. 3, f. 13–14, ch. 47, f. 13–14, ch. 49, f. 3–21, cf. also *Wei Tsang t'ung-chih*, pp. 201–215.

[11] *Wei Tsang t'ung-chih*, p. 201.

[12] *Ch'in-ting K'o-êrh-k'a chi-lüe*, ch. 47, f. 13–14.

[13] *Op. cit.*, ch. 40, f. 6, cf. also *Wei Tsang t'ung-chih*, p. 208.

matter which was most difficult for the Ch'ing administration in Tibet at that moment, i.e. the provision of the army with food and vehicles for transport. The lama himself and his proposal had such a favourable effect on the commanders that it was reported to the Emperor. The well-known Manchu commander Fu K'ang-an, chief-of-staff of the troops directed to Nepal,[14] made an investigation into the *kha-btags* incident and he came to the conclusion that the rumours did not correspond to reality. Eventually, Fu K'ang-an explained the events in the words of Mthu-čhen dbaṅ-sdud himself as follows. Last year the Gurkha, in fact, travelled to the residence of the Sa-skya lamas, but as it had been heavily strengthened they could not capture it. Restraining themselves to the liquidation of the surrounding villages and monasteries, the Gurkha did not linger under the walls of the Sa-skya, but left for Bkra-šis-lhun-po. In Fu K'ang-an's opinion the Sa-skya incarnate lamas were loyal both to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen-lama, and could hardly have entered into any kind of agreement with the Gurkha of an alien belief. In addition, the Ch'ing commander noted that the Sa-skya lamas had exerted a considerable influence in the lands of Derge.[15]

This information had a grain of undoubted truth in it. The walls of the «Great Thrones'» southern residence were really imposing and as the events took place in the summer when the great Sa-skya lamas and the whole governing administration of the principality usually stayed in the southern monastery,[16] the structure in question must have been the southern residence, the construction of which began at the end of the 13th century in the perturbed times following the death of 'Phags-pa bla-ma.[17]

Shortly afterwards Fu K'ang-an again mentioned the Sa-skya lamas in his report to the Emperor informing him that they had donated the army five hundred large-horned cattle (yaks?) and 50 000 pounds (*chin* = cca 596 g) of barley meal (*rcam-pa*)..[18] It should be noted that the provisions were supplied in the bordering district just when things were proceeding rather unfavourably, due to the transport of food directed to the troops in Nepal.[19] It is highly possible that the «Great Thrones'» gesture played a decisive role in their fate. Having noted that they had, in all probability, offered the *kha-btags* to the Gurkha and that it had been a serious offence, for which they should have been converted to the «Yellow Faith», the

[14] Of him, see Hummel A., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington 1943–1944, pp. 253–255.

[15] *K'o-êrh-k'a chi-lüe*, ch. 32, f. 16–17.

[16] Cassinelli C. W., Ekvall R. B., *A Tibetan Principality*, pp. 290–294.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

[18] *K'o-êrh-k'a chi-lüe*, ch. 41, f. 10.

[19] *Op. cit.*, f. 9.

Emperor praised them for the donation of the provisions to the army and permitted them to adhere to the «Red Hat» teaching.[20]

It is difficult to assume to what extent the Emperor's original intentions concerning the Sa-skya lamas were accomplishable and how serious was the danger which threatened their independent existence. In any case, one should not underestimate the possibilities of a vast imperium able to equip large armies and send them on distant and dangerous expeditions to Vietnam, Burma and Nepal.

However, attention has to be drawn to the other side of the coin. Curiously enough, the government of the Dalai Lama did not make the smallest effort to utilise the favourable situation to convert the Sa-skya subjects and the monks in the Sa-skya monasteries to the followers of Coṅ-kha-pa. It is also strange that the process of the unification of Tibetan Buddhism mentioned earlier, practically discontinued after the re-organisation of the Tibetan administration and the rise in power of the amban following the Nepalese campaign. The government of the Dalai Lama apparently considered the preservation of Tibet's autonomy to be much more important than the unification of Tibetan Buddhism. It rather retained from taking any steps towards the latter in order that it should not attract the attention of the Ch'ing court.

[20] *Op. cit.*, ch. 41, f. 18, cf. also *Wei Tsang t'ung-chih*, pp. 308–309.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE BIOGRAPHY OF VASUBANDHU FROM TIBETAN SOURCES*

BY

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There are four main biographies of Vasubandhu.[1] Two of them are preserved in the Chinese (Paramārtha, Hüan-tsang), and the two others in the Tibetan (Bu-ston, Tāranātha).

1. *The Life of Vasubandhu* by Paramārtha (499–569 A. D.), translated from the Chinese by Takakusu,[2] was regarded by the scholars as the most important source. It was minutely studied by Takakusu, Péri, Frauwallner, Hirakawa.[3]

Frauwallner summarized the story in the following words: «This biography begins with a legend on the name of Vasubandhu's native city Puruṣapura (Peshāwar) and goes on telling of his family, of his father, the Brahman Kauśika, and of the three sons Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Viriñcivatsa. Then follows a new section, which could be called the story of the antecedents of the compilation of the *Abhidharmakośa*. The text gives an account of the great council in Kaśmīr, in which the *Abhidharma* of the Sarvāstivāda school was collected and the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra* was composed, and narrates how the knowledge of this work reached Ayodhyā. Then the narrative passes on to Vasubandhu. We read of the arrival of the Sāṃkhya teacher Vindhyavāsin, his victory over Vasubandhu's teacher Buddhamitra during Vasubandhu's absence, of Vasubandhu's return and of the composition of the *Paramārthasaptatikā*, in which he confuted Vindhyāvasin. Then follows the composition of the *Abhidharmakośa*, Vasubandhu's dispute with the grammarian Vasurāta and the appearance of Saṃghabhadra, who polemizes against Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and challenges its author to a disputation, but meets with a refusal by Vasubandhu, who alleges his own very old age. Now

* This paper is a chapter of my Ph. D. thesis to be entitled: *The Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu and its commentaries preserved in the Tanjur, with special reference to the problem of the pratītyasamutpāda.*

[1] Wogihara in his article *Vasubandhu* (*ERE* xii. 595b) distinguished «three different traditions», without mentioning Bu-ston. As can later be seen, it was Bu-ston and his narrative, which had predominant influence on the Tibetan tradition. Tāranātha is to some extent original.

[2] Taisho 2049. *TP* V, 1904, pp. 269–296; *BEFEO* IV, 1904, pp. 40–47.

[3] For the bibliography see Frauwallner, *On the date of the Buddhist master of the law Vasubandhu: Serie Orientale Roma* III, Roma 1951, pp. 67–69. Cf. also Hirakawa, *Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Part I, *Introduction*, Tokyo 1973.

enters Asaṅga and converts to Mahāyāna his brother Vasubandhu, who after this develops a great literary activity in favour of Mahāyāna. The account closes with a list of the Mahāyāna works of Vasubandhu and a short mention of his death».[4]

In the light of the data contained in Paramārtha's account Frauwallner put forward an assumption that «there were two bearers of the name of Vasubandhu, who were confused only at a later time».[5] Accordingly, for Vasubandhu the elder, he suggested the date ca. 320–380 A. D., and for Vasubandhu the younger, the date ca. 400–480 A. D.

2. Hüan-tsang's book on his travels in India contains a short story about Vasubandhu, which splits up into two independent parts.[6] The narrative of the first part concentrates on the composition of the *Abhidharmakośa* and the following controversy between Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra. The old age of Vasubandhu and his refusal to meet Saṅghabhadra in a dispute is stressed a couple of times. Moreover, it is said explicitly that Vasubandhu had composed the *Kośa* on purpose, to refute the opinions of the Vaibhāṣika masters.

The other part tells the story about the brothers Asaṅga and Vasubandhu and the conversion of the latter to Mahāyāna. Despite its legendary and miraculous character, the episode of Vasubandhu's death and Asaṅga's ascent to the Tuṣita heaven was accepted by Frauwallner as a valid argument to corroborate his theory of two Vasubandhus. This episode was supposed to be an element of the biography of Vasubandhu the elder.[7]

In the opinion of Frauwallner, «. . . of our two chief authorities Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang, it is Paramārtha who carries the greater weight by far. It is true that both are personally trustworthy. But Hsüan-tsang is later by a century, and we can see at every pace what sort of deformation tradition underwent during these hundred years. . . In such conditions Paramārtha must be accepted as the chief witness».[8]

The Tibetan tradition did not receive Frauwallner's approval. He wrote: «It is so late and so corrupted in comparison with the Chinese sources, that it is as good as without any value, at least for the period under consideration. Bu-ston (1290–1364), e.g., who is still considerably earlier than Tāranātha, in the biographies of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in his *C'os-'byuṅ* does not give us a single element beyond the Chinese tradition, which could be of any historical value. In any

[4] *On the date*. . ., pp. 14–15.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

[6] Taisho 2087. *Si-yu-ki*, tr. Beal, i. 192–196, 225–229. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwan's travels*,

[7] *On the date*. . ., p. 53, Cf. Hirakawa, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

case scholars who utilize the Tibetan tradition, must treat it according to its own characteristics and cannot place it on the same level with the Chinese sources».[9]

3. Bu-ston (1290–1364 A. D.) composed his *Chos 'byuṅ* in 1322 A. D. The account of the brothers Asaṅga and Vasubandhu[10] opens with a legend of their birth. The elder son, Asaṅga, was born from the union with a kṣatriya, and the younger, Vasubandhu, from the union with a brahmaṇa. Vasubandhu was sent to Kashmir. He studied the *Vibhāṣā* and seven Abhidharma treatises under the direction of Saṅghabhadra. In Nālanda he met his brother Asaṅga. Then follows the story of Vasubandhu's conversion to Mahāyāna. It is only after his conversion that Vasubandhu composed the verses of the *Abhidharmakośa* and sent them to Saṅghabhadra. Saṅghabhadra, having read both the aphorisms and the supplemented later commentary, expressed his willingness to meet Vasubandhu in a dispute. But in the meantime, Vasubandhu left for Nepal and soon died there. Then follows the enumeration of the works of Vasubandhu.

4. Tāranātha (b. 1575 A. D.) composed his *Rgya gar chos 'byuṅ* in 1608 A. D. His account of the brothers Asaṅga-Vasubandhu was also taken from the Indian and Tibetan sources. It is said that Vasubandhu was born a year later than Asaṅga's ordination. Vasubandhu was ordained in Nālanda. He studied the *Abhidharma* with Saṅghabhadra in Kashmir. Then, for many years he taught the *Śravakapiṭakas* in Kashmir and Magadha. In Magadha he met his brother Asaṅga and was converted to Mahāyāna. The mention about the composition of the *Abhidharmakośa* is placed at the very end of Tāranātha's account. Tāranātha says that Vasubandhu was a contemporary of the Tibetan king Lha tho tho ri gñan btsan. However, the legendary character of this king makes it impossible to ascertain his exact date.[11]

As a contribution to the biography of Vasubandhu, two later accounts found in the Tibetan sources are presented. It is hoped that this will more clearly show the ways in which the Buddhist tradition spread in Tibetan literature.

A certain kind of biographical literature (*rnam thar*) was very popular in Tibet. According to Vostrikov,[12] one can distinguish two types of biographies: 1. individual biographies, (i.e. autobiographies, a. written by the pupils, b. written by

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

[10] Tr. Obermiller, pp. 136, 142–147.

[11] A. Chattopadhyaya, *Atiśa and Tibet*, p. 179: «This much alone can be asserted that Lha-tho-tho-ri is mentioned as the fifth ancestor of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who died in 650 A. D.»

[12] *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura*, Moscow 1961, p. 109.

the later authors), 2. collective biographies of the successive teachers, representing a lineage of philosophical or religious tradition (*bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*).

The two works which are analyzed below belong to the second category. They give a survey of succession of the masters of the *byaṅ chub lam rim* = *bodhimārga*, i.e. a «way to enlightenment», tradition. According to Vostrikov,[13] both these works are directly dependent on the short text written by Tsoṅ kha pa, viz. the *Byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa'i brgyud pa rnam la gsol ba 'debs pa'i rim pa lam mchog sgo 'byed.*

Tsoṅ kha pa blo bzaṅ grags pa (1357–1419 A. D.), famous reformer and founder of the Dge lugs pa sect, wrote two treatises, short and long, on the path to enlightenment. The short one was very popular in Tibet and Mongolia, and was prescribed as an obligatory book to be studied in the religious schools. In the course of time, every school added its own continuation, listing a lineage, in a chronological order, of the teachers of the bodhimārga in that school. Both works under consideration belong to such a category of texts.

A. The second Panchen Lama, Blo bzaṅ ye śes (1663–1737 A.D.), was the author of the *Byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa padma dkar po'i 'phreṅ ba* (see Appendix). This short work, in its arrangement of the matter, follows exactly the work of Tsoṅ kha pa.[14] Its third chapter contains the biography of Vasubandhu: A diadem of masters of Jambudvīpa, Vasubandhu (*'Dzam gliṅ mkhas pa'i gtsug rgyan Dbyig gñen*, fol. 5a6–6b2).

A comparison with the *Chos 'byuṅ* of Bu-ston shows that this biography of Vasubandhu is a mere word-for-word repetition, with some abbreviations, of the account found in Bu-ston.

It starts with the information that Vasubandhu studied in Kashmir with Saṅghabhadra, then follows the episode of his conversion to Mahāyāna, the composition of the *Abhidharmakośa* and Saṅghabhadra's efforts to meet Vasubandhu in a dispute, and finally, Vasubandhu's retreat to Nepal and death.

B. The other work is a huge collection of biographies and bears the title *Byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa rgyal btsan mdzes pa'i rgyan mchog phul byuṅ nor bu'i phreṅ ba* (see Appendix). Its author was Ye śes rgyal mtshan (1713–1792 A.D.), a pupil of Blo bzaṅ ye śes, mentioned above, and a teacher of the 8th Dalai Lama, 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho. Ye śes rgyal mtshan composed his work in 1787 in Potala. It belongs to the Dge lugs pa sect.

The biography of Vasubandhu is contained in the 4th chapter: The great Paṇḍita Vasubandhu (*mkhas mchog Dbyig gñen*, fol. 86b6–95a6). This text shows a clear

[13] *Op. cit.*, pp. 109–110 and notes.

[14] Vostrikov, *op. cit.*, note 540.

dependence both on the works of Bu-ston and Tāranātha, with a predominance of elements taken from the narrative of Bu-ston. Some passages are directly taken from Bu-ston, i.e. Vasubandhu's conversion to Mahāyāna, the despatch of the *Abhidharmakośa* to Saṅghabhadra, and the biography of Sthiramati. Incorporated into the body of Vasubandhu's biography, following Bu-ston, there are also the biographies of the four disciples of Vasubandhu: Guṇaprabha, Sthiramati, Dignāga, and Vimuktasena. In fact there are only three biographical sketches. As far as I can see the biography of ārya Vimuktasena (*'phags pa Rnam grol sde*) is absent. The order of listed names is not that of Bu-ston, but follows the order of Tāranātha. Bu-ston has: Sthiramati, Dignāga, Vimuktasena, and Guṇaprabha. The biography of Sthiramati is a word-for-word quotation of Bu-ston, whereas that of Dignāga is basically founded on Tāranātha. Guṇaprabha's biography also contains many elements taken from Tāranātha.

Ye śes rgyal mtshan's text also gives the list of works of Vasubandhu (fol. 89b–90a). It can be observed that the list of Vasubandhu's works is more complete compared to those of Bu-ston or Tāranātha, their disposition more or less agrees with that of the Tanjur, and some works of Asaṅga are ascribed to Vasubandhu.

All four Tibetan sources, i.e. Bu-ston, Tāranātha, Blo bzaṅ ye śes, and Ye śes rgyal mtshan, quote this stanza:[15]

kye ma thogs med nags su lo |
bcu gñis bar du tiṅ 'dzin bsgrubs |
tiṅ 'dzin ma grub glaṅ chen gyi |
rgyab khal loṅs pa'i grub mtha' brtsams ||

It is only the xylograph of Blo bzaṅ ye śes (Csoma Tibeti No. 17, Budapest) which reads in the fourth line *bstan bcos brtsams*, instead of regular *grub mtha' brtsams*. The difference is, according to Jaeschke's Tibetan–English Dictionary, that *bstan bcos* is for *śāstra*, a scientific work, a treatise, whereas *grub mtha'* is for *siddhānta*, opinion, theory.

[15] Tr. Obermiller, *Bu-ston* II.143:
«Alas, Asaṅga, residing in the forest,
Has practised meditation for 12 years.
Without having attained anything by this meditation,
He has founded a system, so difficult and burdensome,
That it can be carried only by an elephant!»
Tr. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, p. 168: «Alas! Though Asaṅga meditated for twelve years in the forest, instead of attaining success in his meditation, he has composed a work (useless in sense, but heavy enough) to be an elephant's load.»
The tranlators observe in the footnote that «Obermiller translates the verse more freely» (p. 168, note 96).

A general view of the subject shows that the Buddhist tradition regarding the life and works of Vasubandhu preserved two main factors: 1° Vasubandhu's studies in Kashmir with Saṅghabhadra and their controversy about the opinions expressed in the Abhidharmakośa, 2° Vasubandhu's later conversion to Mahāyāna due to the influence of his elder brother Asaṅga.

APPENDIX

A. Byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa padma dkar po'i 'phreṅ ba ||

Csoma Tibeti No. 17 (xylograph, Oriental Library, Budapest). Description in: Terjék, *Collection of Tibetan MSS and Xylographs of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös: MTAK Oriental Studies* 3, Budapest 1976, pp. 61–64. Cf. *Toyo Bunko Catalogue* No. 114–1276.

The passages which are in common with Bu-ston are printed in Italics. The figures on the margin refer to his *Chos 'byuṅ: The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1971. Part 24 (Ya), fol. 842.2–844.5.

Chapter 3, fol. 5a6–6b2.

B 842.2 (fol. 5a6) 'dzam gliṅ mkhas pa'i gtsug rgyan dbyig gñen ni | *kha cher slob dpon 'dus bzaṅ gi druṅ du* phebs nas | *bye brag tu bśad pa daṅ | mṅon pa sde bdun la sogs* (fol. 5b1) *pa* mkhas par sbyaṅs nas *rgya gar du 'byoṅ par bźed pa'i tshe śo gam bsruṅ ba'i gnod sbyin gyis lha rten yod pa phrogs nas lan gsum gyi bar du bzlog kyaṅ | nor ni med | chos blo la yod pa dbral du ma btub pas btaṅ ste nā landar byon pa daṅ | gcen gyis bstan*

B 843.1 *bcos maṅ du brtsams pa 'aṅ gsan pas | kye ma thogs med nags su lo || bcu gñis bar du tiṅ 'dzin bsgrubs || tiṅ 'dzin ma grub glaṅ chen gyi || rgyab khal loṅs pa'i* **bstan bcos** *brtsams | źes theg chen la bstiṅ ba gcen gyis gsan nas | log sgrub don min du 'gyur bar mkhyen nas | de bzlog pa'i phyir slob ma gñis la sa bcu pa daṅ | blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa 'dzin du bcug nas | gcuṅ can soṅ nas srod tho raṅs thon cig ces bsgo ba ltar bsgrubs | srod la theg chen 'di rgyu bzaṅ la 'bras bu kha g.yel ba 'dra gsuṅ | tho raṅs rgyu 'bras gñis ka bzaṅ bar 'dug pa la ṅas skur pa btab pa lce 'dis lan pas gcod gsuṅs nas | spu gri 'tshol ba'i tshe khoṅ gñis kyis ljags dgum mi 'tshal | de'i sgrib pa sbyoṅ thabs gcen la mṅa' bas | der gśegs źes smras pas byon to ||* de'i tshe *chos maṅ du gsan ciṅ 'bel gtam maṅ du mdzad pa'i tshe gcuṅ ni spobs pa śin tu myur bar byuṅ | gcen cuṅ zad bul pa'i lan bzaṅ po byuṅ bas | 'di'i rgyu mtshan dris pas | khyod* (fol. 6a1) *ni skye ba lṅa brgyar pa ṇḍi tar gyur pas skyes thob kyi śes rab che ba yin | ṅa la de lta bu med*

pas yi dam źig la dris śiṅ lan 'debs pa yin gsuṅs | de bdag la ston par źu byas pas | rje btsun la źu yi gsuṅs nas źus pas | khyod so so'i skye bo yin ciṅ | daṅ por theg chen la skur pa btab pas | tshe 'di la mthoṅ ba'i skal ba med kyi sgrib pa sbyaṅ par bya ba'i phyir | theg chen gyi mdo 'grel maṅ du rtsoms | gtsug tor rnam rgyal thon phyi ma la mjal gsuṅs nas | de nas gcen la lhag par dad de | ṅa yi phu bo klu daṅ 'dra | źes sogs smras nas *byams pa'i gsuṅ yaṅ bsgrubs | mdzod kyi tshig le'ur byas pa brtsams te | skyes daṅ bcas pa 'dus bzaṅ la spriṅs so || de'i slob ma dag gis lo daṅ grag la sogs pa'o skol gyi grub* B 844.1
mtha' la zur za'o źes smras kyaṅ | tshig gi rgyan yin zer nas | śin tu mñes nas mdzod la 'grel pa yaṅ mdzad | *phyis su mdzod raṅ 'grel brtsams* nas phul bas | *rtsa ba sun 'byin pa'i 'grel pa 'di luṅ daṅ rigs pas tshar gcad ciṅ pham par byas la | kho ñid kyi lag pas bsub tu gźugs dgos gsuṅs te | yul dbus* su 'byon par *chas ba daṅ | dbyig gñen gyis gnas nas | slob dpon 'dus bzaṅ ni bye brag tu smra ba'i grub mtha' la byaṅ ba yin pas | zlog par kyaṅ dka' | de pham* (fol. 6b1) *yaṅ dgos pa med pas | raṅ byuṅ gi mchod rten bltar 'gro gsuṅs nas bal yul du byon pas | der ha ṅu źes par rab byuṅ gi cha byad 'dzin pa sdom khrims la mi gnas pa chaṅ gi bum pa thogs pa* gzigs pas rnam rgyal gyi gzuṅs bzlog *nas bton pas 'das te | mchod rten brtsigs pa da* lta *yaṅ yod ces grag go* (fol. 6b2). B 844.5

B. Byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa rgyal bstan mdzes pa'i rgyan mchog phul byuṅ nor bu'i phreṅ ba.

Toyo Bunko No. 371–2664 (= Tohoku 5985 A.) (enlarged xerox copies from microfilm, Toyo Bunko, Tokyo).

Description in: *Catalogue of the Toyo Bunko Collection of Tibetan Works on History*, ed. by Zuiho Yamaguchi, Tokyo 1970. Only those more explicit passages are printed in Italics which are in common with Bu-ston (B) or Tāranātha (T). The figures on the margin refer to the *Chos 'byuṅ* of Bu-ston (ed. Lokesh Chandra, Part 24 (Ya)) or to *Rgya gar chos 'byuṅ* of Tāranātha (ed. Tseten Dorji in: *Five Historical Works of Tāranātha*, Tezu 1974, Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery).

The list of works of Vasubandhu (fol. 89b–90a) is supplemented with the numbers of the *Tohoku Catalogue*. The full titles in Tibetan and Sanskrit, according to Tohoku, are given in the footnotes (C).

Chapter 4, fol. 86b6–95a6.

(fol. 86b6) 'dzam gliṅ mkhas pa'i gtsug rgyan dbyig gñen || źes bsṅags pa | mkhas mchog dbyig gñen ni | 'phags pa thogs med daṅ yum gcig par 'khruṅs te 'phags pa thogs med 'khruṅs nas thun moṅ (fol. 87a1) ba'i rig gnas rnams la sbyaṅs śiṅ rab tu byuṅ nas riṅ źig lon pa na sṅon yun riṅ po nas byaṅ chub kyi sems ches cher rgyas pa rgyal ba'i bstan pa spel ba'i smon lam gyi mthu can yum bram ze mo *gsal ba'i tshul* B 838.4.
khrims de ñid kyis bram ze *daṅ 'dus pa las khye'u mtshan daṅ ldan pa źig btsas te |* T 105.4.

khye'u de'i lce la ghi taṅ gi *yi ge 'a 'dri ba sogs* bram ze'i rig byed las 'byuṅ ba ltar gyi
B 838.6 *blo rno ba'i cho ga byas* śin khrus daṅ gtsaṅ sbra la gnas pa'i sgo nas bskyed bsriṅs te
T 115.4 nar son pa na yi ge daṅ | rtsis daṅ | rig byed bźi la sogs pa thun moṅ ba'i rig gnas rnams yum ñid kyis legs par bslabs te khoṅ du chud par byas | de nas yum gyis sras la 'di skad du | bu | khyod skyed pa ni rigs spel ba sogs 'jig rten gyi bya ba'i tshad du bskyed pa ma yin gyi | rgyal ba'i bstan pa spel ba'i phyir bskyed pa yin pas rab tu byuṅ la sde snod gsum la sbyaṅs te rgyal ba'i bstan pa dar bar gyis śig | ces bskul nas na landrar rab tu byuṅ | rab tu byuṅ tsam ñid nas mkhan slob kyis bstan pa ltar 'dul ba'i bcas mtshams phra źiṅ phra ba mtha' dag mig 'bras ltar bsruṅ ba gźir bźag nas sde snod gsum la sbyaṅs pas mkhas pa'i phul du phyin par gyur | de nas mṅon pa'i sde snod kyi dgoṅs don phra źiṅ phra ba dag rtogs par bya ba'i phyir daṅ | sde pa bco brgyad (fol. 87b1) so so'i lugs ma 'dris par śes par bya ba'i phyir daṅ | gźan yaṅ raṅ daṅ gźan gyi grub ba'i mtha' rgya mtsho lta bu'i pha rol tu phyin par bya ba'i phyir mkhas grub tu ma'i 'byuṅ gnas kha che'i yul tu phebs nas mkhas pa chen po'i 'dus bzaṅ gi druṅ du snon dgra bcom pa rnams kyis mṅon pa sde bdun daṅ 'dul ba luṅ sde bźi'i gnad rnams bsdus te gtan la phab pa'i bstan bcos bye brag tu bśad pa chen po gźuṅ 'bum phrag gcig tu loṅs pa yod pa de la sbyaṅs so || bstan bcos 'di la sṅon gyi mkhas pa rnams kyis bye brag bśad mtsho chen mo źes kyaṅ brjod | bye brag bśad mdzod ces kyaṅ brjod do || de lta bu'i bstan bcos chen po de yoṅs su rdzogs pa thugs la bzuṅ nas don gyi gnad mtha' dag la 'khrul pa'i dri ma phra mo 'aṅ med par dri ma med pa'i rigs pa phra mos legs par dpyad nas mtha' dag par thugs la chud par mdzad | gźan yaṅ slob dpon 'dus bzaṅ la mṅa' ba'i sde snod gsum gyi bśad srol mtha' dag la sbyaṅs nas mkhas pa'i phul du phyin par gyur te | kha che'i yul du gdul bya bgra' ba las 'das pa la chos maṅ du bstan ciṅ dri ma med pa'i rigs lam rgyas par mdzad | de nas rgya gar du 'byon par bźed pa'i che bdud sdig te can phyis bdag ñid chen po 'dis rgyal ba'i bstan pa la bya ba rgya chen po mdzad pa ma bzod nas chom rkun pa maṅ po daṅ śo gam bsruṅ ba'i gnod sbyin gyi yid bsgyur te de dag gis (fol. 88a1) slob dpon gyi lha rten daṅ glegs bam la sogs pa yo byad thams cad phrogs | yan glegs bam la sogs pa gsar du bźeṅs nas phebs par lan gsum gyi bar du phrogs pa na slob dpon gyi thugs la da nor ni med glegs bam med kyaṅ chos thams cad ni blo la yod pa sus kyaṅ 'brog tu mi btub pas yo byad gaṅ yaṅ med par 'gro'o sñam du dgoṅs nas phebs te na landrar byon | der sde snod 'dzin pa maṅ
B 842.7 po la chos rgya cher ston ciṅ bźugs pa na | *gcen 'phags pa thogs med kyis bstan bcos maṅ du brtsams pa gsan nas | kye ma thogs med nags su lo || bcu gñis bar du tiṅ 'dzin bsgrubs || tiṅ 'dzin ma grub glaṅ chen kyi || rgyab khal loṅs pa'i grub mtha' brtsams || źes theg chen gyi gaṅ zag daṅ chos la* skur pa byas pa *gcen gyis gsan nas | log sgrub don min du 'gyur ba mkhyen nas | de bzlog pa'i phyir slob ma gñis sa bcu pa daṅ | blo gros mi bzad pas bstan pa 'dzin du bcug nas | gcuṅ can du soṅs la srod daṅ tho raṅs thon cig ces bsgo ba ltar bsgrubs pas |* mdo bton pas de slob dpon dbyig gñen gyis gsan pa na | *srod la theg chen 'di rgyu bzaṅ 'bras bu kha g.yel ba 'dra gsuṅ | tho raṅs rgyu 'bras gñis*

ka bzaṅ bar 'dug pa la ṅas skur pa btab pa lce 'dis lan pas gcod gsuṅ nas spu gri 'tshol ba'i tshe khoṅ gñis kyis ljags dgum mi (fol. 88b1) *'tshal | de'i sgrib pa sbyaṅ thabs gcen la mṅa' bas der gśegs* par źu źus pas | slob dpon dbyig gñen 'phags pa thogs med kyi B 843.3
sar byon te chos gsan pas dad nas 'phags pa thogs med la ñas pa bśags te theg pa
chen po'i chos rnams rim gyis gsan źiṅ | de'i tshe 'phags pa thogs med la rje btsun
byams pa mgon po 'bral med du bźugs nas bya ba thams cad rje btsun la źu źin mdzad
pa de gcud gis mkhyen nas lhag pa'i lha de bdag la bstan par źu byas pas | *rje btsun la* B 843.5
źu yi gsuṅs nas źus pas | rje btsun gyi żal nas | *khyod so so'i skye bo yin źiṅ daṅ por theg chen la skur pa btab pas tshe 'di la* ṅa *mthoṅ ba'i skal ba med kyis | sgrib pa sbyaṅ bar bya ba'i phyir theg chen gyi mdo 'grel maṅ du rtsoms | gtsug tor rnam rgyal* gyi gzuṅs *thon | phyi ma la mjal gsuṅs | de nas* slob dpon dbyig gñen *gcen la lhag par dad de | ṅa yi phu'o klu daṅ 'dra || ṅa ni char sdod bya daṅ* 'aṅ || *klu yi rgyal pos char phab kyaṅ ||*
bya yi grel bar soṅ ba med || ces gsuṅs śiṅ rje btsun byams pa mgon po'i bka' bźin B 843.7
bsgrubs te thog mar byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa'i skyes bu chuṅ 'briṅ gñis kyi dmigs
pa daṅ | skyes bu chen po'i yaṅ sgrub pa'i dmigs pa bdan pa bźi'i gnas tshul źib cu
stan pa chos mṅon pa *mdzod kyi tshig le'ur byas pa brtsams te skyes daṅ bcas pa 'dus* B 843.7
bzaṅ la spriṅs so || de'i slob ma dag gis lo daṅ grags la sogs pa (fol. 89a1) *| 'di 'o skol gyi grub mtha' la zur za'o || źes smras pa daṅ | khoṅ bstan bcos rtsom pa la mkhas pas chig* B 844.1
rgyan yin gsuṅ źiṅ | *śin tu mñes nas* 'di la raṅ 'grel źig mdzod ces bskul ma mdzad | de
nas slob dpon 'phags pa thogs med la theg pa chen po'i mdo sde mtha' dag gsan te
yan re tsam gyis thugs su chud | byams mgon gyi bka' ltar lhag pa'i lha bsgrub par
bźed nas rdo rje slob dpon źig la rje btsun rnam rgyal ma'i dbaṅ | phyag rdor gyi
dbaṅ daṅ gdams dag gsan te gzuṅs sṅags bzlas pas myur du grub ste lhag pa'i lha de
gñis kyi żal gzigs | tiṅ ṅe 'dzin gyi sgo maṅ po thugs rgyud la 'khruṅs | rgyal ba'i bka'
'dzam bu gliṅ na bźugs pa mtha' dag thugs su chud de de'i tshe ñan thos kyi sde snod
gsum la mdo lṅa brgya śo lo ka 'bum phrag gsum yod par grags pa daṅ | theg pa
chen po la 'phags pa dkon mchog brtsegs pa chen po'i mdo | 'dus pa rin po che'i mdo
| śer phyin stoṅ phrag brgya pa sogs mdo lṅa brgya | gsaṅ sṅags kyi gzuṅs rgyud sde
lṅa brgya rnams thugs su chud de lo re'i naṅ du lan re kha ton du mdzad de | de yaṅ
lcags kyi gźoṅ riṅ til mar gyis bkaṅ ba'i naṅ du źugs nas ñin mtshan sprel ma źag bco
lṅa re'i riṅ la goṅ du smos pa'i mdo de rnams tshar re kha ton du 'gro bar mdzad | *śes* T 118.4
rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad ston pa ni ñin re bźin kha ton du (fol. 89b1) mdzad
de | rgyal ba mya ṅan las 'das pa'i 'og tu bdag ñid chen po 'di las maṅ du thos pa rgya
che ba sa yaṅ med do źes 'phags yul gyi mkhas pa rnams gtam du gleṅ ṅo || de nas rje
btsun byams mgon gyi bka' bźin theg pa chen po'i mdo 'grel rnams rim rim mdzad
de byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa'i man ṅag gi gnad rnams źiṅ tu ston pa [4026] mdo sde
rgyan gyi 'grel pa daṅ | [4027] dbus mtha' rnam 'byed kyi 'grel pa | [4028] chos ñid
rnam 'byed kyi 'grel pa | [4050] theg bsdus kyi 'grel pa | [4055] chos thams cad rnam
rig tsam du ston pa sum cu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa | [4056] phyi rol gyi don 'gog pa ñi
śu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa | [4057] ñi śu pa'i raṅ 'grel | [4058] raṅ bźin gsum ṅes par

bstan pa | [4059] phuṅ po lṅa'i rab tu byed pa | [4060] rnam par bśad pa'i rigs pa mdo sde'i dum pa brgya pa | [4061] rnam par bśad pa'i rigs pa | [4062] las grub pa'i rab tu byed pa | [4063] theg pa chen po'i chos brgya gsal ba'i bstan bcos | [4089] chos mṅon pa mdzod kyi tshig le'ur byas pa | [4090] de'i raṅ 'grel | [4102] bstan bcos tshigs su bcad pa bsdus pa | [4103] de'i raṅ 'grel | [1146] dkon mchog gsum gyi bstod pa | [2694, 3989] sgo drug pa'i gzuṅs kyi rnam par bśad pa | [4163, 4507] yon tan bdun brjod pa'i gtam | [4164, 4508] tshul khrims kyi gtam | [4166, 4509] tshogs kyi gtam | [3982] saṅs rgyas rjes su dran pa'i 'grel pa | [3983] chos rjes su dran pa'i 'grel pa | [3984] dge 'dun rjes su dran pa'i 'grel pa | [4180, 4523] 'dod pa'i yon tan lṅa'i ñes dmigs (fol. 90a1) bśad pa | [3988] tshigs su bcad pa gcig pa'i bśad pa | [3991] ga ya go ri'i mdo'i bśad pa | [3993] mdo sde sa bcu pa'i rnam par bśad pa | [3994] blo gros mi bzad pas bstan pa'i mdo'i rgya cher 'grel | [3995] rten ciṅ 'brel par 'byuṅ ba daṅ po daṅ rnam par byed pa bśad pa | mdo sde sa bcu pa'i 'grel pa | [4015] bzaṅ spyod
T 118.5–6 smon lam gyi 'grel pa rnams mdzad do || *'phags pa thogs med* mya ṅan las *'das pa'i 'og tu na landra'i mkhan po mdzad de ñin re bźin rab tu byuṅ ba daṅ bsñen par rdzogs pa* maṅ po'i mkhan mdzad pa daṅ | theg pa chen po'i mdo sde mi 'dra ba'i chos thun ñi śu re 'chag med gnaṅ ba daṅ | mu stegs kyi smra ba ṅan pa byuṅ ni de ma thog tshar gcod pa daṅ | bstan bcos rtsom pa sogs mkhas pa'i bya ba rnam pa gsum gyis dus 'da' par mdzad | de dus 'dzam bu gliṅ gi che dgu mtha' dag gis bdag ñid chen po 'di'i źabs la gtugs nas mchod ciṅ bsñen bkur pa daṅ | raṅ raṅ gi dbaṅ po daṅ 'tshams pa'i chos kyi bgo skal len par byed pas dad pa can dag gis gsol ba btab ba ltar yul gźan du 'aṅ byon nas gaṅ daṅ gaṅ du rgyal ba'i bstan pa ñams pa de dag gsos | sṅar yod pa rnams ches cher 'phel bar mdzad | slob dpon 'di śar phyogs gāu ri'i yul du byon nas skal ba daṅ ldan pa maṅ po źig la theg pa chen po'i mdo sde rgya cher gsuṅs pas dkar phyogs kyi lha (fol. 90b1) rnams kyis gser gyi me tog gi char phab pa kun gyi mthun snaṅ du grub ba byuṅ bas thams cad dad pa lhag par 'phel te slob dpon 'di'i bka' bźin bsgrubs pas phyogs der rgyal ba'i bstan pa rgya cher 'phel | rgyal ba'i bstan pa riṅ du gnas pa'i phyir dge 'dun gyi sde gaṅ daṅ gaṅ na yod pa de daṅ der mchod gźi rgya chen po 'dzugs par mdzad | o ḍi bi śa'i yul du bram ze chen po źig gis sbyin bdag byas te theg pa chen po'i dge 'dun stoṅ phrag bcu gñis la zla ba gsum du chos 'khor btsugs te dus ston rgyas bar byas | slob dpon 'phags pa thogs med kyi dus las kyaṅ theg pa chen po'i' chad ñan rgyas par byuṅ ste bdag ñid chen po 'di'i slob ma theg pa chen po'i dge sloṅ drug khri loṅs pa byuṅ źes grags so || slob dpon raṅ ñid daṅ lhan cig tu gnas pa'i dge sloṅ sde snod 'dzin pa 'aṅ stoṅ tsam re yod ciṅ | de thams cad kyaṅ tshue khrims rnam par dag pa | sde snod gsum la maṅ du thos pa daṅ ldan pa | rgyal ba'i bstan pa 'dzin ciṅ spel nus pa śa stag byuṅ źes grag go || de ltar slob dpon dbyig gñen gyis dguṅ lo brgyar ñe ba'i bar du rgya gar du bstan pa la bya ba rgya chen po mdzad nas mthar dgos pa maṅ po źig la gzigs nas slob ma sde snod 'dzin pa stoṅ daṅ bcas bal yul du byon te bal yul na gnas pa'i dge 'dun rnams la theg pa chen po'i chos rgya cher bstan ciṅ bstan pa yun riṅ du gnas

pa'i (fol. 91a1) phyir phyogs der mchod gźi yaṅ maṅ du 'dzugs par mdzad | de nas raṅ byuṅ gi mchod rten du grags pa mchod rten go ma sā la gandhe la źabs bskor mdzad ciṅ bźugs pa na haṅ ṅu źes pa rab byuṅ gi cha byad 'dzin pa'i khyim btsun źig gis źiṅ rmod pa daṅ chaṅ gi bum pa thogs pa gzigs pas rgyal ba'i bstan pa 'di ltar ñams dams so sñam du thugs phyuṅ nas dge 'dun rnams la tha ma'i gsuṅ chos maṅ du stsal te gtsug tor rnam rgyal gyi gzuṅs 'go gśam ldog nas bzlas te sku che'i 'du byed btab ste de ñid du sku'i bkod pa bsdus nas rje btsun byams pa mgon po daṅ 'phags pa thogs med gaṅ du bźugs pa'i gnas dga' ldan chos kyi pho braṅ du phebs so || slob dpon dbyig gñen gaṅ du mya ṅan las 'das pa'i sa der slob ma dad pa can dag gis sku gduṅ bźugs pa'i mchod rten brtsigs pa da lta 'aṅ yod do || slob dpon bdag ñid chen po 'di la slob ma bstan pa 'dzin nus pa bsam gyi mi khyab pa byuṅ źiṅ | de thams cad kyi naṅ nas mchog tu gyur pa bźi ste | 'dul ba la mkhas pa'i mchog tu gyur pa slob dpon yon tan 'od | mṅon pa la mkhas pa'i mchog tu gyur pa slob dpon blo gros brtan pa | tshad ma la mkhas pa'i mchog tu gyur pa slob dpon phyogs kyi glaṅ po | phar phyin la mkhas pa'i mchog tu gyur pa slob dpon 'phags pa rnam grol sde bźi'o || de (fol. 91b1) la 'dul ba la mkhas pa'i mchog tu gyur pa *slob dpon yon tan 'od ni yul bcom brlag tu bram ze'i rigs su 'khruṅs* | chuṅ ṅu'i dus nas rig gnas mtha' dag la mkhas par sbyaṅs | de nas rgyal ba'i bstan pa la *rab tu byuṅ źiṅ bsñen par rdzogs nas* mkhas mchog *dbyig gñen gyi druṅ du* phebs te *sde snod gsum la* sbyaṅs śiṅ *theg pa chen po'i* lam gyi rim pa gsan nas theg chen gyi mdo sde mtha' dag la sbyaṅs | sde pa bco brgyad po so so'i lugs ma 'dres par mkhyen ciṅ 'dul ba 'bum sde thugs la bzuṅ ste rgyun du kha ton du mdzad | de ltar klog pa thos bsam daṅ spoṅ ba bsam gtan la brtson par mdzad pas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi grub pa'i mtha' rgya mtsho lta bu'i pha rol tu son źiṅ gzuṅs daṅ | spobs pa daṅ | mṅon par śes pa daṅ | tiṅ ṅe 'dzin gyi sgo brgya phrag maṅ po thugs la 'khruṅs | lhag par slob dpon dbyig gñen gyi man ṅag la brten nas lam rim gyis bgad de 'phags pa'i sa thob pas slob dpon 'phags pa yon tan 'od ces sñan pa'i grags pas phyogs kun khyab par gyur ciṅ | rgyal ba'i bsṅan pa la bya ba mdzad phyir 'dul ba luṅ sde bźi'i gnad thams cad bsdus ba 'dul ba rgya mtsho'i sñiṅ po źes bya ba'i bstan bcos chen po mdzad de | de la ni 'dul ba'i mdo źes yoṅs su grags śiṅ rgyal ba'i bka' daṅ khyad par med par rgyal ba'i bstan pa la rab tu byuṅ ba thams cad kyis tshad mar 'dzin ciṅ (fol. 92a1) 'dul ba luṅ la blta ba'i mig lta bu saṅs rgyas kyi bstan pa'i sgron me sṅon byon pa'i mkhas grub thams cad kyis gtsis po cher mdzad do || gźan yaṅ 'dul ba'i las brgya rtsa gcig gi chog karma śata ma du grags pa yaṅ mdzad de | da lta rgyal ba'i bstan pa la źugs nas dge bsñen daṅ | bar ma rab byuṅ daṅ | tshigs sṅa ma daṅ yul gyi sdom pa daṅ | bslab gźi moṅs su rdzogs pa dge sloṅ gi sdom pa lan pa'i cho ga daṅ gźi gsum gyi cho ga sogs 'dul ba'i las kyi cho ga rnams bdag ñid chen po 'di kho na'i bka' drin las byuṅ bas bstan pa 'di la bka' drin mtshuṅs pa med pa źig go || bdag ñid chen po 'di 'phrin las kyi khyab bdal śin tu che bas lhan cig gnas pa'i dge sloṅ yaṅ stoṅ phrag lṅa re tsam yod par bśad ciṅ | de thams cad kyaṅ sde snod gsum la maṅ du thos pa daṅ ldan pa | ñin źag phrugs re'i

T 124.4–5

naṅ du ltuṅ ba bśags par 'os pa rnams bśags | bsṅam bar 'os pa rnams bsṅams | byin gyis brlab par 'os pa rnams byin gyis brlabs te tshul khrims rnam par dag pa sṅon rgyal pa źal bźugs dus daṅ bstan pa'i gtad rabs kyi skabs dgra bcom pa rnams kyis bstan pa skyod pa'i dus bźin yod ces sṅon gyi mkhas pa rnams la gtam du grags so || bdag ñid chen po dbyig gñen gyi slob ma mṅon pa la mkhas pa'i mchog tu gyur pa

B 845.7 *slob dpon* (fol. 92b1) *blo gros bstan pa ni | slob dpon dbyig gñen bha ga bī hā ra źes bya ba na 'bru mar gyis zaṅs bkad ba'i naṅ na źugs te 'bum sde brgyad cu źal ton mdzad pa'i*

B 846.1 *tshe phug ron źig rgyun du ñan nas* sṅod pa nam źig tshe 'phos te *mtha' 'khob 'dra ma źes bya bar dmaṅs rigs kyi bur skyes | skyes ma thag pa'i slob dpon gaṅ na bźugs źes 'dri ba la* | phas *khyod kyi slob dpon su yin* dris phas *dbyig gñen yin zer | phas yul dbus su 'gro ba'i tshoṅ pa la dris pas dbyig gñen bźugs par thos nas | cuṅ zad skyes pa daṅ slob dpon dbyig gñen can du bskyal | slob dpon gyis* de la *yi ge phyi mo slob pa nas bzuṅ ste rig pa'i gnas thams cad la mkhas par bslabs | chuṅ du'i dus na nā landra na sgrol ma'i rten bźugs pa'i phyag tu sran ma'i phud phul la bza' sñam nas 'ga' źig phul bas 'gril nas byuṅ | yaṅ phul bas 'gril | 'phags mas ma gsol bar raṅ za ba mi 'oṅ sñam nas zad zad phul yaṅ 'gril bas byis pa ṅus so || der 'phags mas źal dṅos su bstan te ṅu mi dgos | ṅas khyod la byin gyis brlabs kyis khyim du soṅs gsuṅs | de nas mkhyen rab thogs med du gyur te rten de la sran ma'i sgrol ma źes grags so || slob dpon de la mdo dkon mchog brtsegs pa'i le'u bźi bcu źa dgu yan chad thugs la mṅa' źiṅ 'grel pa yaṅ mdzad ces grags so || de'i tshe mkhas pa'i grags pas* phyogs *kun* (fol. 93a1) *tu khyab ciṅ | slob dpon des*

B 846.6 *mdzod kyi 'grel pa gnam lcags thog gzer | chos mṅon pa kun las btus kyi 'grel pa | rab tu byed pa sde brgyad kyi 'grel pa la sogs pa bstan bcos maṅ du brtsams so* || slob dpon dbyig gñen gyi slob ma tshad ma la mkhas pa'i mchog tu gyur pa slob dpon phyogs

T 126.5 kyi glaṅ po źes yoṅs su grags pa'i bdag ñid chen po de ni rgya gar *lho phyogs kyi groṅ khyer siṅga bhakta ces bya bar bram ze'i rigs su 'khruṅs* || sku 'khruṅs nas riṅ por ma lon par bram ze'i rig byed thams cad daṅ | gźan yaṅ rig gnas thams cad la mkhas pa'i phul du phyin par gyur | sṅon yun riṅ po nas goms pa'i bag chags brtas pas 'khor ba mtha' dag me 'bar ba'i rlubs ltar gzigs nas ṅes 'byuṅ śugs drag pos bram ze'i rigs daṅ | loṅs spyod daṅ slob 'khor rgya chen po la ma chags par gnas ma bu pa'i sde pa'i mkhan po glaṅ po byin źes bya ba las rab tu byuṅ | mtshan phyogs kyi glaṅ por gsol | mkhan po de ñid la brten te gnas ma bu pa'i lugs daṅ mthun pa'i sde snod gsum la mkhas par byas śiṅ khyad par lhag por rtogs | de nas theg pa chen po'i luṅ daṅ man dag mtha' dag gsan par bźed nas slob dpon dbyig gñen gyi druṅ du byon | spyir theg pa che chuṅ gi sde snod mtha' dag daṅ | khyad par theg pa chen po'i mdo sde rnams daṅ | rje btsun byams pa nas (fol. 93b1) brgyud pa'i theg pa chen po'i man ṅag rnam bum pa gaṅ byo'i tshul du legs par gsan | theg pa chen po'i mdo sde lṅa brgya tsam kha ton du mdzad | de nas rdo rje slob dpon źig las rje btsun 'jam dpal dbyaṅs kyi dbaṅ daṅ sgrub thabs legs par gsan nas sgrub pa mdzad pas rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyaṅs kyi źal mṅon sum du gzigs śaṅ gdams pa daṅ rjes su bstan pa legs par thob |

T 127.5–6. de nas bzuṅ nam 'dod du rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyaṅs kyi źal gzigs śiṅ *chos gsan par*

mdzad | de nas *o ḍi bi śa'i yul gyi nags chal śiṅ tu dben pa'i* brag ri'i phug cig tu sgrub pa la rtse gcig tu bźugs | de nas *nā landrar mu stegs kyi rtsod pa byed pa* byuṅ ba na slob dpon 'dis tshar bcad do || bdag ñid chen po 'dis spyir rgyal ba'i gsud rab mtha' dag gi dgoṅs pa bkral źiṅ | lhag par chad ma gtan la 'beb pa la dmigs pa brtag pa sogs chad ma'i bstan bcos brgya rtsa mdzad par grags | *slar yaṅ o ḍi bi śa'i yul du* T 128.3 *gśegs nas sṅar* gyi phugs par *bsam gtan la rtse* gcig tu gźol bar *mdzad* | dus nam źig na rigs pa'i mig daṅ bral ba'i gdul bya rnams la thugs brtse ba chen pos gzigs te rigs pa'i mig sbyin par mdzad bźed pa na | gdul bya rnams blo gros kyi mthu śin tu chud ba daṅ | sṅar brtsam pa'i chad ma'i bstan bcos rnams kyaṅ rnam graṅs maṅ bas kha 'thor ba lta bur gyur par gzigs te | sṅar mdzad (fol. 94a1) pa de dag thams cad kyi gnad bsdus te gsuṅ rab spyi'i dgoṅs 'grel tshad ma kun las btus pa brtsom par bźed nas | *tshad mar gyur pa 'gra la phan bźed pa* || *ston pa bde gśegs skyob la phyag 'tshal* T 128.4. *te* | źes bsgrub phug gi brag ṅos la rdo rgyus kyis bris pa cam gyis 'jig rten gyi khams su 'od kyi snaṅ ba chen po byuṅ | *sa g.yos śiṅ sgra chen po grag* | mu stegs kyi ston pa rnams kyi byin pa reṅs par gyur | de gaṅ gi ltas yin sñam du mu stegs thub rgyal nag pos mṅon śes kyis brtags pas tshad ma mdo'i mchod brjod bris pa'i byin rlabs kyi mthur mthoṅ nas | *slob dpon bsod sñoms la gśegs pa'i śul du rdzu 'phrul gyis 'od nas* T 128.6. *mchod* brjod gyi tshig de bsubs nas bźag | *de ltar lan gsum byas pa'i tha ma la* slob dpon gyis kyal kas bsubs pa yin na 'di la dgos pa chen po yod pas źog cig | rtsod par 'dod na gzugs ston daṅ rtsod par bgyi'o || źes bris pas bsod sñoms las 'khor ba'i tshe kho dṅos su bsdad 'dug pa rigs pa dri ma med pas lan gsum gyi bar du pham par byas pa'i tshe | da rdzu 'gran zer nas kha nas me sbar te slob dpon gyi chos gos rnam gsum daṅ yo byad bsregs pas | slob dpon thugs śin tu skyo nas sems can ma ruṅs pa 'de 'dra ba bsam gyis mkhyab pas sems can thams cad kyi don bya mi nus kyi | thod le kor nam mkhar 'phaṅs (fol. 94b1) nas 'di nams la babs pa'i tshe raṅ ñid gcig pu grol ba don du gñer bar bgyi'o sñam du dgoṅs pas | thog le khor 'bab dus ma byuṅ bas nam mkhar gzigs pa na rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyaṅs blta bas chog mi śes pa źig gis thod le kor de bsnams nas | *bu* | *ma byed ma byed* theg pa da *man daṅ phrad las blo* T 129.3–4. *gros ṅan sḳye ste* || *khyod kyi bstan bcos 'di la mu stegs tshogs kyis gnod mi nus par śes* || *khyod kyis ma thob kyi bar du dge ba'i bśes su ṅa 'gyur gyi* || *phyi ma'i dus na* 'gro ba *kun gyi mig gcig tu ni 'di 'gyur ro* || źes luṅ bstan ciṅ dbugs phyuṅ nas tshad ma kun las btus ba rtsom par sku la ya mdzad pa na slob dpon phyogs kyi glaṅ pos kyaṅ thugs rje daṅ sñiṅ stobs cher ba źes nas tshad ma kun las btus pa mdzad de | 'dzam bu gliṅ gi 'gro ba thams cad la blo gros kyi mig sbyin par mdzad do || de nas slar yaṅ bsam gtan la rtse gcig tu bźugs pas saṅs rgyas maṅ po'i źal mthoṅ źin | tiṅ ṅe 'dzin gyi sgo brgya phrag maṅ po thob | lha rnams kyis me tog gi char phab | nags tshal de'i ljon śiṅ daṅ me tog rnams kyaṅ slob dpon gyi phyogs su mgo 'dud | glaṅ po che la sogs pa nags tshal de na gnas pa'i ri dvags rnams kyaṅ slob dpon gyi źabs la mgo bos gtug ciṅ gus pa'i tshul byed | yul de'i rgyal po 'khor daṅ bcas pas kyaṅ źabs la phyag byas so || de nas lho phyogs su byon te mu stegs kyi smra ba (fol. 95a1) ṅan pa

rnams tshar bcad | dge 'dun gyi sde rnams la sde snod gsum rgya cher bśad de sańs rgyas kyi bstan pa ches cher spel bar mdzad do || de nas slar yań o ḍi bi śa'i yul du byon nas yul de'i rgyal po 'khor bcas sańs rgyas kyi bstan pa la btsud | bram ze chen po źig gis sbyin bdag byas te dge 'dun gyi sde mań du btsugs | yul de'i skye bo rnams
T 130.5 sańs rgyas kyi bstan pa la yid ches rñed pa'i phyir *a ru ra'i* sdoń po chen po skam po źig bden tshig brjod nas sor chud par mdzad do || de ltar 'phags yul gyi phyogs
T 131.1 thams cad du sańs rgyas kyi bstan pas khyab par mdzad nas mthar *o ḍi bi śa'i nags tshal dben pa*'i sgrub phug de ñid du ńo mtshar ba'i ltas du ma dań bcas te źiń gźan du gśegs so || des na byań chub lam gyi rim pa la blo sbyoń bar 'dod pa rnams kyis mkhas mchog dbyig gñen la yon tan dań bka' dran dran pa'i dad gus chen pos gsol ba 'debs śiń bdag ñid chen po 'dis mdzad pa'i legs bśad rnams la bltas nas luń cam skyabs su gyur pa min par rgyal ba'i gsuń rab kyi dgońs don dri ma med pa'i rigs pas rñed par byas la gsuń rab dgońs 'grel dań bcas pa'i sñiń po'i don byań chub lam gyi rim pa'i ñams len la brtson par bya'o ||

C. A list of works of Vasubandhu, as found in Ye śes rgyal mtshan's work (fol. 89b–90a).

The titles are according to the *Tohoku catalogue*. In the text (v. App. B) the numbers of the Tohoku are marked.

No. 4026: *mdo sde'i rgyan gyi bśad pa = Sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā.*

No. 4027: *dbus dań mtha' rnam par 'byed pa'i 'grel pa = Madhyāntavibhaṅgaṭīkā.*

No. 4028: *chos dań chos ñid rnam par 'byed pa'i 'grel pa = Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅgavṛtti.*

No. 4050: *theg pa chen po bsdus pa'i 'grel pa = Mahāyānasaṃgrahabhāṣya.*

No. 4055: *sum cu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa = Triṃśikākārikā.*

No. 4056: *ñi śu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa = Viṃśakākārikā.*

No. 4057: *ñi śu pa'i 'grel pa = Viṃśakavṛtti.*

No. 4058: *rań bźin gsum ṅes par bstan pa= Trisvabhāvanirdeśa.*

No. 4059: *phuń po lńa'i rab tu byed pa = Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa.*

No. 4060: *rnam par bśad pa'i rigs pa'i mdo sde'i dum bu brgya = Vyākhyāyuktisūtrakhaṇḍaśata.*

No. 4061. *rnam par bśad pa'i rigs pa = Vyākhyāyukti.*

No. 4062: *las grub pa'i rab tu byed pa = Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa.*

No. 4063: *theg pa chen po'i chos brgya gsal pa'i sgo'i bstan bcos* = Nanjio No. 1213.

No. 4089: *chos mńon pa'i mdzod kyi tshig le'ur byas pa = Abhidharmakośakārikā.*

No. 4090: *chos mńon pa'i mdzod kyi bśad pa = Abhidharmakośabhāṣya.*

No. 4102: *bstan bcos tshigs su bcad pa bsdus pa źes bya ba = Gāthāsaṃgrahaśāstranāma.*

No. 4103: *tshigs su bcad pa'i don bsdus pa źes bya ba'i bstan bcos = Gāthā-saṃgrahaśāstrārtha-nāma.*

No. 1146: *dkon mchog gsum gyi bstod pa = Triratnastotra.*

No. 2694, 3989: *'phags pa sgo drug pa'i gzuṅs kyi rnam par bśad pa = Ārya-ṣaṇmukhadhāraṇīvyākhyāna.*

No. 4163, 4507: *yon tan bdun yoṅs su brjod pa'i gtam = Saptaguṇaparivadana-kathā.*

No. 4164, 4508: *tshul khrims kyi gtam = Śīlaparikathā.*

No. 4166, 4509: *tshogs kyi gtam = Saṃbhāraparikathā.*

No. 3982: *saṅs rgyas rjes su dran pa'i 'grel pa = Buddhānusmṛtivṛtti.* This is the work of Thogs med = Asaṅga. Vasubandhu wrote No. 3987: *saṅs rgyas rjes su dran pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa = Buddhānusmṛtiṭīkā.*

No. 3983: *chos rjes su dran pa'i 'grel pa = Dharmānusmṛtivṛtti.* This is the work of Thogs med = Asaṅga.

No. 3984: *dge 'dun rjes su dran pa'i bśad pa = Saṃghānusmṛtivyākhyā.* This is the work of Thogs med = Asaṅga.

No. 4180, 4523: *'dod pa'i yon tan lṅa'i ñes dmigs bśad pa = Pañcakāma-guṇopālambhanirdeśa.*

No. 3988: *tshigs su bcad pa gcig pa'i bśad pa = Ekagāthābhāṣya.*

No. 3991: *'phags pa ga ya mgo'i ri źes bya ba'i mdo'i rnam par bśad pa = Ārya-gayāśīrṣa-nāma-sūtravyākhyāna.*

No. 3993: *'phags pa sa bcu pa'i rnam par bśad pa = Ārya-daśabhūmivyākhyāna.*

No. 3994: *'phags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa rgya cher 'grel pa = Ārya-akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā.*

No. 3995: *rten ciṅ 'brel bar 'byuṅ ba daṅ po'i rnam par dbye ba bśad pa = Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa.*

No. 4015: *'phags pa bzaṅ po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi 'grel pa = Ārya-bhadracaryāpraṇidhānaṭīkā.*

LINGUISTIC DEVICES AND TECHNIQUES IN THE FIRST TIBETAN GRAMMATICAL TREATISE

BY

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1. Confronted with problems in comprehending an early text, we are at liberty to proceed along either of two diametrically opposed courses: we may assume that our difficulties derive in the main from our own lack of understanding of the subject-matter of the text at issue, or from our unfamiliarity with the text's language, or perhaps from both; or we may assume that our difficulties chiefly arise because the author of the text before us was stupid and incompetent, and hence incapable of producing a satisfactory text, i.e. one that we may easily understand. When the text is not only early, but also treats some involved and potentially subtle topic, e.g. linguistic analysis, the temptation to opt for the latter of these two courses is frequently overwhelming: witness the now-unedifying abuse to which many of the then-imperfectly understood linguistic devices and techniques of the Sanskrit grammarians were frequently subjected by Western scholarship in the 1880s.[1] But, of course, philological science can only opt for the former, if it is to advance: witness the enormous gains subsequently achieved in our comprehension of Indic linguistic science by assuming that the difficulties we encounter in reading its texts reflect mainly upon our imperfect understanding of the devices and techniques employed by their ancient authors, and by striving, as a consequence, to become more familiar with those same devices and techniques.[2] For precision, intricacy, ingenuity and subtlety, the traditional Tibetan grammarians cannot of course hold a candle to their Indic masters; nevertheless, as their literature — and in particular the two earliest texts out of which that literature grows[3] — has gradually been explored, the course of these studies has not been without its own examples of the latter, sterile approach of assuming offhand that the texts and their authors are necessarily wrong or confused when they appear to say something that we cannot at first easily

[1] For an informative and convenient selection of readings on these abusive attitudes, § 5. *The Skeptics and Their Critics*, pp. 135–204 in: J. F. Staal, ed., *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians*. Cambridge USA 1972, is useful.

[2] Magisterially epitomized in a number of important passages in George Cardona, *Pāṇini. A Survey of Research*: W. Winter, ed., *Trends in Linguistics, State-of-the-Art*. The Hague–Paris 1976, especially — but by no means limited to — his § II. 1. 57c, p. 236 sqq.

[3] I. e., the *Sum-cu-pa* (= *SCP*) and *Rtags-kyi ḥjug-pa* (= *RKHP*), until recently in the West, as traditionally in Tibet, attributed to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa in his quasi-mythic role as the founder of the Tibetan script.

understand. Our time and energies are better directed along the former course, i.e. toward trying to bring our own understanding of the devices and techniques of linguistic analysis as nearly as possible up to the level of the texts in which these features are displayed, rather than in the latter, i.e. gratuitously denigrating the competence if not actually the simple good-sense of the ancient author(s) of our texts. Nor hardly need it be added that the former course was consistently that of all the European pioneers in our studies, particularly exemplified in the life and work of Csoma, who scarcely undertook to describe «the grammatical works to be met with in Tibet»[4] in order to belittle their authors. Rather, Csoma strove to discover what he, and we, could learn from these «grammatical works to be met with in Tibet»; in this, as in so much else, we still do well today to hew closely to the path laid out by the intrepid Hungarian traveller-scholar whose two-hundredth anniversary of birth the present volume memorializes.

2.1 In 1963 (*JAOS* 83.493–5, reprinted *SGTT* 9–11)[5] we proposed that *SCP* śl. 8, which teaches the forms and meanings of the case-affixes except for the genitive and instrumental,[6] along with its subsidiary[7] śl. 13, represented a text-survival, within the grammatical tradition, of certain elements of pre-canonical orthographic practice. The argument for this position was (and is) simple, based as it is on simple but overt textual evidence. *SCP* śl. 8, when read simply and directly for what it plainly says, does not describe the case-affixes we now know from canonical WT, and especially it does not know the full repertory of their morphophonemic

[4] Csoma de Körös, *Enumeration of Historical and Grammatical Works to be met with in Tibet: JASB* VII (1838), Part II, pp. 147–152.

[5] R. A. Miller, *Studies in the Grammatical Tibet Tradition in Tibet*. Amsterdam 1976; for this and other abbreviations not explained in the present contribution, see my paper *Phone, Phoneme and Graph in the Old Tibetan Grammarians: Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXIV (1–3) (1980), pp. 153–162.

[6] The genitive and instrumental are delayed until śls. 9, 10 and 11, resp., not out of carelessness or inattention, but because this makes possible a more economical statement of the morphophonemic rules involved: the genitive requires a statement for the variations sustained by its initial that do not elegantly fit into the patterns of śl. 8, while once the genitive has been described, then the instrumental is, of course, most compendiously dealt with in terms of simple affixation of *-s*. This significant rule-ordering is further imposed, at least upon our received text of the *SCP*, because although śl. 8 belongs to an earlier, quasi-OT stratum of the text that did not know, e.g., the *-t* ~ *-d* variation in the initial of the terminative, śls. 9, 10 and 11 belong to a later stratum that reflects the full morphological-variation repertory of received WT. (Curiously enough, this point concerning *-t* and *-d* forms of the terminative is fully accepted by Y [for this abbreviation, see note 19, *infra*], p. 18: why then, since he understands and accepts this prime example of the *SCP*'s documentation of pre-WT formations, does he so strongly object to the others that he discusses?)

[7] Y, pp. 33–34, note 59, has misunderstood our term «subsidiary» (*SGTT* 10[b]) as implying some variety of original textual continuity: we meant only what we said then: «śloka 13 clearly shows its subsidiary role to śloka 8 since it takes the former as the point of departure for its own statements.» Y has not understood that our concern was (and is) for what the text says as a grammatical-linguistic treatise.

alternations; but at the same time, and again, when read for what it says (as distinct from what the later commentators have tried to make it say), śl. 8 does teach non-canonical forms that we are now able to cite from pre-canonical OT MSS. These texts, and their forms, were of course unknown to the later Tibetan scholastics, who as a consequence were forced to wrestle with this text valiantly, if vainly, in order to force it to appear to describe something that it actually does not deal with at all, i.e. the rather different case-particules of the later, canonical WT. Finally, in 1963, we cited a number of pre-canonical forms actually conforming to the case-affixes as they are taught in śl. 8, culling them from a variety of sources, all carefully registered as to origin and subsequent publication.

Even in 1963, we scarcely claimed originality for this proposal. In 1928 Bacot had already drawn attention to the unbridgeable gap between what śl. 8 says and what the Tibetan scholastic tradition has tried to make it say: «Remarquer que le commentaire ajoute au śloka mthar-pa sbyar-ba *ajouter la finale*, alors que dans le śloka il n'est pas question de redoublement de la finale s(a), mais seulement de l'addition de la voyelle 'u *u* à ce suffixe. Cela ferait supposer qu'une forme comme phyogsu, au lieu de phyogs-su, considérée actuellement comme une abréviation, serait effectivement la forme ancienne. Pourtant le śloka présente dans les mêmes termes les particules ru *ru* et du *du* qui, sans être des redoublements, sont ajoutées selon des accords euphoniques exposés plus loin.»[8] All that we did in 1963 was to elaborate this remark slightly, and to document it with a number of early forms unknown to Bacot in 1928. That brief treatment adequately served our purpose of 1963, which was only to focus attention on the implication of the existence of these pre-canonical forms in the *SCP* for dating the text on the one hand, and for refuting its traditional ascription to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa in his role as author of the Tibetan script and founder of the canonical orthography on the other. Accordingly, we did not, in 1963, discuss the several other important problems that śl. 8 presents, once we look beyond the later commentaries and read this early text for, by, and as itself.

Once we do that, we see that śl. 8[8] teaches the locative *na* and the dative *la* just as we know these case-affixes from canonical WT.[9] Equally unambiguous is the intention of śl. 8^{1-7} to teach forms corresponding in sense and syntactic employment to what we know as the terminative; but here the correspondence a s f o r m s between what we find taught in the *SCP* with what we know from WT is

[8] J. Bacot, *Les ślokas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa avec leurs commentaires*. Paris 1928 p. 14 note 2 (in our citation, Tibetan printed in lower-case roman type reproduces examples printed in Tibetan script in Bacot). Note also that in 1963 we gratefully acknowledged that «Bacot himself knew quite well and indeed pointed out at some length» the precise philological point at issue (*SGTT* 9a).

[9] Using the well-established English terminology for these case-forms, after H. A. Jäschke, *Tibetan Grammar*[2]. H. Wenzel, ed., reprinted New York 1954, § II. 15 «Declension», p. 21 sqq.

extremely obscure. In WT, after all, the terminative (for movement to or into), has the following allomorphs: *-du* following[10] *-d, -n, -r, -l, -ñ, -m*; *-tu* following *-g, -b,* and *-Cd*; *-su* following *-s*; and *-r/-ru* following *-ḥ*. But even the final element in this morphophonemic statement directly confronts us with a striking discrepancy between the language underlying the description of the terminative in *SCP* śl. 8^{1-7} and our received, canonical WT: the *SCP* language does not admit of words in final vowel, teaching instead that all forms must end in one of the set of ten consonants ^{1}g, $^{2}ñ$, ^{3}d, ^{4}n, ^{5}b, ^{6}m, $^{7}ḥ$, ^{8}r, ^{9}l, ^{10}s,[11] so that WT forms in final vowel correspond regularly to *SCP* forms in *-ḥ*.[12] But the apparent failure, consequent upon this feature of its language, of the *SCP* to teach anything about the terminative for words in final vowel — for the simple reason that no such words occurred in its language — is by no means the least of the anomalies that we encounter in this passage. In plain fact, the *SCP* knows nothing at all of the *-tu* allomorph of the terminative; even more striking, it teaches not the suffixation of *-du, -su,* and *-r/-ru* that we know from WT, but rather the suffixation of *-u* to words in final *-d, -s,* and *-r*: *SCP* śl. 8 reads[13] as follows, in a literal translation: «[3]affix the second *āli* to [2]any word in whose final-position there occurs the 10th [1]from among the ten *rjes-ḥjug*[14] phonemes; [5]but add the 2nd, *u*, to [4]any word in whose final-position there occurs the 8th; [7]add the second *āli* to [6]any word in whose final-position there occurs the 3rd; [8]the 4th and the 9th are, however, independent; moreover, [9]⟨work(s)⟩ and ⟨goal(s)⟩ and ⟨standpoint⟩ and [10]⟨this-itself⟩ (and) ⟨point-of-time⟩ are the *la* form.» Or, to read the same in an equivalent but somewhat smoother rendering, «affix *u* to / any word in *-s* / from the set *g* . . . *s*; / but affix *u* to / any word in *-r*; affix *u* to / any word in *-d*; / *na* and *la* occur as such; moreover, / (the above forms for) accusative, dative, locative, / accusative as cognate-object, and locative of time, are (all subsumed under) the morphophoneme *la*».[15] In other words, and as a consequence of this text,

[10] More properly, rather than «following», we should instead understand «when and as enclitic to words in final . . .».

[11] I.e., the set of consonant phonemes designated *rjes-ḥjug* in the *SCP*'s metalanguage, anent which see the text of the present contribution further above at § 3.1.3.

[12] And, precisely such forms in OT *-ḥ*, corresponding to forms in WT -vowel, are regularly found in the MSS; for a plethora of examples, see Nils Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien, Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie, I.*, Uppsala 1957, *passim.*, (hereafter: *ITS*), with his remarks on this question at p. 19.

[13] Translating the text published and collated in *SGTT* 9a, but of course not including the obviously late, spurious addition there printed as line 6^{1}.

[14] This line 1 in sense goes together with, i.e., it subordinates, the totality of lines 2 and 3, but an English rendering is hard put to bring out this important point with sufficient clarity and force.

[15] I.e., *la sgra*. It is significant that when, however, the *SCP* later, at śl. 13, again has reference to this passage, it then refers not to *la sgra* but rather to *la don*. This introduces us to a virtually untouched problem in early Tibetan linguistics, and unfortunately also one about which, in the present

the terminatives that the *SCP* teaches would be along the following lines, and as such clearly distinct from those of WT: for *gñis* «two», śl. 8^{2-3} teaches *gñisu*, rather than the *gñis-su* of WT; for *śar* «east», śl. 8^{4-5} teaches *śaru*, rather than the *śar-du* of WT; and for *brgyad* «eight», śl. 8^{6-7} teaches *brgyadu*, rather than the *brgyad-du* of WT. Moreover, as we pointed out in 1963, forms like the *gñisu* termative taught in the *SCP* are actually attested, both in the OT pre-canonical MSS, and also as relics surviving into the canonical period of WT (which later parallels to the *SCP* language had previously been noted by Bacot). This means that not only do we have the *SCP* teaching for these non-canonical forms, we have the forms themselves as well — and not only for the *-su* terminatives, but for the entire morphological repertory of this affix. We concluded, therefore, that *SCP* śl. 8 does not describe the morphology of the well-known WT terminatives, but instead, a different, though surely related, and most probably also earlier, set of forms.

2.2 In their effort to coerce this śloka, so that it might be made to appear to describe the later, and different, terminatives of WT, subsequent scholiasts have had to subject it to unprincipled paraphrase and unwarranted interpolations of every sort;[16] even so, they were helpless to disguise this text's total silence anent formations in *-r(u)* following final vowel, resp. *-ḥ*. In śl. 8^{2-3}, which teach formations of the type *gñis* → *gñisu*, it was relatively simple, if unwarranted, for the Tibetan commentators to «understand», i.e. to interpolate the verb *ruñ-ba* «be

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contribution, we can do little more than identify in broad outline. This is the way in which the grammarians exploited, for linguistic-analytic ends, the fundamental tantristic dichotomy between *sgra* and *don:* the former embracing «words, phrases, linguistic convention, linguistic meaning,» the latter, «propositional content, reference, referent; purpose of a speech-act, utterer's intention, etc.» — in briefest possible terms, *convention* as against *intention*. (These equivalents, and the exegesis implied therein, are drawn from M. Broido, *BSHAD THABS: Some Tibetan Methods of Explaining the Tantras*, pp. 15–45 in: E. Steinkellner & H. Tauscher eds., *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture*, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 11. Wien, 1983. The use of «tantristic» in the special sense of «related to the systematic or religious traditions based on the Tantras» is taken over from Ernst Steinkellner, *Remarks on Tantristic Hermeneutics: Acta Orient. Hung. Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium . . . 24–30 September 1976*, Budapest 1978, p. 447 note 5, a contribution that also provides much vital data on this same issue.) The *sgra-don* dichotomy, as a purely linguistic issue — but even as such, never totally isolated from its tantristic origins — is already to be encountered in the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* (= *SSBP*, i.e., the *Madhyavyutpatti*), see *ITS*, pp. 247, 250 (and *ibid.*, in particular, the use of the dichotomy in a typical hermeneutic treatment of an individual word, e.g., the term *buddha*, at *ITS*, p. 265); it figures in the *Glr.* account of the inception of the Tibetan script (see our note 54 *infra*); and it is alluded to in *SCP* śl. 26^{1-3}. On the future exploration of the grammarians' use of this *sgra-don* tantristic dichotomy will depend several important advances in our future understanding of the early grammatical tradition in Tibet.

[16] An example of such unprincipled and unwarranted interpolation is the spurious line 6^{1} remarked upon in our note 13 *supra*.

right, suitable; s'accorder avec»[17] boldly into the midst of their paraphrases of the śloka, so that the text now appeared to teach affixation of *-su* to words in final *-s*, i.e., *gñis → gñis-su*, as normal in WT. Unfortunately for the strivings of the scholiasts, however, even this free-wheeling interpolation could not solve the enigma of śl. 8^{4-5}, which employ precisely the same mode of statement, *mutatis mutandis*, as do śl. 8^{2-3}, indeed the interpolation only made things worse, because if, as the commentators claimed, 8^{2-3} taught *-s-su*, then 8^{4-5} necessarily taught *-r-ru* — but this is wrong for WT. Obviously unable, then, to tolerate a consistent reading of both passages, the Tibetan commentators have instead had to opt for vague generalities, combined with a dignified silence on the issues that they cannot explain. Thus, Dharmabhadra, following the lead of the Mahāpaṇḍita of Si-tu, lamely suggests, in his epitome of his teacher's great treatise on the *SCP*, that «in the same way [sic!] *r* is affixed to the final of a word to make one syllable and appears there in such formations as *lhag-par* («more, surpassing») ← *lhag-pa*, or also one has *ru* which is *u* further affixed to *r* divided into a separate syllable . . .»[18] But such devious explanations of course can explain nothing; nor do they.

2.3 The convoluted conundrum that this text has presented for subsequent generations of Tibetan scholiasts pales by comparison with the involved enigma it has posed for certain of their contemporary Western and Japanese successors. In 1976 Yamaguchi Zuihō once again directed attention to the problems of *SCP* śl. 8, in the course of objecting across-the-board to our 1963 suggestions anent the pseudo-historicity of «Thon-mi Sambhoṭa» as the author of the Tibetan script and orthography and also of the two early grammatical treatises, the *SCP* and *RKHP*, today commonly attributed to him.[19] In that contribution, Y took particularly sharp exception to our (and Bacot's) argument that this *SCP* śloka, despite the depredations visited upon it by the later commentators, nevertheless still preserves internal evidence for earlier, pre-canonical morphological formations — evidence that naturally has significant implications for dating at least this segment of the *SCP*, and as a consequence also for at least beginning to sketch some of the early, if not actually the pre-, history of the grammatical tradition in Tibet.

The truly catholic compass of Y's protestations is eclipsed only by the ultramontane mode in which he delivers his categorical dicta. Citing in transcrip-

[17] Bacot, *op. cit.*, p. 14 note (2).

[18] Text in Inaba Shōju, *Chibettogo koten bunpōgaku*[1], Kyōto 1954, p. 16 of the *Furoku* («Appendix»). Unfortunately the revised second edition of this important handbook, Kyōtō 1966, does not include the *Furoku* in which Inaba edits and translates Dharmabhadra's epitome of the *SCP* commentary of the Mahāpaṇḍita of Si-tu.

[19] Yamaguchi Zuihō, *Sanjūshō, Seinyūhō no seiritsu jiki wo megutte — Thon-mi Sambhoṭa no seizon nendai : Tōyō Gakuhō* LVII (1976), pp. 1–34, abbreviated throughout the present contribution as «Y», indifferently for both the paper and its author.

tion[20] śl. 8^{2-3} (but none of the rest of that śloka, and thus conveniently evading the all-important issue of how then one is to explain the text's failure to teach the terminative forms that follow final vowel or *-ḥ!*), Y (pp. 16–7, and notes 43–48 on pp. 30–1) attacks without reserve both the verbal expression as well as the sense of the *SCP* at this point, denigrating the abilities of «Thon-mi Sambhoṭa» (or whoever, sg. *or* pl., actually wrote, *resp.*, compiled our received text of the same), not solely as a linguist but even as a Tibetologist.[21] Further, Y dismisses out of hand both Bacot's reading[22] and ours as nothing more than «mistranslations» (Y, p. 16, lines 12–3). When the *SCP* author(s) wrote *miñ-mthaḥ*, Y informs us, he (they) actually i n t e n d e d to say «suffix» (Y, p. 30, note 44, col. a); and though Y does grudgingly admit (*...ka mo shirenai*) that there exists a remote possibility of reading the received text literally (as Bacot and we did), against this he argues that to do so would cast into jeopardy the terminological congruence between śl. 8 and śl. 18 (which teaches the invariable enclitic *ni*[23]) — but the Tibetan expression of this same śl. 18 also turns out, in Y's eyes, to be sadly out of joint; and so he generously suggests (*loc. cit.*, col b) how the author(s) might better have expressed in Tibetan what Y now tells us that he (they) here i n t e n d e d to say — but which they apparently lacked the skill with their own language properly to express.

To replace the earlier «mistranslations» of śl. 8^{2-3}, Y offers the following Japanese rendering: *nan* 何 *de are, setsubiji* 接尾辞 [*no ichi* 位置] *ni* sa *ga kuru* [*ba'a* 場合] *sono* [sa] *ni bo'in* 母音 u *wo tsukeru* (Y, p. 17, line 1), or, to English this as literally as possible, «[on the occasion when] *sa* comes in [the position of] a suffix, whatever it is, one adds the vowel *u* to that [sa].» The reader is now at liberty to judge the merits of this version on its own, in particular whether Y's translation of *gnas-*

[20] But with *ali* erroneously for *āli* (or, better still, *'āli*).

[21] At first glance it might appear that Y, p. 17, is levelling his charges in the distinguished company of the Mahāpaṇḍita of Si-tu, whom he cites in support of the alleged «obscurity» (*mi gsal, akiraka sarete inai*) of the *SCP*. But actually, all that is obscure here is the basis for the Mahāpaṇḍita's conflation of two distinct levels of the *SCP*'s metalanguage, as exemplified in his collocation *miñ mthaḥi rjes-ḥjug*. Such jumblings of the carefully ordered terminology of the original are no more useful when carried out by the Tibetan commentators than when they are perpetrated by Western and Japanese scholars.

[22] Y simply holds Bacot guilty of «mistranslation», without making it clear which of Bacot's different readings he objects to. Bacot gives two versions, one literal (and faithful to the text), the other an interpolated paraphrase conforming to the general deflection of the meaning of the original as found in the Tibetan commentators, so that it ends up appearing to describe WT. Since Y himself holds with this second approach, he can hardly believe that *both* Bacot's versions are «mistranslations»; at least one of the two must meet with his approval.

[23] Again the principle of rule-ordering is essential here to following the text, and has been overlooked by Y; the terminological congruence of the original is altered at śl. 18 because the particle *ni* taught at this point is the first of the invariable enclitics to be taken up, following the earlier treatment of the variables, and of the forms economically treated in the same terms as those forms.

pa[24] by *kur-u* «comes», together with his generous interpolations in brackets, where it turns out most of the sense of the text somehow resides, actually advance our understanding of the *SCP* as he claims.[25] Limits of space preclude a detailed critique of his version, except to note that even if we accept Y's translation, we are still left in the dark about how the *SCP* teaches the WT formation *-s-su*, since «adding the vowel *u* to that *sa* that comes in the position of a suffix» would still only generate the very pre-canonical forms that Bacot in 1928 and we in 1963 pointed out as ultimately underlying this śloka.

Finally, Y unqualifiedly dismisses the historical-linguistic relevance as well as the philological significance of the very OT forms that, finding them attested in MSS sources, we cited in 1963 in support of our reading of *SCP* śl. 8 — not to mention other portions of this same treatise that then (and now) appear, on the basis of this variety of internal text-critical evidence, to date — or at least to reflect linguistic materials from, a significantly early period. This portion of his rebuttal Y begins by categorically decreeing that «it is completely inconceivable» (Y, p. 17, line 12: *zenzen kangaerarenai*) that there ever was a period in history when any of the grammatical particles had shapes and formations different from those that they display in WT. Y cites no evidence in support of this, his astonishingly *ex cathedra* bull, because of course none is available: his dictum, for all its firmness of expression, is patently proven to be fallacious every time we even glance at virtually any given OT MS.[26]

But no one may successfully accuse Y of internal inconsistency: not only does he unilaterally decree the impossibility of there ever having existed OT forms linguistically older than those of WT, he also disparages the sources from which one may cite precisely those same OT forms: «it is unclear whether the texts that Miller cites are documents or MSS . . .»[27] One can only ask w h y it is «unclear», since in

[24] On this term, see below in the present contribution, § 3.1.3.

[25] Y's comments on śl. 7 (p. 30, note 45) are instructive: from the text alone, he says, we would not be able to interpolate «the same» into our reading of the original, but since it is only by such an interpolation that the examples we have in WT may be brought into conformity with the text, the interpolation is necessary. With this reasoning, therefore, the door is tightly shut against even any possibility that the examples we have at hand from canonical WT may not historically have been precisely the same as those known to the author(s) of the *SCP*.

[26] Y's overall views are perhaps more easily comprehended after a careful reading of his p. 20, where he clarifies his reasons for rejecting out-of-hand all the evidence of the OT MSS, and for focusing instead exclusively upon the Źol stele inscription: it is because the Źol stele «preserves the lofty status and tone proper to an inscription enjoying royal sanction.» But for the purposes of linguistic history, may we thus draw a line that would exclude from consideration all monuments of the language that are not «lofty in status and tone» and that do not bask in «royal sanction»?

[27] In Y's original, *Miller-shi ga inyō-suru bun* 文 *wa monjo* 文書 *de aru no ka, shahon* 寫本 *de aru no ka, fumei* 不明 *de aru*; but what remains unclear to us is what practical, resp. historical-linguistic distinction Y intends to draw between his terms *monjo* and *shahon*.

1963 we cited in full the source for each relevant OT form cited in argument, so that all the evidence then adduced may easily be verified in the published literature; if the identity of the forms at issue remains «unclear» to Y, this can only be because he has not looked them up. A little later (p. 18, line 3) Y slightly alters his approach: now he impugns the documents we cite themselves, as «containing miswritings and miscopyings».[28] But that, of course, was (and is) precisely the chief value of these sources, and the principal reason why we cited these forms in 1963. Many of the deviations from subsequent orthographic norms in which the early Tibetan MSS abound — Y's «miswritings and miscopyings»[29] — preserve precious historical-linguistic documentation that otherwise would remain beyond our grasp. Later still, in a long note that bears only a tangential relationship to his text (Y, p. 33, note 59), Y again reverses the thrust of his argument: now we are accused of improperly citing in evidence «texts (*bunken* 文献) from the northern regions of [Tibetan] occupation that are celebrated for not following the *bya ka ra ṇa*».[30] Again, the answer remains the same: it was (and is) precisely because many of these MSS sources d o diverge from the later canonical norms that they are so valuable for Tibetan linguistic history, as well as for tracing the history of the grammatical tradition in Tibet.

2.4 But what one scholar professes to find «unclear» may perhaps also puzzle others. Hence it may be useful, as a means for terminating this survey of Y's contribution, to document once more, and in somewhat more precise detail than we did in 1963, the easy availability in the published literature of a veritable host of witnesses, i.e. non-canonical OT morphological formations precisely in accord with the teaching of our received text of *SCP* śl. 8.

2.4.1 In almost literally innumerable instances, the Stein Collection OT MSS edited and translated in *AFL* employ for the terminative on *-s* words a formation that exactly conforms to what is taught at *SCP* śl. 8^{2-3}, i.e., of the type *gñisu* ← *gñis*; it is as impossible to reproduce all those citations here (because of their sheer bulk)

[28] Y has, *goki* 誤記, *gosha* 誤寫; again, we cannot guess how the one differs from the other.

[29] Who would, e.g., undertake to discuss the early history of Latin (or of the Italic branch of I.-E) having first dismissed out of hand as *goki* and *gosha* all the linguistic evidence of such texts as the Praeneste Fibula and the Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus, not to mention everything between these two monuments?

[30] Y's principal contention is that the *SSBP* notices the *SCP* and *RKHP*, and that it is speaking of these two texts when it mentions the *Vyakaraṇa*; in our paper *Thon-mi Sambhoṭa and His Grammatical Treatises Reconsidered*, pp. 183–205 in E. Steinkellner & H. Tauscher, eds., *Contributions* . . . , Heft 10. Wien, 1983,), we demonstrated why this position is untenable. In citing OT MSS evidence here and below, *ITS* = Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien* . . . (see our note 12 *supra*); AFL = F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Folk-Literature from North-Eastern Tibet : Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, 1952, Nr. 3.

as it is unnecessary (because of their easy availability in the pages of *AFL*). Thomas summed it up as follows: « . . . the *s-su* being often, as in *dusu, skyabsu,* written as *su* only», and went on to provide an initial sampling, from his texts, of 19 representative examples (*AFL*, pp. *27–8*).

More recently, Simonsson's painstaking scrutiny of OT versions of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* has provided additional rich documentation for the linguistic-historicity within OT of the terminatives on *-s* words taught in the *SCP*. Simonsson edits an OT MS acquired in Khotan by the Hedin Expedition in 1933, his «TmA,» confronting it with a Tun-huang fragment of the same, his «Th,» and both in turn with a Peking print of the Kanjur version of the canonical WT recension of the text, his «Tx». TmA consistently employs the *SCP*-authorized formation for the terminative on *-s* words: TmA *yoñsu* for Tx *yoñs-su* (*ITS*, pp. 51, 95, 136); TmA *rjesu* for Tx *rjes-su* (pp. 82, 118); *gnasu* for *nas-su* (p. 124); *semsu* for *sems-su* (p. 130); *rgyasu* for *rgyas-su* (p. 158); *nasu* for *nas-su* (p. 161); *logsu* for *logs-su* (p. 173).

Additionally and particularly instructive is the linguistic situation of the corresponding passages in Th: though it is still without question an OT version of the text at issue, this MS already has the *-su* terminatives of later WT, rather than the earlier, *SCP*-authorized forms of TmA. Thus, where TmA has *yoñsu,* Th already has *yoñs-su,* identical with Tx (*ITS*, p. 136); so also for *rjesu* (p. 118), as well as for each of the last five examples (from *ITS* pp. 124, 130, 158, 161, and 173) cited immediately *supra*. It is clear, in other words, that the Khotan MS TmA is, on the score of the terminative on *-s* words, cast in the same particular variety of pre-canonical OT authorized by *SCP* śl. 8; but the Tun-huang MS Th is, on this point, already couched along the lines of the later canonical WT finally and fully exemplified by the Kanjur version.[31]

2.4.2 Terminatives on *-r* words that conform in their morphology to the teaching of *SCP* śl. 8^{4-5} (and that hence differ most strikingly from the formations expected in WT), are not as frequently encountered in the OT MSS as are those on *-s*,[32] but

[31] *ITS*, pp. 16–21; for Simonsson's «Th», see *ibid.*, p. 114. Actually, many of the cases of the so-called ellipsis of OT *-s* noted by J. Terjék, *Fragments of the Tibetan Sutra of «The Wise and the Fool» from Tun-huang : Acta Orient. Hung.* XXII (1969), pp. 293–294 and p. 311, notes 21–23, and also by G. Uray, *The Narrative of Legislation and Organisation of the Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston : Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVI (1972), p. 27, note 58a, ought also eventually to be studied in terms of the *SCP* teaching.

[32] This apparent scarcity is not accidental: it is to be explained by etymological considerations, since in many, probably most, of the *-r* words on which one might otherwise expect to find the OT *-r-u* terminative formation, the final *-r* itself is likely to represent a secondary morphological layer on the level of etymological formation, involving a morpheme originally cognate with the terminative particle. Thus, we could here have cited such frequently encountered forms as OT *yaru* «on top of, on the top», as being a terminative on *yar*, but we have not done so, since *yar* itself is very possibly to be analyzed

they too can be cited in sufficient quantity to assure us that the forms authorized by the *SCP* are historically significant: *śaru* ← *śar* «east» (where WT would have *śar-du*) is attested in Thomas's Text VI, the great *Mo*-divination-handbook MS recovered by Stein from Tun-huang,[33] at line 149 (*AFL*, text, p. 128, tsl., p. 139); *slaru* ← *slar* «again», in the same MS at line 49 (*AFL*, pp. 122, 132),[34] and the same form *bis*, in Thomas's Text II, at line 21 (*AFL*, pp. 41, 42). Similarly relevant are the exactly equivalent *SCP*-authorized formations attested in the form of writings expanded over two syllables: *bcu.ru* ← *bcur* «obstruction»[35], again in the *Mo*-divination MS, at line 49 (*AFL*, pp. 122, 132), and the same form *bis* in the *Sum-pa Mother's Sayings*, Thomas's Text V, at line 36 (*AFL*, pp. 108, 110).[36]

2.4.3 Attestations from OT sources of terminatives on *-d* words that conform not to the norms of canonical WT but rather to the teaching of *SCP* śl. 8[6–7] are, like those on *-s*, far too numerous [37] to be rehearsed here *in toto*; a selection from among the many available, with documentation permitting verification of the same, must, and shall, suffice: *brgyadu* ← *brgyad* «eight», *AFL* p. 14, line 108; *skadu* ← *skad* «language», *AFL* p. 18, line 47 *bis*, and line 67; p. 47, line 30; *gludu* ← *glud* «(a stuffed effigy used as) a scapegoat»,[38] *AFL* p. 74, lines 290, 298; p. 75, line 323 *bis*; *stodu* ← *stod* «the upper, higher part or half of something», *AFL* p. 9, lines 15, 17; p.

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etymologically as *ya* «top» plus a suffix *-r* (for OT *yaru*, see *AFL*, p. 9, lines 1, 10, and 11). The same is true of *phiru*, var. *phi.ru* (*~ pyi.ru ~ byi-ru ~ phyi.ru*) «outside», which Thomas found «quite frequent» in his MSS (*AFL*, p. *17*, with, e.g., 8 cases in the first eleven lines of a single text, *AFL*, p. 9); but we have cited none of these cases, in view of the fact that *phir* may itself etymologically be **phi* + *r*. Also excluded from citation above are such forms as the *bdaru* of *AFL*, p. 41, line 29, because the meaning of the noun in question is obscure, even though the formation is clearly an OT terminative in accord with the *SCP*.

[33] Details will be found in *AFL*, p. 115 and note 2.

[34] The reading is *s[l]aru*, with the *l* restored; but the restoration is guaranteed by the context and sense of the passage. In *slar*, the *-r* may again possibly be a suffix on the level of etymology, in view of WT *slad* «hind part», and WT *slas* «retinue, train, attendants», suggesting that all these words originate in suffixation of various morphs to an original **sla*.

[35] More literally, «constriction»; for this noun (as distinguished from the homophonous verb), cf. H. A. Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 178b, where he registered *hjur-mig* «a wire-drawing plate», *i.e.*, a metal device with a narrow constriction through which wire or some similar object is drawn to render it of uniform size. In the definition of *bcur* in Chos-kyi-grags-pa, *Brtsams-paḥi brda-dag miñ-tshig gsal-ba* (Peking 1957), p. 239b, a rope or cord is thus treated *(ko thag ḥjur-mig-tu bcur-zin-pa ḥam draṅs-pa...)*, while the Chinese gloss to this passage has «leather thong» (皮條).

[36] It is interesting, in the light of the present discussion, to note that Thomas went so far in his edition as to «correct» this OT formation into proper WT in his note to *AFL*, p. 112, where he wrote, *bcur-ru(du)*.

[37] *AFL*, p. *27*, § (b) 2: «*d-du* is prevalently written compendiously as *du*».

[38] Since the *glud* represents not only a pre-Buddhist but also most likely a pre-Bon tradition and practice (*AFL*, pp. 32–33 and pp. 58–60), the survival of these pre-canonical linguistic forms in the powerful sociolinguistic context surrounding this extremely ancient as well as venerable belief and

10, line 20; *ridu* ← *rid* «poverty», *AFL* p. 17, line 9; *gudu* ← *gud* «separation», in the Tun-huang fragment of the OT *Law of Theft*.[39]

In sum, then, *SCP* śl. 8 teaches these non-canonical terminatives; the OT MSS attest them abundantly. In the face of this veritable throng of textual witnesses, who, one wonders, would continue to protest that «it is completely incredible that these forms» ever existed; or to accuse their MSS sources of being «unclear», miswritings, or mistakes; or further to impugn the ancient author(s) in whose elegant and economical grammatical treatise these forms find their plain, untrammeled description?

3. Three further facets of the question remain for brief summary: is it possible to explain the apparently enormous reluctance of, e.g., Y, to admit the overt sense of this text,[40] even in the face of the evidence; does arriving at a philologically sound, linguistically satisfactory reading of *SCP* śl. 8 — the goal of the present contribution — represent an issue of importance commensurate with the labor involved; and, finally, does this entire question teach us anything in connection with the broader avenues of Tibetology, over and above the narrow concerns of the historian of the grammatical tradition?

3.1.1 For the first of these three facets we can here only venture the briefest possible sketch of a reply; the full response will one day require a monograph. In the main, the observed reluctance apparently originates in the tendency of Western scholars, and their Japanese followers, to overlook, if not actually ignore, the internal structuring, and in particular the all-important features of internal rule-ordering, that distinguish the linguistic analysis of the *SCP*. With this there has gone a concomitant refusal to recognize this text's special linguistic devices and techniques; and from this in turn has grown the overwhelming reluctance to read the text for what it plainly says.

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institution of the *glud* is hardly either an accident or in the least surprising. In a word, here we find religious conservatism exactly paralleled by linguistic-morphological conservatism.

[39] Stein Ch. 88 vi, Catalogue No. 753, the only one of the five major fragments preserved from three different OT law texts (G. Uray, *The Old Tibetan Sources of the History of Central Asia Up to 751 A.D.: A Survey*, in: *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest 1979, p. 277 and note 4) ed. and tsl.: F. W. Thomas: *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 50 (1935–1936), p. 286, no. 10 (but we are forced to cite this last publication at second-hand, after Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang*, Paris 1940–46, p. 52, note (2), because the last-cited journal is not presently available to us here in Seattle).

[40] We single out Y for special mention, and contrast him with the Tibetan commentators, because while he has had available for inspection the evidence of the OT MSS, which is the critical issue in the argument, they of course did not, and so the Tibetan commentators could hardly have understood the historical value of the *SCP* formations. By the same token, it is greatly to Bacot's credit (see note 8 *supra*) that, even without extensive familiarity with the OT materials, he did, even in 1928, at once recognize the importance of the text at issue.

It was natural enough for the initial European explorations of this text[41] to concentrate mainly upon the c o n t e n t of the *SCP*, and virtually to ignore its devices and techniques of linguistic analysis, all the more so because these same devices and techniques — though far less involved and subtle than those of the Indic tradition upon which they were modeled — were nevertheless considerably more sophisticated and refined than anything known to the Western scholars who a generation ago first looked at the traditional Tibetan grammarians, and who as a consequence found most of the linguistic method — as distinct from the content — of this text virtually incomprehensible.

This in turn helps to explain why today, more than half a century after Schubert and Bacot, we still lack an integral account of how the *SCP* approaches its subject-matter, or even a scholarly consensus as to what that subject-matter is, or was. This content-orientation of the early European versions of the *SCP* was additionally exacerbated by their generally *ad hoc* approach to Tibetan grammatical terms; these were sometimes rendered literally (but seldom consistently), sometimes replaced by what were thought to be near European equivalents, and sometimes left intact. Even more debilitating was the tendency to ignore the internal structuring of the *SCP*, as clearly marked by its own syntax, which overtly divides the text into a number of major subordinate segments, each set off by the terminal enclitic *Qo*.[42] The earlier translators customarily ignored these indications of internal structure, even though they are essential to identifying the rule-ordered presentation that is central to the text's technique of analysis.

3.1.2 What we actually find in the *SCP* when we focus attention equally upon its linguistic devices and techniques as upon its content, and particularly when we observe the overtly marked syntactic divisions of the language of the original, is something alone the following lines: śl. 1–6[43] constitute the first of three major

[41] A comprehensive history-of-scholarship study of these explorations is long overdue; it would clarify how the Tibetan grammarians' tradition more or less surreptitiously entered the earliest European grammars (Csoma; Das), then how it was perceived by those who later approached it directly (Laufer, Schubert, and Bacot in particular). (Japanese scholarship's involvement with this question is more complex; partly it derives directly from Tibetan monastic traditions brought to Japan by scholar-explorers, partly from less original and less useful attempts to imitate European studies of the same subject.) At any rate, it is important to remember that only Bacot was bold enough to attempt an integral translation of the texts of the *SCP* and *RKHP* as such, isolated from their commentaries (*Les ślokas grammaticaux* . . . , pp. 76–83), for which he deserves great credit.

[42] *SGGT* 119^{b}, Enclitic 29, «the terminal particle, meaning ⟨termination of utterance⟩».

[43] We continue the tradition of numbering the ślokas, and we use the traditional numbers that form this system, even though doing so frequently flies in the face of the sense, not to mention the structure, of the *SCP*; hence the traditional numbers clearly cannot be of any significant antiquity. Incidentally, the general irrelevancy of this numbering anent the content and structure of the text provides excellent

subdivisions of the *SCP*. This section, hereafter «I», represents a necessary phonotactic prolegomenon to the remainder of the treatise. Its function is closely analogous to that of the *Śivasūtra* in Pāṇinian and other Indic grammatical systems, i.e., it arranges the phonemes of the language into ordered sets, each with a specific phonological inventory, such as will be useful in (as well as necessary for) the manipulation of the rules that will follow.[44] Second, śl. 7–25 constitute the second subdivision, hereafter «II», concerned with the morphology of both variable and invariable word- and syntactic-particles; these it describes by means of manipulations of the phonological sets previously arranged and specified in I. Finally, śl. 26–29 constitute a third, concluding subdivision, hereafter «III»; its concern is essentially non-grammatical and non-descriptive, and it is especially involved with the general question of the non-identity of *don* and *sgra*.[45] But even though this largely didactic III is thus not intimately connected with the technical-linguistic concerns of I and II,[46] it nevertheless contains cross-references to I (in śl. 28^3), and to II (in śl. 28^5).[47]

3.1.3 Most importantly, I specifies three linguistic devices (*rjes-hjug*, *sñon-hjug*, and *miñ-gźi*) and three linguistic techniques (*hjug-*, *sbyor-*, and *sbrel-*) that play major roles in the morphological manipulations taught in II. The last two of these three devices are terminologically interrelated with the first of these three manipulations; these are *rjes-hjug*, the *SCP*'s designation for a set of ten consonants, named as such in śl. 2^1, and identified in significant order as *g, ñ, d, n, b, m, ḥ, r, l, s* in śls. 3,4, and *sñon-hjug*, the *SCP*'s term for the five phonemes from within this larger set of ten that are used as prefixes in morph-initial position, these being in turn identified in significant order as *g, d, b, m, ḥ*.

Both *rjes-hjug* and *sñon-hjug* are terminological devices employed within the *SCP* system in order to facilitate that text's linguistic analysis along with its

internal evidence demonstrating that the title *SCP* cannot be understood to refer to «30 ślokas», and must instead refer to the thirty consonants of the language, resp., consonant graphs of the script.

[44] Cf. G. Cardona, *Studies in Indian Grammarians I. The Method of Description Reflected in the Śivasūtras* : *Transactions American Philosophical Soc.*, n.s., 59, Pt. 1, Philadelphia 1969, § 2.1, p. 12.

[45] See further our note 15 *supra*.

[46] In 1963 we held the ślokas constituting what now we refer to as III to be «a late non-grammatical accretion to the Ur-*SCP* (*SGTT* 8^b); since this is one of the very few points made then with which Y now agrees (Y p. 34 note 59), we regret all the more here having to alter our opinion on the matter. But the text above represents our present, more carefully considered view.

[47] Each of the three major subdivisions of the text further subdivides into a number of subsections (e.g., I into five such, 1 = śl. 1, ending in *-ḥo*; 2 = śl. 2, with a similarly-marked ending; 3 = śls. 3,4, which constitute a single continuous syntactic unit, despite their traditional separate numbering as 2 ślokas (this unit glosses 2^1); 4 = śl. 5, glossing 2^2; 5 = śl. 6, syntactically terminating I with the final-verb *min*, and content-wise by means of its negative proscriptive statements; similarly, thoughout the entire text, but the details must await a future occasion.

description, i.e., its ultimate function of teaching specific formations. Since both these devices function by exploiting routine lexical items along highly specialized, and artifically unvarying, semantic roles, they effectively constitute a variety of grammarians' m e t a l a n g u a g e. Common to both terms is the verb *ḥjug-;* as a routine lexical item *ḥjug-* is «go, walk in; enter» but in its metalanguage guise it must be understood as «appear, occur (of specifically designated phonemes)», not only in these two compounds, but also when, as frequently, *ḥjug-* is employed as a verb proper, describing or teaching a specific morphological process of the item-and-arrangement type, throughout the *SCP*.[48] Thus, *rjes-ḥjug* (with *rjes* «traces, marks left behind») becomes the metalanguage device by means of which the *SCP* is able to manipulate a s a s e t the ten consonant phonemes (listed above) that appear (*ḥjug-*) in morph-final position (this last being the metalanguage-significance of *rjes*), i.e., the *-g* of *ḥjug-*, the *-ḥ* of *dgaḥ*, the *-s* of *gñis*, etc. Similarly, *sñon-ḥjug* (with *sñon* routinely «before, beginning») facilitates manipulation of those five phonemes out of the larger set that not only appear in morph-final but that also appear as morph-prior prefixes, i.e., the *g-* of *gñis*, the *ḥ-* of *ḥjug-*, the *d-* of *dkar*, etc.

The categorization of a given phoneme in terms of whether or not it may be described to *ḥjug-* «appear, occur» is one of the key linguistic techniques in the *SCP*; it is also one of those techniques that has most frequently been misunderstood. The categorization of the ten consonant phonemes designed in *SCP* śls. 2^1, 3, 4 as *rjes-ḥjug*, in other words, identifies these units as potential occurrences in the *rjes* or morph-final position; the categorization of the five from within this larger set as *sñon-ḥjug* (śls. 2^2, 5) similarly identifies these in turn as potentially occurring in the *sñon* or morph-prefix position. But *rjes-ḥjug* and *sñon-ḥjug* have generally been misread in the West (and in Japanese scholarship as well) as if they were terms that *meant* suffix, or affix, or prefix, which they clearly are not.

Equally important in the *SCP*'s metalanguage is the verb *sbyor-*, routinely «fasten, stick to», but as metalanguage «affix». As such, it is especially important to contrast *sbyor-* with *ḥjug-*: the first is used in the *SCP* to describe morphological accretion or addition, the second instead for occurrence plain and simple. That the *SCP* treats these as two different devices is demonstrated at śl. 6^3, where the text categorically mentions both in a canon of negative prescription. This same śl. 6, at the first line, also introduces the third important item in the *SCP* metalanguage lexicon for the description of techniques of morphological manipulation: *sbrel-*, routinely «stitch, fasten», but here «to perform an improper or unauthorized

[48] At the same time, the rich tantristic play-of-metaphor inherent in the metalanguage-employment of both *ḥjug-* (cf. *bud-med-la ḥjug-* «lie with, sleep with a woman, Jäschke, *Dict.*, 117[b]) and *sbyor-* (cf. *dbaṅ-po gñis-kyi sbyor-* «membrorum amborum conjunctionem efficere», and *bud-med-la sbyor-ba byed-* «effectuate coition with a woman», *loc. cit.*, p. 406[b]) merits study in the light of other tantristic, Vajrayanist elements in these texts (*SGTT* 47).

morphological accretion», particularly in specific contrast with *sbyor-*, which relates only to possible and hence permitted ones. Thus, *ḥjug-* «occur» is a static term for the objective description of what does or does not occur in a morph; *sbyor-* and *sbrel-* are active terms for the subjective description of manipulations that may or may not be performed.

Similarly critical is an understanding of the metalanguage employment of *gnas-*, routinely «abide, dwell», which in the *SCP*'s metalanguage signifies «(a phoneme) occurs (as a segment of a morpheme)». In any consideration of a morphological question, we know that phomeme *x* occurs somewhere, specifically somewhere in a given morpheme *y*, only because we encounter, or observe it, in our inspection (whether visual, or aural) of the said morpheme; accordingly, *gnas-*, in its *SCP* metalanguage employment, might about as well, if a trifle freely, be translated (and understood) as «encounter». No matter how we render this term, what is essential is to understand how the analytic and descriptive techniques of the *SCP* distinguish between *ḥjug-*, which archetypically applies to the occurrence of phonemes in one or more phonological sets (typically the partially overlapping sets *rjes-ḥjug* and *sñon-ḥjug*), and *gnas-*, which applies to the occurrence of phonemes — whether members of sets or not — in specified locations within the confines — and generally at one extremity or another — of a morpheme. This differentiation is, it should also be noted, marked not only in the way these two terms are employed in the text, but also in the figure of speech that each embodies: *ḥjug-* «enter» has clear semantic reference to membership in a set, but *gnas-* «dwell, abide» to location *vis-à-vis* morpheme boundaries.[49]

Finally, *SCP* I at śl. 6 introduces the metalanguage designation *miñ-gźi*[50] «word-bases», which it implicitly defines (*loc. cit.*) as a set of twenty phonemes remaining when from the total inventory of thirty consonants (śl. 1[3]) the ten *rjes-ḥjug* are deleted; and it is against uncanonical combinations of two or more of these twenty *miñ-gźi* with or without vowels that the negative prescriptions of śl. 6 warn.[51]

3.1.4 Of particular importance throughout any consideration of the *SCP* devices and techniques, and of the metalanguage in which they are framed, is the principle

[49] By the same token, that *gnas-* finds its almost exclusive employment as metalanguage in *SCP* śl. 8 ceases to be anomalous and instead becomes a significant item of data now that we understand the special historical-linguistic time- and text-stratum to which this śloka must necessarily be referred.

[50] Even a term such as *miñ-gźi* may be somewhat deceptive in its apparent simplicity; again with this expression we very well have to reckon with metalanguage invoking a tantristic metaphor, cf. *g-yañ-gźi* «an orgie in *Tantric* mysticism, for which a stuffed human skin is said to be required; the whole skin of an antelope on which religious men sit» (*AFL*, pp. 33, 59).

[51] Meanwhile, the metalanguage employment and implications of a number of nouns not discussed here, esp. *mthaḥ*, represents another critical area in the special devices and techniques of the *SCP* that must also await future exploration.

of rule-ordering, especially as it affects the various major subdivisions of the text, the relationship of which to one another is neither fortuitous, nor capricious, nor haphazard. II takes the devices and techniques, along with the metalanguage, of I as givens. This means that when II employs any of the items in question, its statements must always be read as having immediate cross-reference back to I. But for its own purposes, which are morphological-descriptive, II a d d i t i o n a l l y introduces and employs further devices and techniques; and these must be kept separate from the *śiva-sūtra*-like materials of I. The single greatest misunderstanding of the *SCP* on the part of both modern Western and Japanese scholars has been to lump together the *śiva-sūtra*-like, i.e., the phonological and set-related metalanguage, of I with the morphological-manipulatory metalanguage of II, as if these two were interchangeable, or little more than carelessly employed synonyms for one another, or perhaps even «elegant variation». The details of this problem would here take us too far afield; for the present, suffice it to say that this totally erroneous assumption has made a consistent reading of the *SCP* as an integrated whole virtually impossible. But as soon as we perceive how and why I and II employ different metalanguage for their different linguistic goals, the essential problem of the entire text is clarified — as also are, finally, at least a few of the major reasons that apparently underlie the persistent reluctance — in certain scholarly circles — to read, and to understand śl. 8 simply for what it is and for what it plainly says.

3.2 The second facet need not detain us as long as the first: a satisfactory reading of śl. 8 is surely important enough to justify any amount of philological effort necessary to establish it, if only because a satisfactory reading of this passage — in particular, a reading that casts it into a necessarily direct nexus with our OT MSS sources, and at the same time a reading that deftly sunders this portion of the *SCP* from the received canon of WT — cannot but yield rich fruit for our continuing search after historical criteria with which to date the *SCP*, and eventually to orient this text within the early Tibetan grammatical tradition — even one might hope one day to relocate with more precision that same tradition within the history of Tibet, as well as of Central Asia.[52] Disguising the immediate relevance of śl. 8 for the pre-

[52] One remarks, e.g., the commendable caution with which G. Uray, *The Old Tibetan Sources of the History of Central Asia up to 751 A.D.: A Survey : Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest 1979, pp. 275–304, refrains even from mentioning the existence of the *SCP* and *RKHP*, even though the *SSBP* and *Mhv.* rightly find at least passing notice in his account (p. 289 note 27, and p. 302). Either the long-standing Tibetan tradition concerning the antiquity of these two texts is totally without foundation — which certainly does not appear to be the case — or else they too deserve mention in connection with the «various special texts . . . preserved . . . [a]mong the monuments of Old Tibetan literature» (Uray, *op. cit.*, p. 302, § 10). This means that the task of restoring these two texts to their proper status within the ranks of Old Tibetan literary monuments is in and of itself something that justifies any philological labor necessary to forward our understanding of what these

canonical forms of OT attested in our now-known MSS remains — and this seems to have been Y's goal —not only obscures the plain sense of the text; it also threatens to obliterate precious internal evidence for dating at least one portion of the *SCP*. That such internal evidence must play the major role in eventually establishing the historical identity of the *SCP* (as well as that of the *RKHP*) was already apparent in 1963; it has only become all the more clear in recent years, thanks to Vogel's[53] estimable edition and painstaking translation[54] of the tenth chapter of the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-baḥi me-loṅ* (hereafter: *Glr.*), with its important early account of the inception of Tibetan script and orthography. Despite the conviction with which the oft-cited[55] account of these same undertakings in the ecclesiastic history of Bu-ston (1290–1364) associates both the *SCP* and the *RKHP* with Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, the *Glr.* of 1328 *sqq.*[56] knows nothing of either text, nor does its account of the linguistic labors of «Thon-mi Sambhoṭa» establish even the slightest familiarity on the part of the *Glr.*'s author, Bsod-nams rgyal-mthsam (1312–1375), with the metalanguage of either of these two early treatises, not even with the basic

texts say and how they say it. Similarly cautious was Uray on an earlier occasion (*The Narrative of Legislation* . . ., p. 57 note 120), where he passed in significantly scrupulous silence over the linguistic-historical implications of the mention of a «Thon-mi Sambhoṭa» at first place in the list of the «hundred councillors» *(blon-po brgya)* who «levelled social differences» *(bar-gyi khod snoms)*, with which the third of the three passages that proceeds the *Glr.*'s account proper of legislation begins; here too, one must ask — even though the question cannot at present be fully and satisfactorily answered — is this the same «Thon-mi Sambhoṭa» to whom the *SCP* and *RKHP* were later attributed? If so, then how did that attribution — obviously unknown to the author of the *Glr.*, and also to the earlier sources underlying his account — arise; if not, then who *is* he?

[53] Claus Vogel, *Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa's Mission to India and Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po's Legislation, Being the tenth chapter of bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan's rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loṅ : Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Phil. hist. Kl.*, 1981, Nr. 1, 49 pp.

[54] Somewhat greater attention to details of a linguistic nature would, however, even further have enhanced the value of Vogel's translation. For example, on p. 26, *yi-geḥi sgra* is translated «the literary language,» and this is explained, but not documented, on the same page, note 6, as «meaning Sanskrit». If this rendering can be substantiated by philological evidence, such evidence should have been cited; without it — and Vogel offers none — one would certainly from the sense of the passage as well as from the meanings of the words, opt rather for «the sounds, powers of the letters, of the script». Similarly unconvincing, in the absence of substantiating evidence, is his translation, at p. 33, of *tshig dbyaṅs yig rnams* as «the syllable and vowel signs», a reading rendered more, not less, puzzling by his explanation in note 59, «I.e., consonant».

[55] E.g., *SGTT* 2[b] with note 9.

[56] Vogel, . . . *Mission to India* . . ., pp. 3–5. Against this consensus for dating the *Glr.*, Yamaguchi Zuihō, *'Sho'ōtōshi meishikyō' no chosha to seiritsunen* : *Tōyō Gakuhō* 60: 1–2 (1978), pp. 1–19, suggests that understanding the date of compilation in the *Glr.* colophon, *sa pho ḥbrug* «earth-male-dragon», as a copyist's error for *sa pho sprel* «earth-male-monkey», i.e., 1368, and rewriting the text accordingly, would «solve all problems» — as indeed would also the *ad libitum* rewriting of any and all texts, if such capricious alteration of sources were ever to be countenanced.

śiva-sūtra-like sets of *SCP* I, e.g., instead of *sñon-ḥjug*, the *Glr.* speaks of *ḥphul yig* «prefixed letters»,[57] and further indulges itself in such totally non-*SCP* devices as categorizing letters, i.e., phonemes, as *ma* «mothers» and *bu* «sons»[58] — but at the same time, the *Glr.* betrays no trace of the *SCP*'s highly distinctive *āli, kāli* dichotomy, with its rich tantristic associations.[59] Thus, Vogel's new version of this text further confirms what we already had substantial grounds for suspecting: the historians can tell us little or nothing about the history of the *SCP* and *RKHP* because, in the main, they knew little about them, not always even being familiar with the texts themselves — the case with the *Glr.*[60] Y's claim that the *Madhyavyutpatti (= Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa, SSBP)* notices the *SCP* and *RKHP* immediately collapses of its own weight under scrutiny;[61] more important, and still largely unexplored, are the passages where parallels in expression and

[57] Vogel, ... *Mission to India*..., text, p. 15, translation, p. 28, = *SGTT* text, p. 89, translation, p. 91, both at line 14; but *ḥphul yig lña* as a designation for the set *g, d, b, m, ḥ* is a purely descriptive term involving neither the special devices of metalanguage nor tantristic traces of metaphor, and as such clearly distinct from the *SCP*'s *sñon-ḥjug*.

[58] This the *Glr.* chapter ten does twice: first, in alluding only to *maḥi sde-tshan* «mother(-like?) class (of letters)» (this in a turgid, and probably, with Vogel, a somewhat corrupt passage, see text his p. 14, translation, pp. 27–28); the second time, with reference to *yi-ge bu* and *yi-ge ma* «letter sons, letter mothers» (Vogel, text p. 15; his translations, p. 28, are paraphrases, and probably too free, as «affiliated, parent letters»). Vogel's suggestion, p. 27 note 14, that the *Glr.* is somehow here making reference to Skt. *mātṛkā* as a designation for the fourteen vowels plus Anusvāra and Visarga is not without merit, even though it would not take us any great distance back into time (the *Petersburger Wörterbuch* citation he offers leads us only to late Upanishadic sources), nor does it get us any closer in touch with the Indic grammatical tradition (pointing as it does rather in the direction of even later Śaivite lore). All these questions remain open; but rather than *mātṛkā* as a designation for the sixteen phonemes identified with the «16 göttlichen Müttern», one suspects that the designation of the entire alphabet, or of parts of it, as *mātṛkākṣara* (cf. G. Bühler, *On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet*², 1895, reprinted Varanasi 1963, p. 27 sqq.) offers a somewhat better hint of what lies behind *yi-ge ma* at least. And in general, the possibility of the *Glr.* here transmitting a late 14th century (or earlier) Tibetan calque of the Chinese distinction and terminology *tzu-mu* 子母 «sons, mothers = consonants, vowels» (*SGTT* 93) remains not without value for future investigations.

[59] Again, these Vajrayāna-metaphor metalanguage expressions, with their tantristic adumbrations, are significantly unknown to the *Glr.*, as also to the *SSBP* and *Mhv.* (*SGTT* 138 sqq.).

[60] This same chapter ten as translated now by Vogel could have been made to yield up rather more primary data concerning early Tibet if the translator had taken into account in his work the enormously important and far-reaching text-critical findings anent this section of the *Glr.* achieved a decade ago by G. Uray, *The Narrative of Legislation* ..., p. 54 sqq. This was (and is!) a basic study to which, astonishingly, Vogel never once has had recourse. Like Vogel's over-free paraphrases of linguistic terms already noted *supra*, his lack of attention to much previously published literature in European languages (and to the entire body of publications in Japanese), in which Uray's *opus* is merely the most striking example, seriously inhibits the utility of his study.

[61] See our paper, *Thon-mi Sambhoṭa and His Grammatical Treatises Reconsidered*, pp. 193–205 in E. Steinkellner & H. Tauscher, eds., *Contributions*..., Heft 10, Wien, 1983.

content between the *SSBP* on the one hand and the *SCP* and *RKHP* on the other may indicate that all three in part at least do go back to some (now probably lost) earlier common original.[62] In the meantime, a correct reading of such difficult passages as śl. 8 is of great importance particularly because the Tibetan historians have so little to tell us on this entire issue: in our future pursuit of the history of these linguistic treatises, and of the grammatical tradition behind them, we must almost entirely rely upon the internal evidence preserved in the texts themselves.[63] And this means in turn that every shred and scrap of that evidence is particularly precious: none of it may be permitted to be carelessly cast away.

3.3 Finally, the third facet, which may be treated most briefly, even though it is the most important. Surely by this time there can be little doubt that, over and above the admittedly rather narrow concerns of the historian of the grammatical tradition in Tibet, further responsible exploration of the linguistic devices and techniques of the *SCP* — exemplified for the moment by our concern for establishing a satisfactory reading for śl. 8, but by no means to be limited to this passage — has much to teach Tibetology, and not Tibetology alone: even the historian of linguistic science in general probably has something to learn from this study. At the very least, it can effectively work to save us from the folly of a Whitney, who less than a century ago, arrogant beyond all belief in New Haven, denigrated Pāṇini's grammar as «abounding in errors, both of omission and commission», and also as being couched in a form «which is one that no sensible man should ever have chosen . . .».[64] Today we read these fulminations with what amounts to disbelief; especially improbable appear Whitney's severe castigations of forms taught by Pāṇini — and used by Kālidāsa *et al.*: — as «horrible barbarisms, offenses against the proprieties of the universal Indo-European speech . . . no matter who authorizes

[62] E.g., the obvious parallel between Abschnitt 20 of the 814 edict of Khri Lde-sroñ-btsan, that has been transmitted as the foreword to the *SSBP* (as numbered and studied in *ITS*, p. 255), and *SCP* śl. 12.

[63] E.g., G. Uray, *The Narrative of Legislation . . .*, p. 34 note 86 (and again in *The Annals of the 'A-Za Principality, the Problems of Chronology and Genre of the Stein Document, Tun-huang, vol. 69, fol. 84 : Proceedings of the Csoma De Kőrös Memorial Symposium . . . 24–30 September 1976*, Budapest 1978, p. 563) has pointed out that «[t]he early Old Tibetan language does not seem to have known ordinal numerals distinguished from the cardinal numerals by the suffix *-pa*, as in the Buddhist translations at the end of the 8th c. and at the beginning of the 9th c. . . . the suffix *-pa* was inserted into the translations only in the course of the Great Revision after 814», and he supports this view with a large number of pre- and post-revision texts available in *ITS*, passim., which he additionally cites in detail. This being true, it would then provide us with an important, and not yet discussed, criterion for dating the many sections of the *SCP* where the employment of the ordinals is crucial and critical to the sense of the text. Another possibility for internal dating is provided by the word *miñ*, a general term in the *SCP* that can hardly be other than a loan from Chinese *ming* 名 (*SGTT* 13–15).

[64] G. Cardona, *Studies in Indian Grammarians, I, Pāṇini, A Survey of Research*, p. 239.

them . . .».[65] «Whitney . . . was totally unsympathetic and arrogant: he did not like what he saw in Pāṇini because it did not agree with his concept of grammar or Sanskrit, hence he rejected it outright.»[66] Before we, with e.g. Y, similarly make the mistake of assuming that the author(s) of the *SCP* were not sensible, and that this text abounds in errors, and that we are entitled to reject it outright merely because it does not agree with our concept of what it should be or say, we will do well to remember how absurd a Whitney's imprecations strike the Indologist — as well as any serious linguist — today. Even like Csoma, we are all very much still in the process of learning to understand what it is that «the grammatical works to be met with in Tibet» have to say, and how it is that they will continue to teach and edify us during the years ahead.

[65] *Op. cit.*, p. 240.
[66] *Op. cit.*, p. 237.

TSHE-DBAṄ-NOR-BU'S CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE EARLY TRANSMISSION OF THE *BI MA SÑIṄ THIG*

BY

RAMON PRATS (Naples)

Kaḥ-thog *Rig-'dzin* Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu Rdo-rje-dpal-'bar (1698–1755), from Lower Mdo, was undoubtedly one of the greatest luminaries and polymaths in Tibetan culture. The scholarly concerns of this Rñiṅ-ma-pa incarnate master, full evidenced in his bulky *opera omnia*, ranged over Buddhist thought and practice, religious and royal history, antiquities, etc.

Indefatigable traveller, his reputation spread all over Tibet and adjacent Himālayan countries (Sikkim, Nepal, Ladakh), where he undertook restoration work of ancient monuments and shrines, like the stūpas of Bodhnāth and Swayambhūnāth in Kathmandu Valley, and founded a small number of new religious establishments.

Also renowned as a statesman, at the age of fifty-four he was commissioned to act as mediator to settle a quarrel between the kings of Upper and Lower Ladakh (Mulbek and Leh). His success in that affair led him to another intervention, this time to reconcile the petty kingdoms of Gorkha and Kathmandu, shortly before his demise at Skyid-groṅ, Maṅ-yul, on the Tibeto-Nepalese border.[1]

[1] No thorough study in Western language has hitherto been made on this outstanding figure; still, the following bibliography deserves to be mentioned: Richardson, Hugh E., *A Tibetan Antiquarian in the XVIIIth Century: Bulletin of Tibetology*, IV, 3 (1967), 5–8. Smith, E. Gene (not signed): *Preface* to Vol. I of *Selected Writings of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu*, reproduced from MSS. from Hemis Monastery in Ladakh, Darjeeling W.B., 1973. Petech, Luciano: *The Kingdom of Ladakh — c. 950–1842 A.D.*, Rome 1977, 103–108. For a detailed contents of an incomplete collection of Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu's literary production see: *The Collected Works (gsuṅ-'bum) of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Chen-po Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu*, Vols. I–VI, reproduced from the manuscript set preserved in the Library of Tibetan Works & Archives in Dharamsala, Dalhousie, H.P., 1976. In Tibetan, apart from the autobiographical and biographical material included in the just mentioned collectanea, some succint sketches of the life of Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu can be found scattered in several texts, as may be instanced by *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, III, 70a–71b, and *Gter rnam*, 167b–169a. An excellent by-year biography of him was composed by *'Jam-dbyaṅs* Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbaṅ-po (1820–1892), as an epitome of a full-length *rnam-thar* compiled by *Sprul-sku* Byaṅ-chub-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge Blo-gros-rnam-par-snaṅ-ba, on the basis of Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu's assorted writings (*žal-gsuṅ thor-bu*), and entitled *Dpal rig 'dzin tshe dbaṅ nor bu'i rnam par thar pa'i gtam 'dzam gliṅ dga' bar byed pa'i rna rgyan* (? fols. 141). This biography by Mkhyen-brtse forms part of his *Mtshan tho* (118a–132a), reproduced along with other titles as *Mkhyen-brtse On the History of the Dharma*, in *Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod Series*, Vol. 39, Leh (Ladakh) 1972.

Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu's eclectic interests included chronology, the subject to which the minor work dealt with in this paper belongs. The brief text in question bears no title,[2] and was written in 1746, during the period — ca. 1742–1752 — when the main body of his production on astrology and chronology was written, as evinced by the data derived from the colophons of his *gsuṅ-'bum*.[3]

These *Notes* consider some historical events that stand out in the scriptural transmission *(ñe-brgyud gter-ma)*,[4] up to Žaṅ-ston Bkra-śis-rdo-rje (1097–1167), of the *Bi ma Sñiṅ thig* series, likewise called *Gsaṅ ba Sñiṅ thig*.[5] This is one of the two doctrinal streams of the *Rdzogs chen Sñiṅ thig* precepts,[6] the prominence of which in the sphere of the Rñiṅ-ma-pa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism needs scarcely to be remarked upon.

Like many Tibetan treatises of the *bstan-rtsis* (religious chronology) genre, the system of reckoning time here used is based on the date of Buddha Śākyamuni's attainment of Nirvāṇa.[7] But since in the present context Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu makes no preliminary statement on that basic date,[8] this must be ascertained by counting backwards from an historically established one. In our case, this *terminus ad quem* is Žaṅ-ston's rediscovery of the *Gsaṅ ba Sñiṅ thig* cycle, in 1117 A.D., that happened, according to the author, 1568 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa [henceforth A.B.N.]. Thus, 451 B.C. would correspond to the zero year of the Buddhist era.[9]

[2] These chronological notes (henceforth *Notes*) constitute section *Sī* (fols. 3; pp. 643–647) in Vol. IV *(Ña)* of *The Collected Works* referred to in the previous note.

[3] See list of contents of Vol. IV of *The Collected Works*.

[4] The *gter-ma* or scriptural transmission is one of the three traditional systems *(bka'-srol)* of passing on the Teachings, peculiar to the Rñiṅ-ma-pa belief. Cf. R. Prats, *Contributo allo studio biografico dei primi* gter-ston, Naples 1982 [= *Contributo*], 38 n. 19.

[5] See *Gter rnam*, 45a: «. . . *gsaṅ ba sñiṅ thig chen mo'am bi ma sñiṅ thig tu grags pa* . . .» This passage is found in Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal's hagiography. See notes 32 and 50, below.

[6] The other series is the *Padma Sñiṅ thig*, that originated from Padmasambhava. Cf. Prats, *Contributo*, 47 n. 11.

[7] Alternative systems of reckoning time devised by Tibetan historians are mentioned, e.g., in C. Vogel, *On Tibetan Chronology: Central Asiatic Journal*, IX (1964), [224–238] 224–225.

[8] Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu elaborated his own, and reviewed other's computations on this topic in his general works on the chronology of Buddhism. They chiefly are those marked *Khī* and *Lī*, in Vol. IV of his collected works.

[9] Several, and quite divergent, reckonings on the date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa have been propounded by Tibetan scholars of all ages. This fact was already noticed and pointed out by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös in his *Epoch of the death of Shakya, according to different authorities*, an appendix to *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language in English*, Calcutta 1834, 199–202. A larger and more detailed survey of the various dates given for the Enlightenment of the Buddha is that made by A. Macdonald, *Préambule à la lecture d'un* Rgya-Bod yig-chaṅ: *Journal Asiatique*, CCLII, 1 (1963), [53–159] 64, 66–70.

Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu is here concerned mainly with ascertaining the exact year of the Sexagenary Cycle *(rab-byuṅ)* in correspondence with the year 1568 A.B.N. just referred to. He discusses in this connection the hypothesis put forward by certain unspecified «few writings», according to which Žaṅ-ston's rediscovery took place in a Water-Bird year, instead of the widely-accepted Fire-Bird one.[10]

This last assumption is firmly supported above all by Žaṅ-ston's own record of the successive masters in the transmission lineage of the *Gsaṅ ba Sñiṅ thig* cycle, from Vimalamitra (8th c.) to his own days. Moreover, Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu cites, as confirmation, though without naming them, the testimony of the savants of the ancient tradition, drawn from a number of texts still extant in his time. These texts refer that Žaṅ-ston was born in a Fire-Ox year (1097 A.D.), and recovered those concealed treasury troves in a Fire-Bird year (1117 A.D.), at the age of twenty-one (less *Tibetico*).[11] Another source backing this assertion is a non-specified work by Dbus-ston, one of the personal disciples of Žaṅ-ston.[12]

There is an inconsistent application in these *Notes* by Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu, of the *Tibetico* year. That is to say, in contrast to Western chronology, the extra year that Tibetans count by taking into consideration both the first and last years of all computed dates.

[10] Here follows that part of the *Notes* regarding the main considerations and final calculations proposed by the author: (fol. 2b) «. . . *žaṅ ston bkra śis rdo rjes 'o yug nub ma'i brag nas gsaṅ ba sñiṅ thig gis* (sic for *gi*) skor gter nas thon te | *de'i dus saṅs rgyas mya ṅan las 'das nas lo stoṅ daṅ lṅa brgya drug cu rtsa brgyad lon par dgoṅs so* | *bi ma la bod du phebs pa nas 'di yi bar gyi lo graṅs bla ma dam pa rim par byon pa yi gsuṅ sprul pa'i sku žaṅ ston bkra śis rdo rjes bkod pa ltar te* | *'di la yi ge cuṅ zad mi 'dra ba snaṅ yaṅ* | *gžan yid ches phyir da lta dpe rgyun maṅ du gnas pa las btus pa yin la* | *žaṅ ston de ñid me glaṅ la 'khruṅs lo ñer gcig me bya la gter ston žes sṅa 'gyur gyi gzigs pa yaṅs po rnams kyi* (sic for *kyis*) *gsuṅ žiṅ* | *gter me bya la bton pa ni žaṅ gi dṅos slob dbus ston gyis byas pa'i yi ger yaṅ snaṅ bas yid ches kyi gnas so* | *de tshe saṅs rgyas kyi 'das lo goṅ gi stoṅ daṅ lṅa brgya re drug soṅ ba ni* | *chu byar yoṅ bas de la so drug 'bri'am ñer bži bsnan na me bya daṅ 'grig la* | *'phris pa'i* (fol. 3a) *phyogs de 'thas* (sic for *'thad*) *śas che bar sems so* | *me bya de nas lo že gcig 'das pa'i sa stag la* | *žaṅ ston de gñis* (sic for *ñid*) *kyi sras ñi ma 'bum 'khruṅs śiṅ* | *lo der diṅ ri glaṅ 'khor dam pa'i gdan sa ba phyar chuṅ gśegs pa daṅ* | *bder gśegs rdo rje rgyal gyi* (sic for *gyis*) *phag grur dgon pa mdzad pa rnams dus mtshuṅs par śes so* | *des na goṅ gi me bya de nas da lta'i me stag bar la lo drug brgya daṅ sum cu soṅ bas* | *de lo stoṅ daṅ lṅa brgya re brgyad la byin pas ñis stoṅ chig brgya go brgyad* | *de la ñer bži bsnan pa na* | *ñis stoṅ gñis brgya ñer gñis daṅ* | *so drug phris pas* (sic for *pa*) *na gñis* (sic for *ñis*) *stoṅ chig brgya drug cu rtsa bži 'gro'o* |».

[11] *BA*, 193–194, supplies the same dates, and adds that Žaṅ-ston died in a Fire-Pig year, at the age of seventy-one (less *Tibetico;* 1167 A.D.). On *Sprul-sku* Žaṅ-ston Bkra-śis-rdo-rje see *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205b–207a. A practically verbatim copy of this brief hagiography of Žaṅ-ston (like those of Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal and Lce-btsun Seṅ-ge-dbaṅ-phyug found in the same text) appears in *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 110a–111b, with the sole addition of the cycle-year of his birth. Herein, the aforementioned biographical dates anent Žaṅ-ston are ratified. Furthermore, the exact date of his passing away, which reputedly occurred amidst a wonderful manifestation of uncanny signs of his sanctity, is given in detail: the 22nd day of the 4th month *(sa-ga zla-ba)* of a Fire-Pig year (*Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 206b). Cf. note 48, below.

[12] On Žaṅ-ston's students I have found no supplementary information in any of the works consulted. A certain Dbu-ru *Ston-pa* Śākya-'od (? alias Śākya-bzaṅ-po), the charismatic embodiment of both *(zuṅ-*

The *Notes* also assert that that working date (i.e. Fire-Bird year [of the 2nd *rab-byuṅ*]) is further confirmed by some historical occurrences, like the birth of Žaṅ-ston's son, Ñi-ma-'bum,[13] forty-one years after the Fire-Bird year of above (i.e. 1158 A.D.), in the same year as the decease of Phyar-chuṅ, the *Gdan-sa-pa* of Glaṅ-'khor, Diṅ-ri,[14] and the foundation of the Phag-mo-gru Monastery by Rdo-rje-rgyal-po.[15]

Yet, Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu contemplates that hypothetical Water-Bird year, and wonders which one might be right: *a)* the Water-Bird year which occurs thirty-six years later in the *rab-byuṅ*, after the established Fire-Bird year; or *b)* that one predating it by twenty-four years. He favours the former supposition.[16]

After having pointed out that six hundred and thirty years had passed from that Fire-Bird year (1568 A.B.N.; 1117 A.D.) to the Fire-Tiger one (2198 A.B.N.; 1746 A.D.)[17] when he wrote these *Notes*, the author ends by returning to hypotheses *a)* and *b)*. In so doing, he emphasizes that according to *a)* that Fire-Tiger year would correspond to 2164 (to be corrected to 2162) A.B.N., while according to *b)* it would result in 2222 A.B.N.[18]

As far as the date 1568 A.B.N. — the cornerstone of Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu's calculations — is concerned, he obtained it through the addition of the years

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'jug) Lo-chen Vairocana and Laṅ-gro Dkon-mchog-'byuṅ-gnas, is recorded in *Gter rnam* as being born sometime between 1027 and 1086 A.D., viz. during the 1st Sexagenary Cycle. Yet, no mention is made there to Žaṅ-ston (1097–1167) thereby we have no datum at all but contemporaneity to enhance the hypothesis that Dbu-ru *Ston-pa* Śākya-'od might be identified with Dbus-ston. On the former see *BA*, 120–130, 1005; Prats, *Contributo*, 32 n. 13.

[13] *Mkhas-pa* Ñi-ma-'bum (1158–1213) was entrusted by his father with the *Bi ma Sñiṅ thig* precepts, which in his turn he passed on to his own son *Gu-ru* Jo-'bar (1196–1231). On Ñi-ma-'bum see *BA*, 194–195, and *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 207ab (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 111b–112a), where he is said to have been a student of *Sa-skya-pa* Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216), too.

[14] For occasional references to Phyar-chuṅ, one of the chief disciples of the Indian *Mahāsiddha* Pha *Dam-pa* Saṅs-rgyas, see *BA*, 913, 914, 915, 947.

[15] The monastery of Phag-mo-gru, properly denominated Gdan-sa Mthil/Thel, in Dbus, was the first great religious complex of the whole Bka'-brgyud-pa tradition. It was founded in 1158 by *'Gro-mgon* Phag-mo-gru-pa Rdo-rje-rgyal-po (1110–1170), from whom the Bka'-brgyud-pa school bearing his name originated. He was also to become the spiritual father of the eight lesser branches of that tradition. See *BA*, 552–563. Cf. A. Ferrari, *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* (compl. and ed. by L. Petech, with the coll. of H. Richardson), Rome 1958 [= *Guide*], 120–121 n. 195.

[16] Those two Water-Bird years would correspond to 1093 and 1153 A.D. respectively. That is:
a) 1153 − 36 = 1117 A.D.
b) 1093 + 24 = 1117 A.D.

[17] Fol. 3a. A gap of one year must be considered for the conversion into Western dates. Cf. note 9, above.

[18] *a)* 2198 − 36 = 2162 A.B.N.
b) 2198 + 24 = 2222 A.B.N.

elapsed between a series of remarkable events in the transmission of the *Bi ma Sñiṅ thig*, from the point of departure constituted by the arrival of Vimalamitra in Tibet.

In the *Notes*, these relevant data are preceded by short items on the earliest teachers of the Rdzogs-chen tradition of Buddhism, whose historicity raises a good deal of problems.[19]

An almost integral free rendering of the *Notes* (fols. 1a–2b) follows:

*

* 360 A.B.N. [91 B.C.]
Birth *(byuṅ)* of *Sprul-sku* Dga'-rab-rdo-rje at Dhanakośa, in the country of [King] Thor-cog-can of Uḍḍiyāna, west of Rdo-rje-gdan [today's Bodhgayā].[20]

* 544 A.B.N. [93 A.D.]
Dga'-rab-rdo-rje entered the «ultimate experience of Absolute Reality»,[21] after bestowing the Teachings to 'Jam-dpal-bśes-gñen.

* 830 A.B.N. [379 A.D.]
Mahācārya 'Jam-dpal-bśes-gñen transmitted the Teachings to Śrī Siṅha, and he too entered the «ultimate experience of Absolute Reality».[22]

[19] For a history of the transmission of the *Rdzogs chen Sñiṅ thig* precepts, from Dga'-rab-rdo-rje onwards, see *BA*, 167–168, 191–203. Biographical sketches of the principal masters in that spiritual lineage are given in: E. M. Dargyay, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*, Delhi 1977, 18–26, 44–48, 54–61; Tarthang Tulku, *A History of the Buddhist Dharma: Crystal Mirror*, V (1977), 180–195, 247–260; R. Prats, *The Spiritual Lineage of the Dzogchen Tradition*, in *Tibetan Studies* (ed. by M. Brauen & P. Kvaerne), Zurich 1978, 199–207; Prats, *Contributo*, 45–52.

[20] King Thor-cog-can of Uḍḍiyāna, the holy kingdom roughly identified with present-day Swāt Valley (Pakistan), is none other than Padmasambhava, as confirmed by the following verses from a *gter-ma* of Byaṅ-chub-gliṅ-pa:

O rgyan padma rgyal po yis :
rgyal po'i sras mdzad rgyal srid skyoṅ :
o rgyan rgyal khams bde la bkod :
rgyal po thor cog can žes grags :

Found in fol. 3b of *O rgyan bka' nan rab brjid don grub* (fols. 12), No. 11, Vol. *Pi* of *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo* (Dpal-spuṅs ed.).

These verses were kindly brought to my attention by Prof. Namkhai Norbu.

[21] *Chos-ñid zad-pa* is the last of the *snaṅ-bži*, the four stages of visionary experience that constitute the path of the realization practices of Rdzogs-chen. In the present context it is also a metaphoric term standing for the supreme achievement of the «rainbow body» *('ja'-lus)*. Cf. Prats, *Contributo*, 46–47 n. 7.

[22] Hence, two hundred and eighty-six years intervened since 'Jam-dpal-bśes-gñen (also named elsewhere as Skr. Mañjuśrīmitra) had been entrusted with the doctrine of Rdzogs-chen. Such assertions of extraordinary longevity are quite common in Tibetan hagiography, in particular when referring to masters of the most ancient traditions. In certain cases, it is also possible that the deeds of more than one person have been entwined, thus giving origin to a semi-legendary figure (cf. note 25). In fact, *Mkhas ston*, 204 (cf. Dargyay, *op. cit.*, 22, 27), tells us about two masters called 'Jam-dpal-bśes-gñen, the Latter

* 984 A.B.N. [533 A.D.]
Mahācārya Śrī Siṅha vouchsafed the Doctrine to Jñānasūtra [i.e. Ye-śes-mdo].
* 994 A.B.N. [543 A.D.]
Jina Jñānasūtra entrusted the Doctrine to Vimalamitra, according to *Bab lugs chen mo las brda' brgyud gnas 'byed bdun ma* of the *Rdzogs chen Sñiṅ thig* series. This text was later translated by *Mahācārya* Vimalamitra and the *Lotstshabas* Ka[-ba Dpal-brtsegs] and Cog[-ro Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan].[23]

[From here onwards the data and dates relevant to the calculations leading to the year 1568 A.B.N are given.]

* 1090 A.B.N. (or 1080, according to a few texts) [639 (or 629) A.D.]
Vimalamitra and King *Khri* Sroṅ-lde'u-btsan met [for the first time] at the entrance of the main temple *(dbu-rtse)* of Bsam-yas.[24] At that time Vimalamitra had reached the age of three hundred.[25] He was probably born in an Ox year.
* Vimalamitra dwelt thirteen years in Tibet before leaving for Mount Lci-ba-thub-pa in China.[26] At first he bestowed teachings of the *Hetuyāna*, but later he taught the *Phalamantrayāna* for ten years.[27]

(phyi-ma) having miraculously come into existence — like Padmasambhava himself — from a lotus *(padma las brdzus te skyes)* one hundred and twenty-five years since his previous incarnation had vanished into light *('od-phuṅ du yal)*. While 'Jam-dpal-bśes-gñen the Former was a disciple of Dga'-rab-rdo-rje, the first teacher of the Rdzogs-chen tradition of Buddhism, the Latter bestowed Tantric precepts to Padmasambhava.

[23] Two of the greatest translators and scholars of the Ancient tradition *(sṅa-'gyur rñiṅ-ma)*. They had been commissioned to go to India in order to ask Vimalamitra to teach the Doctrine in Tibet.

[24] There is a conspicuous mistake in the date given for this event. It is asserted by some sources that Vimalamitra arrived in Tibet once the religious debate held at Bsam-yas, and lasting two years, had come to an end (see, e.g., *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bžed*, ed. by R. A. Stein, Paris 1961, 62, 65), in all likelihood in 794 A.D. (G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part II, Rome 1958, 31–32), three years before *Khri* Sroṅ-lde'u-brtsan died (reign 755–797?). Hence, we have a gap of ca. (794–639 =) one hundred and fifty-five years. Cf. note 26, below.

[25] The affirmation of such longevity, reduced to two hundred years in other sources, might be attributed — here too — to the probable existence of two Vimalamitras, as reported in *BA*, 191–192. Cf. note 22, above.

[26] Literally «the mountain that withstands burdens». It is without doubt the same as the Wu-t'ai-shan (in today's Shanxi district) of the Chinese, a place sacred to Taoists, Confucians, and Buddhists, traditionally denominated Ri-bo Rtse-lṅa in Tibetan literature.

As to Vimalamitra, it is also told elsewhere that he went back to Central Tibet, coming from China, on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies observed at the death of King Mu-ne-brtsan-po (r. 797–799) *(Sṅa 'byuṅ*, I, 203a: «. . . *lo bcu gsum bod du bžugs | de nas rgya nag tu gśegs te slar yaṅ mu ne btsan po 'das pa'i 'das mchod la rgya nag nas gdan draṅs nas byon tshul phur pa'i lo rgyus las 'byuṅ te* . . .»). This would suppose that Vimalamitra's first arrival in Tibet was prior to the time of the final consecration of Bsam-

* Fifty-five years after Vimalamitra's departure for China, Ñaṅ-ban Tiṅ-'dzin-bzaṅ-po, having erected the Žwa'i Tsug-lag-khaṅ through the intervention of an *asura,*[28] proceeded to hide therein the various *Rdzogs chen Sñiṅ thig* precepts [he had received from Vimalamitra].[29]Some sources state that the concealment occurred in the last Winter month *(dgun-zla tha-chuṅ)* of a Mouse year.[30]

* 1358 A.B.N. [907 A.D.][31]
One hundred years hence, Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-gyis-rgyal-mtshan[32] brought to light these concealed treasuries, in the full moon day of the middle Autumn month

yas (? 787 A.D.). Be that as it may, Vimalamitra is furthermore credited with having returned once again to Tibet in order to meet certain of his disciples. To quote but an example, *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205b (cf. *Gter rnam*, 100a), has it clearly that he personally *(dṅos-su)* spent half a month at an enclosure in Phyi-goṅ/gaṅs-rdza, 'O-yug, conferring teachings to Lce-btsun Seṅ-ge-dbaṅ-phyug. Afterwards, he left again for China. This event is alleged to have happened seven years before Lce-btsun's passing away, presumably in the 11th century (cf. note 45).

[27] *Hetu[sūtra]yāna (rgyu-yi [mdo-yi] theg-pa)*, the «Path of Cause» or Sūtra approach to Buddhahood, comprises both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. *Phalamantrayāna ('bras-bu sṅags-kyi theg-pa)* is the «path of Effect» or Tantric approach. Cf. H. V. Guenther, *Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice*, Penguin Books 1972, 170–173.

[28] This *asura (mi-ma-yin)* was the tutelary god *Dam-can* Rdo-rje-legs-pa (cf. Prats, *Contributo*, 47). *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, I, 204a, attributes the origin of the name of the temple, namely *žwa(-mo)* «hat», to the story upon which its foundation is based. The legend has it that Ñaṅ-ban Tiṅ-ṅe-'dzin-bzaṅ-po held open an (enormous) magical hat *(rdzu-'phrul gyi žwa-mo)* that was partially filled (with barley) three times, through the miraculous intervention of the *Dam-can*. Thus Ñaṅ-ban was provided with the necessary wealth to build the temple he had been instructed by Vimalamitra to erect. Some more details on this account are found in *BA*, 192, and *Mkhas ston*, 210. A description of the Dbu-ru Žwa'i Lha-khaṅ is given by H. E. Richardson in *Tibetan Inscriptions at Źva-ḥi Lha Khaṅ*, Part I: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1952, [133–154] 133–134. See also Ferrari, *Guide*, 53–54, 110–111 n. 114.

[29] Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu explains that Tiṅ-'dzin-bzaṅ-po concealed the texts of Vimalamitra's precepts in the cave-temple *(ke'u-tshaṅ)* belonging to the Žwa'i Lha-khaṅ complex; some were hidden in the topmost part *(yaṅ-steṅ)* of the entrance, and the rest inside three ornamental parts of the capital *(bsam-le)* of a pillar.

[30] At least two different versions of these data are known. One version very close to Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu's account is that recorded in *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 108b, according to which Tiṅ-'dzin-bzaṅ-po passed away fifty-five years after Vimalamitra's departure for China *(«. . . bi ma la rgya nag tu gśegs nas lo lṅa bcu rtsa lṅa na ñaṅ tiṅ 'dzin bzaṅ po zag pa zad pa'i phuṅ por gyur . . .»)*. Certainly, it is verisimilar that Ñaṅ-ban died shortly after having concealed the scriptural treasury. On the other hand, *BA*, 192, reports that he expired at the age of fifty-five. Yet, this last assumption is rather unacceptable for the reasons argued in Tucci, *op. cit.*, 54, and resumed in Prats, *Contributo*, 46 n. 6.

[31] A discrepancy of one hundred years appears in the date here indicated by Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu, according to the number of years progressively accumulated since 1090 A.B.N. onwards. As a matter of fact, 1090 + 13 + 55 + 100 does not result in 1358 but in 1258. A century and over has to be added, in any case, to the preliminary date — 1090 A.B.N. — on account of the reasons put forward in note 24, above.

[32] According to the tradition, Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal reincarnated every hundred years as a charismatic emanation of Vimalamitra (*Gsol 'grel*, 32b). Biographical sketches on this *gter-ston* are

(ston-zla 'briṅ-po'i ña) of a Dragon year, according to the aforementioned sources.[33]

* Ldaṅ-ma committed himself fully to practice these recovered teachings for fifteen years, before granting to Lce-btsun [Seṅ-ge-dbaṅ-phyug][34] the Seven Classes of the *Upadeśa* Precepts.[35]
* 1388 A.B.N. [937 A.D.]
  Fifteen years thereafter (or only three, depending on the sources), in the tenth month *(ña-drug zla-ba)*,[36] in Kha-rag,[37] Ldaṅ-ma handed to Lce-btsun the entire series of the revealed treasury texts of these spiritual instructions.
* Lce-btsun had the manuscript troves *(gter-dpe)* transcribed by five copyists, and he himself revised them six times with the collaboration of Ñaṅ Dpal-'byuṅ.[38] Nevertheless, having found no disciple worthy to be a repository for these teachings, Lce-btsun hid them in three sites *(gter-kha)*:

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found in *Gsol 'grel*, 32a–33a; *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, I, 204ab (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 108b–109a); *Skyes rnam*, 71b–72b (which conforms in close manner to *Gsol 'grel*); and *Gter rnam*, 44b–45b (transl. in Prats, *Contributo*, 45–52).

[33] Here, too, exists disagreement between the sources. *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, I, 204ab (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 108b), says that a hundred years *(Rñiṅ 'byuṅ* has *brgyad* for *brgya)* elapsed between Tiṅ-'dzin-bzaṅ-po's decease and Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal's rediscovery of the treasury texts (we might embrace again the hypothesis that Ñaṅ-ban died in the same year he hid the treasuries). However, *Gter rnam*, 44b–45a (Prats, *Contributo*, 46), states that the hundred years had elapsed between the decease of Ñaṅ-ban and the birth of Ldaṅ-ma. In any case, the year 907 A.D. does not correspond to the animal-denominator «Dragon», reckoning backwards beyond the 1st Sexagenary Cycle. Nor does the previously indicated Mouse year, preceding the Dragon year by a century, accord with 807 A.D.

[34] On Lce-btsun Seṅ-ge-dbaṅ-phyug, the patron of Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal's rediscovered teachings *(gter-bdag)*, as he is styled in *Skyes rnam*, 72b, see: *BA*, 192–193; *Mkhas ston*, 110–111; *Gsol 'grel*, 33ab (for an account of Lce-btsun's ultimate realization, this text refers the reader to *Deb ther sṅon po*); *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205ab (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 109a–110a); and *Gter rnam*, 99b–100a (which is here very close to *Sṅa 'byuṅ*).

[35] *Man-ṅag rnams*(sic for *rnam*)-*graṅs bdun* in the *Notes*; gdams-pa rim-pa bdun elsewhere.

[36] I have regarded *ña-drug zla-ba* as equivalent to *smin-drug zla-ba* (cf. Vogel, *op. cit.*, 230). *Gsol 'grel*, 33a, has «the 15th day of the 2nd month» *(khra zla-ba'i tshes bco-lṅa)*, and *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, I, 204b (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 109a), gives the same month.

[37] Apropos of Kha-rag, among the works I have perused, *Gsol 'grel*, 33a (and, after it, *Skyes rnam*, 72a), *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205a (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 109b), and *Gter rnam*, 99b, mention Kha-rag or Kha-rag Phug as the place where Ldaṅ-ma definitively vouchsafed to Lce-btsun the complementary teachings of the Rdzogs-chen precepts. The sources also speak of a second disciple of Ldaṅ-ma called Kha-rag Sgom-chuṅ, a leading figure in the transmission lineage of the *Pha-Gcod* system, who lived in the 11th century (*BA*, 999–1005). *Mkhas ston*, 210, unexpectedly styles him Bal-po Sgom-chuṅ. Such sources are *BA*, 193; *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, I, 204b (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 109a); and *Gter rnam*, 45b.

[38] Unidentified, unless he is the same as Ñaṅ Bka'-gdams-pa of Mal-gro, one of Lce-btsun's disciples. See *BA*, 193; *Mkhas ston*, 210; *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, I, 204b–204a' (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 109a).

— The Three Collections of Upadeśa Precepts *(skor-gsum man-ṅag)*[39] were concealed on the full moon day of the first Spring month *(dpyid-ra'i ña)* of a Mouse year, in the Tiger-shaped [Spring] in Laṅ-'gro-chad-pa.[40]

— The *Gsaṅ ba Sñiṅ thig* cycle was hidden in the Lion-shaped Rock west of 'U-yug,[41] on the new moon day of the first Winter month *(dgun-ra'i stoṅ)* of a Dragon year.

— In the period lasting till the end of winter *(dgun-zla tha-chuṅ ñi-ma rluṅ)* of a Monkey year,[42] he hid the Highly Esoteric Precepts *(yaṅ-gsaṅ bla-med)* in the Staircase-shaped White Rock in Byal-gyi-phu,[43] and the original texts *(phyi-mo)* of the Three Collections [referred to above] in Mount Sle-mtshan-gsum.[44]

* Lce-btsun's life spanned one hundred and twenty-five years in all. He lived seventy-five years before attaining spiritual realization *(grub-pa thob)*, and fifty afterwards.[45]

* Thirty years after the demise of Lce-btsun,[46] Lce-sgom Nag-po of Roṅ unearthed the Three Collections in Laṅ-'gro-chad-pa.[47]

[39] Please see note 47, below.

[40] *Laṅ-gro-'chad-pa stag-'dra'i chu-mig gi rtsa-ba* in *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205a (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 109b).

[41] On 'O/'U-yug, in Central Tibet like Laṅ-gro-'chad-pa, see Prats, *Contributo*, 50.

[42] If we have to take these animal-denominators in strict succession, four years intervened between each one of the concealments carried out by Lce-btsun Seṅ-ge-dbaṅ-phyug.

[43] On Byal/Byar, also spelt Jal (*BA*, 193, 194; *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205a [= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 109b]), see Ferrari, *Guide*, 127 n. 261.

[44] I have failed to identify Sle-mtshan-gsum-gyi-ri. This place is not mentioned in any other of the original texts taken into consideration.

[45] A backwards elaboration of the data hitherto indicated, since 1388 A.B.N., allows us to venture the following assumptions:

1. Lce-btsun Seṅ-ge-dbaṅ-phyug died in 1488 A.B.N. (1037 A.D.), i.e. eighty (30 + 50) years prior to 1568 A.B.N., by the time Žaṅ-ston Bkra-śis-rdo-rje rediscovered the treasury troves hidden in 'O-yug (see the last two paragraphs of data provided by the *Notes*).

2. Lce-btsun having lived one hundred and twenty-five years (less *Tibetico*), his birth took place in 1364 A.B.N. (913 A.D.).

3. If he received the last teachings from Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal in 1388 A.B.N. (937 A.D.), Lce-btsun was aged twenty-four at that time. Accordingly, he had most probably been conferred the preliminary teachings by Ldaṅ-ma only three, not fifteen, years before. Cf. note 48, below.

[46] Literally «the passing into invisibility» *(mi snaṅ-bar gśegs-pa)*. This is but another phrase to define the realization of the «rainbow body». *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205b (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 110a), and *Gter rnam*, 100a, maintain that thirty years elapsed since Lce-btsun had concealed the relevant treasury texts, rather than since his death.

[47] Roṅ Snar-mda' in *BA*, 193; *Mkhas ston*, 211; and *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205b. But Roṅ Mnar-mda' in *Gter rnam*, 100a. On the valley of Roṅ, in Gtsaṅ, see Ferrari, *Guide*, 70–71, 162 n. 630, 163 n. 634.

* 1568 A.B.N. [1117 A.D.]

Fifty years hence,[48] Žaṅ-ston Bkra-śis-rdo-rje fetched the *Gsaṅ ba Sñiṅ thig* cycle from its place of concealment in 'O-yug.[49]

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Regarding Lce-sgom Nag-po, he is mentioned under the slightly different appelation of Lce-ston Nag-po in *Gsol 'grel*, 33b, and *Skyes rnam*, 72b. He conferred some *Upadeśa* Precepts to Žaṅ-ston Bkra-śis-rdo-rje when this last was eleven (i.e. ten) years old (*Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205b [= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 110a]).

The subject-matter of the scriptural treasuries brought to light by Lce-sgom is not always specified. *Mkhas ston*, 211, and *Skyes rnam*, 72b, speak of the Outer, Inner, and Secret Series *(phyi-naṅ-gsaṅ gsum gyi skor)* relative to the *Sñiṅ thig* precepts. *Gsol 'grel*, 33b, enumerates the Mental Class *(sems-phyogs)* and the Secret Series of Rdzogs-chen, the *Bla-sgrub* practices, and so forth.

As for the place of the rediscovery, the available data are inconsistent as usual, at least in appearance. Only part of our sources name it, albeit two of them do not refer at all to Laṅ-gro-'chad-pa. According to *Gter rnam*, 100a, and *Skyes rnam*, 72b, the place was 'O-yug. Here too *Gsol 'grel*, 33b, provides a list of distinct sites, all of them located in Gtsaṅ: the Staircase-shaped White Rock in Byal, the Tiger-shaped (Spring) in (Laṅ-gro) 'Chad-pa, Phuṅ-po Ri-bo-che, Roṅ gYuṅ-phu'i-rdza, etc.

In reference to Laṅ-gro-'chad-pa, *BA*, 193, *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205b (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 110a), and *Gter rnam*, 100a, report the discoveries of another treasury-master of the same spiritual lineage, Śaṅs-pa *Ras-pa*.

To return to Lce-sgom Nag-po, the year of his rediscoveries can be inferred from the last indications given by Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu. Hence, A.D. 1117–50 = 1067 A.D. This date finds confirmation in the *Re'u mig* of Sum-pa *Mkhan-po* (where the *gter-ston*'s name is Lce-sgom Naṅ-pa). See S. Ch. Das, *Life of Sum-pa Khan-po, also styled Yeśes-Dpal-ḥbyor, the author of the Reḥumig (Chronological Table): Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LVIII, I.II (1889), [37–84] 44. (As is known, each date given by Das must be increased in one year. Cf. P. Pelliot, *Le cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie tibétaine: Journal Asiatique*, XI série, I (1913), [633–667] 650–652.)

[48] With this last chronological datum, one comes up against new inconsistencies.

It is stated in *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 205b, 206b (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 110a, 111a), and *Gter rnam*, 100a, that, right before his death, Lce-btsun Seṅ-ge-dbaṅ-phyug passed on the whole series of the *Gsaṅ ba Sñiṅ thig* to Žaṅ-ston Bkra-śis-rdo-rje, after this last's twenty-fifth (i.e. twenty-fourth) year of age. Now, as it has been noted above, it is clearly specified in *BA*, 194, that in his twenty-first (i.e. twentieth) year Žaṅ-ston had found the treasury troves hidden by Lce-btsun in 'O-yug. Consequently, it seems unreasonable to assume that four years after having fetched those treasury texts, Žaṅ-ston should have received from Lce-btsun himself the complete series of the same precepts.

This inconsistency is evidenced also from the chronological viewpoint. In fact, were we to accept (following *BA*, 194, and Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu's *Notes*) that Žaṅ-ston received the *Upadeśa* Precepts from Lce-btsun personally at the age of twenty-four, and that the former's rediscovery in 'O-yug took place eighty (30 + 50) years after his teacher's demise, the total amount resulting in this way (24 + 80) goes far beyond the generally-accepted assertion that Žaṅ-ston lived seventy years (see note 11).

[49] As regards the rediscoveries made by Žaṅ-ston, *Mkhas ston*, 211, mentions 'O-yug as the site where numerous catalogues and guides for the recovery of concealed treasury troves *(kha-byaṅ)*, as well as a variety of *Upadeśa* Precepts, were brought to light. *BA*, 194, and *Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 206b (= *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 111a), refer to the scriptures uncovered in Mchims-phu, Dbus. As far as the *Gsaṅ ba bla med* cycle is concerned, according to *Gter rnam*, 100a, and *Skyes rnam*, 72b, it was found in the Staircase-shaped White Rock in Byar/Rgyal-gyi-phu. *BA*, p. 194, also mentions this locality, but not the treasury hidden there.

Such are the chronological notes by Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu on the transmission lineage, within the *gter-ma* tradition, of the *Bi ma Sñiṅ thig* precepts, from Ñaṅ-ban Tiṅ-'dzin-bzaṅ-po to Žaṅ-ston Bkra-śis-rdo-rje.[50]

In view of the plurality of data here gathered, an attempt can be made to establish a tentative chronology of the principal events at issue. It will be made by combining the most convenient alternatives offered to us, and giving as far as possible precedence to the indications of the cycle-year denominator. All the ensuing dates correspond to Christian era:

794 — Arrival of Vimalamitra in Central Tibet, once the Bsam-yas debate has reached its conclusion.

806 — Vimalamitra's departure for China, after thirteen (less *Tibetico*) years.

861 (Mouse year) — Fifty-five years hence, Ñaṅ-ban Tiṅ-'dzin-bzaṅ-po conceals the scriptural treasuries of the *Gsaṅ ba Sñiṅ thig* in the Žwa'i Lha-khaṅ, and passes away shortly thereafter.

961 (Dragon year) — Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal rediscovers these concealed teachings. (Or, according to *Gter rnam*, Ldaṅ-ma is born.)

991 — Ldaṅ-ma transmits the last group of *Upadeśa* Instructions to Lce-btsun Seṅ-ge-dbaṅ-phyug.

1036 (Mouse year) — Lce-btsun hides some scriptures in Laṅ-gro'i-'chad-pa.

1040 (Dragon year) — Do. in 'O-yug.

1044 (Monkey year) — Do. in Byal-gyi-phu.

1067 — Lce-sgom Nag-po recovers from Laṅ-gro'i-'chad-pa the writings Lce-btsun had concealed there thirty-one years before.

1097 (Fire-Ox year) — Birth of Žaṅ-ston Bkra-śis-rdo-rje.

1107 — Lce-sgom vouchsafes to Žaṅ-ston some *Upadeśa* Precepts.

1117 (Fire-Bird year) — Fifty years after Lce-sgom's rediscovery of the treasury writings, Žaṅ-ston brings forth from 'O-yug part of the *Gsaṅ ba Sñiṅ thig* series.

1167 (Fire-Pig year) — Death of Žaṅ-ston.

[50] *'Jam-mgon* Koṅ-sprul (*Gter rnam*, 100ab; cf. 45a) makes known to us that the revealed literature of the complete series of the *Gsaṅ ba Sñiṅ thig chen mo* of Rdzogs-chen is ascribed to five treasury-masters (Ldaṅ-ma, Lce-btsun, Lce-sgom, Žaṅ-ston, and Śaṅs-pa *Ras-pa*), and that its composition may be summarized as follows:

— The «Seventeen Vast Tantras» *(rgya-che-ba rgyud bcu-bdun)*, along with their single commentaries;

— the *Bka' sruṅ nag mo khros ma'i rgyud*, as the eighteenth Tantra;

— the «One Hundred and Ninety *Upadeśa* Writings» *(man-ṅag gi yig brgya-dgu-bcu)*; and

— the «Four Profound Books» *(zab-pa pod bži)*.

These valuable teachings had been entirely handed down to Koṅ-sprul's days, except for part of the *Upadeśa* Instructions.

Such assumptions enable us to make some final remarks. First of all, they invalidate the biographical dates framed as hypothesis in note 45, anent Lce-btsun Seṅ-ge-dbaṅ-phyug. Nonetheless, it seems safe to reaffirm that he lived during the 10th and 11th centuries.

Far more interesting may be to notice that Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal should be reputed as the earliest of the Buddhist rediscoverers of concealed treasury troves foretold — hence authenticated — by Padmasambhava, the founder of the *gter-ma* tradition of Buddhism, according to the prophetic contents of the revelations themselves.[51] Irrespective of whether we adopt Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu's indication of 907 A.D. as the date in which Ldaṅ-ma recovered the texts hidden in the Žwa'i Lha-khaṅ, or — in the less convenient supposition advanced in our tentative chronology — we assume that such recovery took place in 961 A.D., it results quite cogent that Ldaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal made his rediscovery of concealed writings several years before the end of the 10th century.[52]

TIBETAN REFERENCE-WORKS QUOTED

BA = *Deb ther sṅon po*, written in 1476–1478 by 'Gos *Lo-tsā-ba* Gžon-nu-dpal (1392–1481). See George N. Roerich (transl.), *The Blue Annals*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1949–1953.

*Gsol 'gre*l = *Gter bton brgya rtsa'i mtshan sdom gsol 'debs | chos rgyal bkra śis stobs rgyal gyi* (sic for *gyis*) *mdzad pa las | de'i 'brel* (sic for *'grel*) *pa lo rgyus gter bton chos 'byuṅ*, written by Zab-bu *Gdan-sa-pa* Karma Mi-'gyur-dbaṅ-gis-rgyal-po (flourished ca. 1650). Manuscript published in Darjeeling, 1978.

Gter rnam = *Zab mo'i gter daṅ gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen bai ḍū rya'i phreṅ ba*, written in 1886 by *'Jam-mgon* Koṅ-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas-pa'i-sde (1813–1899). Included in vol. *Ka* of *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo* (Mtshur-phu ed.), reprinted as *The Treasury of Rediscovered Teachings*, Vol. I, Paro (Bhutan) 1976.

Mkhas ston = *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* or *Lho brag chos 'byuṅ*, written in 1545–1565 by *Dpa'-bo* Gtsug-lag-'phreṅ-ba (1504–1566). I refer to chap. *Tha* of the ed. reprinted in the *Bhoṭa-Piṭaka Series*, vol. 4, New Delhi 1959.

[51] *Gter rnam*, 36a, followed by *Rñiṅ 'byuṅ*, 258a, avers that the earliest Buddhist *gter-ston* was Saṅs-rgyas-bla-ma, born in the first half of *Lo-chen* Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po's life (958–1055), and a contemporary of *Lha Bla-ma* Ye-śes-'od, King of Pu-raṅ (*Sṅa 'byuṅ*, II, 360b). It is likely that such an affirmation is made basically on account of the order in which the prophecies concerning the treasury-masters appear in *Padma bka'i thaṅ yig* — the well-known treasury text the original manuscript of which was recovered by O-rgyan Gliṅ-pa in 1352. But Saṅs-rgyas-bla-ma is not unanimously regarded by Tibetan biographers as the first *gter-ston*. In his *Gsol 'grel* (a biographical commentary on a reverential petition to treasury-masters composed by Byaṅ-bdag Bkra-śis-stobs-rgyal in the 16th century), fol. 6a, Karma Mi-'gyur-dbaṅ-rgyal affirms that the very earliest Buddhist *gter-ston* was Rdo-rje-'bum Chos-kyi-grags-pa (*«gter bton thams cad kyi thog ma rdo rje 'bum ni | ...»*), a contemporary of Saṅs-rgyas-bla-ma himself.Still, this issue is beyond our present topic. I intend to deal extensively with it in a next paper.

[52] Namely, before Saṅs-rgyas-bla-ma could begin his career as a *gter-ston*.

Rñiṅ 'byuṅ = Gaṅs ljoṅs rgyal mtshan yoṅs rdzogs kyi phyi mo sṅa 'gyur rdo rje theg pa'i bstan pa rin po che ji ltar byuṅ ba'i tshul dag ciṅ gsal bar brjod pa lha dbaṅ g.yul las rgyal ba'i rṅa bo che'i sgra dbyaṅs, written by Bdud-'joms *Rin-po-che* 'Jigs-bral-ye-śes-rdo-rje (b. 1904). First print 1964; 2nd rev. and enl. ed., Kalimpong 1967.

Skyes rnam = Bod du byuṅ ba'i gsaṅ sṅags sṅa 'gyur gyi bstan 'dzin skyes mchog rim byon gyi rnam thar nor bu'i do śal, written by *Rig-'dzin* Kun-bzaṅ-ṅes-don-kloṅ-yaṅs Rdo-rje-gsaṅ-ba-rtsal (b. 1813), who completed the work in 1882. Reprinted as *History of the Nyingmapa Pradition* (sic), Dalhousie, H.P., 1976.

Sṅa 'byuṅ = Bstan pa'i sñiṅ po gsaṅ chen sṅa 'gyur ṅes don zab mo'i chos kyi 'byuṅ ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bśad mkhas pa dga' byed ṅo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho, written in 1807–1809 by Stag-sgaṅ *Mkhas-mchog* Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-gros alias *Gu-ru* Bkra-śis. Manuscript published in 4 vols.,Paro (Bhutan) 1979.

REFLECTIONS ON *TRANSLATION OF A TIBETAN PASSPORT DATED 1688 A.D.* BY ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KŐRÖS, 1833

BY

H. E. RICHARDSON (St. Andrews)

When Csoma de Kőrös, «the founder of Tibetan studies in Europe», was working as Librarian at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, which he had reached on foot from Kanam in 1831, his attention must have been drawn to the plate in Thomas Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum* (2nd edition) Oxford, 1760, reproducing a passport granted in 1688 to an Armenian merchant Chogja Ouannes. As a result he published an article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* II, 1833, in which he transcribed and translated the Tibetan text «of which at the time of its publication, no European was able to decypher the characters».

Dr. Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), himself a notable pioneer in Asian studies, particularly in the field of Persian and Arabic, brought out the first edition of his *Historia* in 1700; and, although it is possible that earlier Tibetan documents exist in the archives of the Society of Jesus — e.g. the letter from the King of Tsaparang to Fr. Antonio Andrade in 1624 — the passport to Chogja Ouannes (Joannes) appears to be the first example of Tibetan writing to be published in the west.

The reproduction of the passport in Hyde's work was engraved at Oxford by M. Burghers and, considering that he cannot have known the language, is commendably accurate; but a few letters are not quite clear and Csoma has misread some of them and has therefore misunderstood parts of the document.

In line 2 of his transcription *Lhahi mi-rje* should read *Lha-sde mi-sde* «monastic and lay communities».

In line 6 the reading *It 'hang-na-chan* for *I-wang-na-chan*, which leads to the failure to identify Ouannes, is strange for the letter *wa* is formed exactly as it appears at page 4 in the small characters of the syllabic scheme in Csoma's own *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*.

In line 7 where he reads *stahur-gyi mtshon* with the suggestion that it is an error for *Lahur-gyi mtshon* «Lahori weapons», the words are *rta'ur-gyi mtshon* «provision of corvée horse transport».

In lines 8 and 9 *nyan* should probably be corrected to *rtan* (for *tan* or *brtan*). Here again his own syllabic scheme might have helped him.

Although these misreadings affect the translation to some extent, the general meaning of the document as a passport instructing the various officials on the route to India to provide facilities and not to obstruct the bearer is clear enough. Csoma

could have seen similar official language in some of the letters granted in 1724 and 1729 to the Capuchin missionaries at Lhasa, regarding their house and chapel there, which are reproduced in Appendix II of Agostino Antonio Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (1762) of which a copy had been given to him by William Moorcroft in Ladakh in 1822. The Tibetan characters in the *Alphabetum* would, however, have been no help to him for they are in *dbu-can* presumably from those brought to Rome by Fr Orazio Della Penna, the only member of the Capuchin mission reputed to be literate in Tibetan, and cut in 1738 by Antonio Fontarita. But Csoma's failure to follow up Hyde's information that the passport was granted to an Armenian and his misinterpretation of the term *mgo-dkar It'hang-na-chan* as «Mohammedans of It'hang-na» have obscured its special and historical interest.

Although Csoma knew that *mgo-dkar* «white-head» was used of foreigners and could have seen it applied to the Capuchin missionaries in those letters in *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, he does not explain why he chose to take it as referring to Mohammedans. Perhaps he was misled by the rather Islamic appearance of the name Chogja Ouannes. Chogja (Khoja) is a Persian title given to distinguished merchants and, together with Mirza, Agha, and Mukhtear, was used of Armenians owing to their connection with that country. Certainly some Armenians in India were converted to Islam in the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan but the great majority were staunchly Christian.

Armenians had been travelling and trading in most of the known world at least since the consolidation of their New Kingdom in Cilicia in the twelfth century, and probably long before that. Their port of Ayas (Lajazzo) on the gulf of Alexandretta — through which the Polo family passed on their travels — became the entrepôt for trade between the East and the West. From there, enterprising firms established links throughout Europe, mainly by way of Venice. They acquired a reputation as reliable merchants and bankers; and in Central Asia they were the most trusted, hardy and efficient caravan leaders. Their international activities were stimulated by repeated invasion and occupation of their country by one foreign power after another — Egyptian, Ottoman Turk, and Persian — which drove them to emigrate widely; and in 1605 the Persian ruler Shah Abbas, after losing control of most of Cilicia to the Ottomans, transferred 50,000 Armenians from Nakhchevan and Julfa to a city called New Julfa which he had made for them in a suburb of Isfahan, from where their far-reaching commerce prospered greatly.

Armenians had been reported in China as early as the thirteenth century and in India by the fifteenth and from both those bases they extended their business activities in Tibet. They probably did not establish themselves at Lhasa until after 1642 when the Fifth Dalai Lama made it the permanent capital but their trade with Tibet from India, especially in silk and musk, before that time is mentioned by the

British travellers Ralph Fitch (1580) and Peter Mundy (1630). Later the Venetian adventurer Nicolao Manucci enquired carefully about Tibet and its trade from Armenians in India and was able to extract more information from the Jesuit Fathers Johan Grueber and Albert D'Orville who passed through Lhasa from China in 1661. John Marshall, the British agent at Patna from 1667 to 1671, also took special interest in trading matters and learnt about Tibet from Armenian merchants who had been to Lhasa several times and on from there to Sining. Another foreigner who reported about this trade at about the same time was the French doctor, philosopher and traveller Baron Jean Baptiste Tavernier who not only met Armenian merchants engaged in the Tibetan trade from Patna but also saw Tibetans who had come there for the same purpose.

Recently a wealth of fascinating detail about Armenian business in Lhasa — the route followed by the merchants, the nature and value of the goods they bought and sold, their dealings with other Armenians, and with Tibetans and Kashmiris, and so on — has been published in *The Ledger Account of the Merchant Hovhannes* by Levon Khachikian of Soviet Armenia, communicated by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal,* Vol. VIII (3) 1966. This Hovhannes, son of David, a merchant from Jougha (Julfa) was at Lhasa from 1686 to 1692. It has been tentatively proposed to identify him with Khoja Ooannes (Johannes) to whom the passport of 1688 was issued but, for several reasons, this is impossible. Hovhan, Hovhannes, Ioannes, was a common name among Armenians. The Ledger of Hovhannes shows that he did business at Lhasa with another Hovhan, son of Sarkis. Further, although he was employed by an important and powerful firm of Khojas, he himself was not distinguished with that title and was, as he makes clear, simply a humble employee of his *agha* or master. But the most conclusive evidence is that the dates do not fit, for Hovhannes of the Ledger did not complete his business and leave Lhasa until 1692. A Tibetan travel document, *lam-yig,* unlike a western passport valid for a number of years, was issued for immediate use on a specific journey and could not be held over for a later year. Chogja Ouannes to whom the passport was granted in 1688 must therefore have been a different person.

Nearly twenty years after Khoja Ouannes' departure another Khoja, named Dawith, gave generous assistance to the Capuchin missionaries when they reached Lhasa in 1707 by acting as interpreter and arranging accommodation for them. The missionaries struggled on until 1745 but the Armenians never recovered from the devastation of their business when the Dzungars captured and looted Lhasa in 1717. They left the city and never re-established their commercial firms there although a few individual Armenian traders made their way to Lhasa at least up to the early years of the nineteenth century.

Returning, in conclusion, to Csoma's article: although its defects suggest that it was a fugitive piece on a subject of minor interest compared with his favourite studies in language and literature, it has had a special value for me in directing my attention to the activities in Tibet of those remarkable Armenian merchants.

SOURCES:

For Alexander Csoma de Kőrös; T. Duka in *J.R.A.S.* 1885; G. Bethlenfalvy in *Proceedings of Csoma de Kőrös Symposium 1976.*

For Christian missionaries in Tibet; C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia,* 1921; and L. Petech, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal Vols III and IV* (1952–1956); F. de Filippi, *Desideri,* 1937.

For Armenians; H. Pasdermadjian, *Histoire de l'Arménie,* 1964; D. M. Lang *Armenia, Cradle of Civilization,* 1970.

SOME REMARKS ON THE VOWEL SYSTEM OF SPOKEN TIBETAN

BY

A. RÓNA-TAS (Szeged)

The history of modern Spoken Tibetan is of unique importance both for general linguistics and for Tibetology. Tibetan has been known from various kinds of sources for more than 1,200 years. Its wide range of dialects offers a solid basis for a comparative historical approach. Tibetan has been documented for over a millennium by a script, which has always rendered the spoken form only approximately but which can be used, with due caution, for its linguistic reconstruction. The analysis of synchronic and diachronic processes have received support in the last thirty years from increased fieldwork and/or direct observation.[1]

However, the use of the abundant material is hampered by several factors.

One of these factors is the interference of Written Tibetan. It is, of course, important to give the spelling rules of Written Tibetan (WT), this is what most non-Tibetan students and even scholars need, when they have to pronounce the words which they learnt in written form. However, in most cases it is left unconsidered that the data one gets from a learned Tibetan, if asked for the pronunciation of a word, is the «reading style», a more or less artificial, but in any case literary rendering which is not identical with everyday speech. The «reading style» was slightly different even in the main monasteries of Central Tibet, and the monasteries in the north-eastern region had their own, «reading style» variants.[2] It is evident that the «reading style» depends on the spoken vernacular like any of the literary languages do and consequently it may serve as one of the sources of its investigation. We have only not to forget that the two are not identical. It was a clear idea of R. A. Miller[3] to consider WT as a system of symbols with «which it is customary written by its speakers» and consequently to give the «spelling rules» and not the «rules of pronunciation». These spelling rules can be considered as graphotactic devices with

[1] The field work has been increased among the exile Tibetans living in India. From a sociolinguistic point of view these communities cannot be considered as of the same type as those communities which lived or live in Tibet proper. Many Tibetans joined Western centres where Tibetan is studied. Their presence made possible direct observation without fieldwork. In the last years a series of works on Tibetan have been published by Tibetan authors.

[2] On the reading style and its north-eastern variants see A. Róna-Tas, *Linguistic notes on an Amdowa Text:* Proceedings of the 3rd Csoma de Kőrös Symposium, Velm bei Wien, 1981, Vienna 1983 (in press).

[3] *The Tibetan System of Writing*. Washington, 1956.

the help of which Tibetans try to render their phonemes.[4] However, in such cases one obtains less reliable data. Everybody who has worked with Tibetan informats has the experience that if one asks them to put down the WT form of a phrase or greater unit, the WT form will not be automatic. The desirable process is to describe Spoken Tibetan (ST) as it is, without any reference to and inference from WT. After having analyzed it in an appropriate manner the result can be confronted with the WT forms.

Another factor which hampers the mastering of the linguistic material is the difference in the conceptual (in some cases terminological) and perceptual approaches. Some use the native Tibetan terminology, others work with the classical European concepts or use modern American analyzing procedures. The problem is with the compatibility. For a long time scholars in Tibetology had only the problem of the various systems of transliterations of WT, now with the growing amount of material recorded from native speakers, the various systems of transcription complicate the picture.

The third factor hampering the linguistic work is the confusion of dialects, subdialects, sociolects and idiolects. It was R. A. Miller who discovered the difference between «Central Tibetan» and «Lhasa dialect»,[5] but even this important distinction has not been accepted by each scholar. In a note in my Tibeto-Mongolica[6] I demonstrated the almost chaotic picture concerning «Central Tibetan» and «Lhasa dialect». Recently Nishida[7] collected the vowel symbols used by his predecessors; however he put the symbols side by side and not their phonemic values. Nevertheless even this chart shows almost as many vowel systems of Spoken Tibetan as researchers.

There is no general agreement on the description of the structure of the Tibetan syllable. My earlier suggestion to distinguish, e.g. *preradical* (phonemic structure), *prescribed* (orthographical system) and *prefix* (morphological structure) has only been inconsistently accepted.[8]

[4] Under the title *Studies in the grammatical tradition in Tibet*, (Amsterdam 1976) R. A. Miller has republished with some additional remarks, seven of his earlier papers dealing with Tibetan grammar. In these and in some of his more recent papers (see e.g. *Phone, phoneme and graph in the Old Tibetan grammarians: AOH* XXXIV (1980), pp. 153–162, *Phonemic theory and orthographic practice in Old Tibetan: JTS* 1 (1981), pp. 45–62) he studied the understanding of the Tibetan native scholars on the segmentation of their own language.

[5] *The independent status of the Lhasa dialect within Central Tibetan: Orbis* IV (1955), pp. 49–55.

[6] *Tibeto-Mongolica, The Tibetan loanwords of Monguor and the development of the archaic Tibetan dialects*, Budapest 1966, Note 40, pp. 33–35.

[7] *On the development of tones in Tibetan: Acta Asiatica* 29 (1975), pp. 43–55.

[8] *Tibeto-Mongolica*, p. 107: *Phonemical* structure: preradical, radical, postradical, syllabic vowel, final, postfinal; *morphological* structure: prefix, stem, suffix; *orthographical* system: prescribed, superscribed, radical, subscribed, vowel, postscribed, post-postscribed.

In this situation two possible approaches can be considered. The first is to collect an independent corpus and make a consistent analysis. The other is to choose an existent corpus, which is more or less reliable and extended enough to work with. I chose the second way and shall rely on Chang and Shefts' description. The first presentation of their approach and material in their Manual[9] raised some theoretical and practical problems[10] but its further refinement in the four volumes of the Spoken Tibetan Texts[11] and their papers[12] proved that the basic conceptual framework and the descriptive technique used is appropriate for the analyzed material, and can be interpreted or reinterpreted in general and historical linguistic terms. The main problem with their material is one of linguistic relevance: i.e. their failure to separate the *parole* and *langue* features.[13] Less disturbing is the fact that in some of their papers they changed their symbols.[14] I shall quote their material with the symbols used in the Manual. Now we can overcome the problems raised by the fact that their material originates practically from one native speaker. The first help is the great corpus of their texts. The real solution has, however, been offered by the publication of Goldstein's works. It is of course clear that Goldstein's material is not entirely independent of Chang and Shefts and further that his WT «reconstructions» and the description of pronunciation are in some cases mechanical. Nevertheless Goldstein's Manuals[15] and above all his Dictionary [16] offers a welcome possibility to check and control the materials of Chang and Shefts.

The purpose of my present paper is to show the kind of processes that are at work in shaping the phonemic structure of ST. I shall restrict my remarks to certain aspects of the vowel system.

The most striking feature of the system of vowels as described by Chang and Shefts is that it consists of 12 «phonemes» disregarding quantity, nasality and suprasegmental features. In the impressive sample of the vowel systems of more

[9] *Manual of Spoken Tibetan (Lhasa dialect)*, Seattle 1964.

[10] See *Language* 41 (1965), pp. 680–692.

[11] Vols I–II Taipei 1978, Vol. III Taipei 1980 Vol. IV. Taipei 1981. In Vol. I there is an about 40-page long introduction with several important observations, some of phonetical and others of phonological relevance.

[12] See bibliography in *Spoken Tibetan Texts* pp. V–VI. I have used with great profit especially their *Vowel harmony in Spoken Lhasa Tibetan: Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, Academica Sinica XXXX(!), 1968, pp. 53–124.

[13] The bulk of the material published by Chang and Shefts was produced by Nawang Nornang. Some additions and different readings were collected from Lhadon Karsip. It has its evident pros and cons to publish the corpus of practically one native speaker.

[14] E.g. in their paper quoted in note 12.

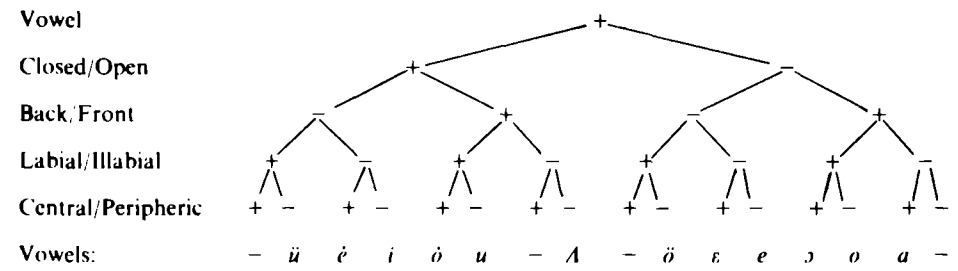
[15] *Modern Spoken Tibetan—Lhasa Dialect*, 1971, also written with Nornang. See further *Modern Literary Tibetan*, Urbana 1973.

[16] *Tibetan–English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*, Kathmandu 1975.

than 200 languages collected by the famous Stanford Phonology Archiving Project directed by J. H. Greenberg[17] there is only one language with 12 vowel phonemes, Pacoh, a Mon-Khmer language. Even its phonemic analysis by Watson[18] was questioned by Crothers.[19] Goldstein also notes 12 vowels, and two of them are marked with different symbols.[20]

For the following feature analysis of the ST vowel system I use the «traditional» features and not the system associated with Chomsky, Jakobson and Halle. The former was used implicitly or explicitly by Chang and Shefts and it would have not been advisable for me to reinterpret it on this level. The vowel system can be described with four oppositions. A vowel is either Closed or Open, either Back or Front, either Labial or Illabial (i.e. non-labial) and either Central or Peripherical. The system is well balanced and out of the possible 16 positions 12 are filled:

Fig. 1 *The distinctive features of the vowels in Spoken Tibetan*



In some of their papers Chang and Shefts changed their symbols to avoid diacritics, so they suggested *I* for *ė*, *y* for *ü*, *ø* for *ö*, *ʊ* for *ȯ*, *j* for *y*, they write *-Vn* instead of *Ṽ* *V:* instead of *VV* (long vowel). Goldstein changed *ʌ* to *ə* and *ɔ* to *ɷ*.

Liljencrants and Lindblom[21] worked out a typology of vowel systems. The typology is based on the number of the vocalic phonemes. If the number of the vocalic phonemes of a certain language is known, the phonemic inventory of the vowels can be predicted. Crothers[22] has checked this typology on about 200 languages and gave a revised variant. Let us see the two systems confronted:

[17] On the project see Greenberg's *Introduction* and the preface of the editors in: *Universals of Human Languages Vol. 2. Phonology*, Ed. J. H. Greenberg, Ch. A. Ferguson, E. A. Moravcsik, Stanford, 1978.

[18] R. Watson, *Clause to sentence gradations in Pacóh*, Lingua 16 (1966), pp. 166–189.

[19] J. Crothers, *Typology and universals of vowel systems* in: *Universals of Human Languages* Vol. II, pp. 93–152.

[20] In his Dictionary he uses *ə* for *ʌ* which is very disturbing. His *ɷ* for *ɔ* is less problematic, but also not indicated.

[21] J. Liljencrants–B. Lindblom, *Numerical simulation of vowel quality systems: the role of perceptual contrast: Language* 48 (1972), pp. 839–862.

[22] *Op. cit.*, pp. 93–152.

Fig. 2 *Vowel inventory*

Chang and Shefts	*Predicted by Crothers*
ü	*ü*
ė	*e*
i	*i*
ȯ	*i/ė*
u	*u*
Λ	*å*
ö	*ö*
ɛ	*ɛ̇*
e	*ɛ*
ɔ	*ɔ*
o	*o*
a	*a*

It has to be recalled, that though Crothers quotes Chang and Shefts, he only uses the work of Roerich and Phuntsok.[23] According to Crothers, Tibetan has 8 short vocalic phonemes, all can be long and six of them are also nasalized.[24] In the system of Crothers, French is the only language with 11 vocalic phonemes and, as stated above, Pacoh is the only candidate for a system with 12. The model for languages with 12 vocalic phonemes is given on *op. cit.*, p. 129 together with the earlier model of Liljencrants and Lindblom. Thus the 12 vowel system was not specially predicted for Tibetan. It is interesting that ten out of twelwe vowels predicted by Crothers are identical with those of Chang and Shefts (in a few cases the symbols used are different, but this does not effect their identity).

The only essential difference of the two systems is the labiality of Chang and Shefts' *ȯ* instead of the predicted nonlabial *i* or *ė* and the non-labiality of Chang and Shefts' *Λ* instead of the labial *å* of Crothers. This means that only one feature of ± labiality has to be moved. I think this fact itself supports the analyses of Chang and Shefts and of Crothers, though, of course, according to my understanding, it is only a good case for both, but does not prove either.

One has the temptation to follow the logic of symbols. It would be advisable to mark all vowels with + Central feature by a superposed dot, further to change Chang and Shefts' *ȯ* to *u̇* because this vowel is + Central and + Closed. My suggestion would be:

Chang and Shefts: *ü ė i ȯ u Λ ö ɛ e ɔ o a*
Suggested symbols: *ü ė i u̇ u Λ ö ɛ̇ ɛ ȯ o a*

[23] G. N. Roerich and T. L. Phuntsok, *Textbook of colloquial Tibetan, dialect of Central Tibet*, 1957.

[24] Crothers (*op. cit.* p. 142) rewrites the Tibetan phonemes as: *i ɛ æ ü ö a u o*, the same as long ones, and *ĩ ɛ̃ ã ũ ũ̈ õ* as nasalized ones with a ? mark.

I would like, however, to avoid further confusion caused by different symbols, and thus I shall use in this paper the symbols of Chang and Shefts' Manual.

In the following it is demonstrated that three features are not sufficient to distinguish the vowels:

Fig. 3 *The distribution of the features*

	Closed/Open	Front/Back	Labial/Illabial	Central/Peripheric
i	+	+	−	−
ė	+	+	−	+
ʌ	+	−	−	−
ȯ	+	−	+	+
ū	+	+	+	−
u	+	−	+	−
e	−	+	−	−
ɛ	−	+	−	+
a	−	−	−	+
ɔ	−	−	+	+
ö	−	+	+	−
o	−	−	+	−

The vowels can be ordered into pairs. These pairs are of major importance, because the processes which I shall later deal with, will be understood only by the help of Fig. 4.

Fig. 4 *The oppositions of the vowels*

Closed: *i ė ʌ ȯ ü u*	Labial: *ȯ ü u ɔ ö o*
Open: *e ɛ a ɔ ö o*	Illabial: *ʌ e i ė ɛ a*
Front: *i ė ö ü e ɛ*	Central: *ė ȯ ɛ ɔ a*
Back: *ȯ ɔ o u ʌ a*	Peripheric: *ü i u e o ʌ ö*

As it can be seen the system is well balanced (6: 6) with the exception of the Central *versus* Peripheric group (5: 7). This itself hints at the fact that the latter distinction is a later, secondary one.

The Tibetan vowels can be either short or long. For the sake of a further analysis it is advisable to claim that instead of long vowels here we deal with two identical vowels, i.e. with geminate vowels (V: = V′ + V′). Now the Tibetan toneme system can be reanalyzed.

Considerable literature does exist on the basic categories used in the description of tones. An important step in clearing the field was made by Grierson who wrote in 1920:[25] «A tone is a relatively fixed musical pitch or change of pitch, inherent in a

[25] G. A. Grierson, *On the representation of tones in oriental languages: JRAS* 1920, pp. 453–479.

word, and necessary for its significance». It was the merit of K. Pike that he clearly distinguished pitch and contour[26] because as it became clear Grierson's «change of pitch» is ambiguous. In the last years, two important works were published on the theory of tonemes. V. A. Fromkin edited a book «Tone, a linguistic survey»[27] and in the same year I. Maddieson published his chapter on «Universals of Tone» in Greenberg's «Universals of human language».[28] In the former book S. R. Anderson analyzed the earlier views on tone features. The result is rather disappointing. After having dealt with the latest attempts of Gruber (Anderson quoted an unpublished manuscript of this author), W. Wang, G. Sampson, N. Woo and two earlier papers of Maddieson, Anderson concluded: «Unfortunately, this review of proposals that have been made for the features of tone does not allow us to come to a definite resolution of the question» (*op. cit.*, p. 173) further «... in the meantime, a comprehensive survey of what evidence there is in phonological rules is clearly in order. At present it can only be said that any of the systems surveyed. . . . is equally (un)satisfactory» (*ibid*).

Maddieson distinguished level tones, sequences of level tones and contour tones.[29] He states further that «in very many languages tone glides are confined to long vowels or syllables only. . . . Such a correlation is often taken as evidence for a phonological analysis in which the glides are derived from sequences of dissimilar level tones on a geminate vowel or other sonorant sequence»,[30] where «tone glide» is used for «contour tone».

Maddieson is correct in distinguishing the sequences of level tones and the contour. In the case of a sequence of level tones the first segment is level on pitch X_1 and the second is level on pitch X_2, i.e. we have a staircase-like relationship: —_ or —— etc. In case of a contour the sequence is not broken, it may be level →, rising ↗ falling ↘ changing its direction as rising-falling or falling-rising etc. while the points of departure may or may not be the same: ↗↘, ↘↘, ↘↗, ↗↗. It is, however, advisable to keep apart, pitch i.e. the register, the relative height of the onset from the contour. According to my understanding, a level tone is a special contour where the height of the pitch is not changing. I shall call it Even contour.

The problem of short and long vowels is especially important. It is clear that in the case of a long vowel, Even contour means that the second part of the vowel is pronounced on the same level with the first. If the vowel is short, the pitch remains on its original height. It makes sense also to call this feature Even contour, but only in those cases where short vowels may have other, non-level contours.

[26] K. L. Pike, *Tone languages*, Ann Arbor, 1948.
[27] New York–San Francisco–London, 1978.
[28] Pp. 335–365
[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 337.
[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 355.

Already Jäschke distinguished «high toned» and «deep toned» words in Tibetan.[31] Sandberg used three categories: high pitched, medial and low resonant,[32] A. H. Franke distinguished three tones, High, Medium and Low in his Addenda to Jäschke's Grammar,[33] the same system was also used by C. A. Bell.[34] G. Roerich gave a different description of the tones in his various works. In 1931 he distinguished three tones (rising, even and falling), which can all be either high or low.[35] In 1933, he wrote about Toneme I (High rising), Toneme 2 (High even), Toneme 3 (Low even) and Toneme 4 (Falling abrupt).[36] In his description, published in 1961, he distinguished rising, even and falling tones, but remarked that syllables have high or low tones according to their initials.[37] Chao Yüan-jen demonstrated that apart from the tonal sandhis observed in sequences of syllables, the tonal contrast in monosyllables consists in that between high tone (53) and low tone (131).[38]

Wen Yu described the following tone patterns (in the Derge dialect): 1, 13, 32, 35, 31, 21, 24, 21, 42, 45, 41, 53, 5, 51. It is no wonder that he adds: «The tone behaviour in modern Tibetan is indeed of great importance and at the same time it is a very difficult subject».[39]

R. A. Miller distinguished tones in context and tones in isolation, otherwise he also described High and Low tones.[40] According to R. K. Sprigg, the Lhasa dialect has two tones, Tone One and Tone Two, which are associated not with the syllable, but with the word. In addition, he named four exponents as criteria for setting up his tonal system: features of pitch, features of duration of vowel, word-initial features and features of voice quality.[41]

Wang Yao distinguished five tones: 1. High-Level (44), 2. High-Falling (41 = 51), 3. Low-Rising (13), 4. High-Rising (35) and 5. Atonic. These tones were grouped as follows: High are the High-Level and the High-Falling, Low are the Low-Rising

[31] In his *Phonetic Table for comparing the different dialects* on pp. XVI–XVIII of his *Dictionary*.

[32] G. Sandberg, *Hand-book of colloquial Tibetan*, Calcutta 1894.

[33] *Tibetan grammar* 3rd ed., Berlin 1929.

[34] C. A. Bell, *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*, Calcutta 1905.

[35] *Modern Tibetan phonetics with special reference to the dialects of Central Tibet: JRASB* XXVII (1931), pp. 258–312.

[36] *Tibetica I. Dialects of Tibet. The Tibetan dialect of Lahul*, New York–Naggar, 1933.

[37] *Tibetskij Jazyk*, Moscow 1961.

[38] *Love songs of the sixth Dalai Lama*, Peking 1930.

[39] *Studies in Tibetan phonetics, Sde-dge dialect: Studia Serica* VII (1948), pp. 63–78 with a review of earlier works.

[40] *Studies in spoken Tibetan I: JAOS* LXXV (1955), pp. 46–51.

[41] *The tonal system of Tibetan (Lhasa dialect) and the nominal phrase: BSOAS* XVII (1955), pp. 133–153.

and the High-Rising tones.[42] The system of Chin Peng is slightly different: 1. High-Falling (53 = High-Level 44), 2. Low-Falling (41), Low-Rising (13) and High-Rising (35).[43] K. Sedlaček followed more or less the system of Wang.[44] E. Richter distinguished: 1. Mid-High-Level (2), 2. Mid-Falling (23 = 34), 3. Mid-Rising (43) and 4. Mid-Low-Level (4).[45]

In their Manual Chang and Shefts[46] distinguished tones of single vowels, which can be high or low and tones of geminate vowels and single vowels followed by *n* or *m*. The latter can be High-High, High-Falling, Low-Low or Low-Falling.

In a summary of a paper read in Leipzig at a conference on Tonal languages, I have distinguished pitch and flexion (i.e. contour) and claimed that in Tibetan tone consists of pitch and flexion. Pitch became phonologically distinctive after the disappearence of the preradicals and depends on the original voiced or voiceless character of the initial consonant or consonant cluster. It was also clear that contour, length, nasality, palatalization and closing depend on the disappearence of the finals.[47] For details I quoted my Tibeto-Mongolica.[48]

Nishida suggested distinguishing two tones, a (High)-Falling and a (Low)-Rising. This would be represented as follows:

Rising tone: *khaŋ* (WT *khaṅ*), *kaŋ* (WT *kaṅ*), *naŋ* (WT *gnaṅ*)

Falling tone: *khaŋ* (WT *gaṅ*), *kaŋ* (WT *dgaṅ*), *naŋ* (WT *naṅ*).[49]

M. C. Goldstein writes about four tones:[50] 1. High tone, 2. Low tone, 3. Falling tone and 4. Mid tone. Mid tone never occurs in the initial stressed position. It tends to be higher than mid following a High-tone syllable and slightly lower than mid after a Low-tone syllable.

[42] *On the Tibetan tonal system: CKYW* 6 (1956), cited after Nishida, *On the development* . . . see note 49.

[43] *Ts'ang-yü La-sa Jih-k'a-tse Chang-tu hua-tê pi-chiao yen-chiu*, Peking 1958.

[44] *The tonal system of Tibetan (Lhasa dialect): TP* 47 (1959), pp. 181–250.

[45] *Grundlagen der Phonetik des Lhasa-Dialektes*, Berlin 1964.

[46] *Manual* p. 1. On pp. XIX–XX of *Spoken Tibetan Texts Vol. I.* They wrote in addition: «We perceived the 'falling' tone, in isolation or in final position, as a released glottal stop (e.g. *[šaʔa]*), in other positions as a fall in pitch accompanied by some degree of glottal stricture. (. . . .). Even though the high tone with single vowels perceptibly falls, it differs from the 'falling' tone in its absence of glottalization. The fall of the high tone and the rise of the low we considered secondary to the height contrast». A detailed acoustic description of tones follows.

[47] *On the development and structure of the Tibetan toneme-system: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität*, Leipzig XVI, 1967, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe. Heft 1–2., p. 225.

[48] *Op. cit.*, pp. 195–197.

[49] T. Nishida, *On the development of tones in Tibetan: Acta Asiatica* 29 (1975), pp. 43–55.

[50] See p. 26 of his *Dictionary*.

P. B. Denlinger suggested replacing High and Low registers (i.e. pitches) «with a 'raised or retracted tongue-root position'» which he considered «as one of the chief characteristics of Mon-Khmer and Tibetan. . .»[51]

According to P. K. Benedict «. . . a two-tone system (or its equivalent) must be set up at the proto-S[ino] T[ibetan] level»,[52] which is a clear contradiction to Nishida's opinion according to whom in the 8th–9th centuries there were no tones in Tibetan and although Hsi-fan A (the material reflected by the *Hsi-fan-kuan i-yu*)[53] had had already two tones they had not yet become contrastive units (tonemes).[54]

I think this very sketchy and necessarily incomplete review of earlier literature is sufficient to demonstrate that we are far from having an already settled case.

I suggest accepting as a working hypothesis the following statements on Spoken Lhasa Tibetan:

1. All syllables have either High or Low pitch. This is the rule for any syllable uttered in isolation or under stress. In unstressed syllables the pitch-contrast can be reduced (see the «mid-tone» of Goldstein).
2. If the vowel of the syllable is short, only the pitch contrast is distinctive, that is a syllable with short vowel is either High or Low but has no contour (cf. Richter's 1st and 4th tone).
3. If the vowel is long (geminate) the first part can be either High or Low. The second can be either the same with the first (i.e. High + High or Low + Low) or it can fall. In the first case, we have an Even (or Level) contour, in the second case we have a Falling contour. This results in six tonemes, two of which occur only with short vowels and four only with long vowels (this statement will be refined below).

Fig. 5 *Pitch, length and contour*

Pitch	Contour	Toneme
High		V (+ High)
High + High	Even	V: (+ High, Even)
High + Fall	Fall	V: (+ High, Fall)
Low		V (+ Low)
Low + Low	Even	V: (+ Low, Even)
Low + Fall	Fall	V: (+ Low, Fall)

[51] *Beyond tone in Sino-Tibetan: Monumenta Serica* 31 (1975), pp. 334–343.

[52] *Tibeto-Burman tones with a note on teleo-reconstruction: Acta Orient. Havnae* 35 (1973), pp. 127–138.

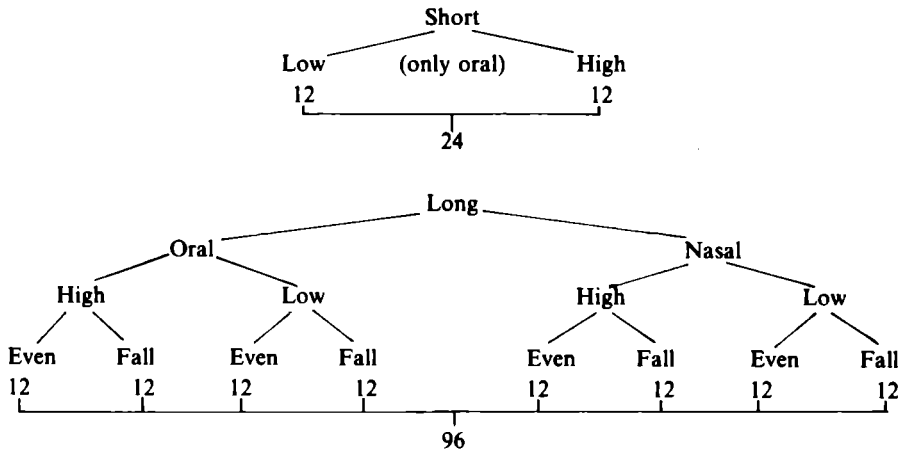
[53] See his work: *A study of the Tibetan–Chinese vocabulary Hsi-fan-kuan i-yu. An introduction to Tibetan linguistics*, Kyoto, 1970.

[54] *On the development* . . .

It is advisable to restrict the following analysis to monosyllabic words. Bisyllabic and polysyllabic words may so far differ that tone assimilation can be at work. This has to be investigated on a later stage.

In monosyllabic words we find that short vowels can only be oral and syllables with short oral vowels have either High or Low pitch. This gives 24 positions in a system where 12 vowels exist. Each of them can occur in a syllable either with High or with Low pitch. The subsystem with long vowels is more developed. The long vowels can either be oral or nasal, both can co-occur with either Even or Falling contour. If length and nasality are treated as segmental, additional features, we already have three times twelve, that is, 36 vowels, or strictly: vowel positions. In the following the possible positions are shown:

Fig. 6 *Short and long vowels (monosyllabic words)*



That short vowels can only be oral and have no suprasegmental features is already a restrictive rule. We have to find further restrictive rules which lessen the extremely high number of the possible vowels and which produce the existing ones.

If we classify the syllables of ST according to the possible combinations of consonants (C) and vowels (V) we find the following types as theoretically possible ones: V, CV, V:, CV:, CVC, VC, *CV: C, *V: C. Checking the types to the existing ones it is found that the asterisked types do not exist. This means that a syllable can either have a long vowel or a consonantal final but not both. This can be placed in classes:

Fig. 7 *Classes of syllable types*

Class I		Class II	Class III
	a.		
CV: High or Low	CV:	High or Low	*CV:C
V:	V:	Even or Fall	*V:C
		Nasal or Oral	
	b.		
	CVC	High or Low	
	VC		

From the fact that vowel length and final consonants are in complementary distribution one can conclude that one of them has to be secondary. In subclass IIa we find nasality and contour while in subclass IIb they are absent. Let us see some examples: *tha:* (+High, Falling, Oral) «distance», *tha:* (+Low, Falling, Oral) «pluralizing particle», *te:* (+High, Even, Nasal) «to depend», *te:* (+Low, Even, Nasal) «true», *thaŋ* (+Low) «conjunctive particle», *thaŋ* (+High) «plain, steppe», *tha* (+High) «limit, edge», *tha* (+Low) «now».

From the above and from what we know about linguistic universals we can conclude that nasality and contour emerged because of the loss of the final consonants:

$$-C > \emptyset \rightarrow \text{Length, Nasality, Contour}$$

That means that we have only the following underlying types of syllables: CV, V, CVC, VC.

In a further step it can be stated that the two types with vocalic initials (V and VC) are very defective. In Spoken Tibetan only two vowels can occur in syllable initial position U and A. They do not behave in the same way. The words with initial U- can have only high pitch: *u* (+High) «head», *up-* (+High) future stem of *pup-* «to put up», *ur-* (+High) «to pulverize», *u:* (+High, Falling, Oral) «breathing», *ü:* (+High, Falling, Oral) «the middle». On the other hand *a-* with its allophonic variant *ʌ* before *-p* can occur both with Low and High pitch: *ʌp-* (+Low) «to bark», *ʌp-* (+High) «to be numb of cold», *am* (+Low) «interrogative particle», *am* (+High) «mango». In this second case we have to deal either with two different *a-* vowels (*a* High and *a* Low), or the pitch depends on a later lost prevocalic element.

Let us see the following two verbs:

Present Tense	Future Tense	Meaning
puq (+Low)	*u:* (+High, Falling Oral)	«to bore»
piq (+Low)	*wiq* (+High)	«to pierce»

From these and similar cases one is entitled to suppose that in cases where now in ST we have vocalic initials, prevocalic consonants existed at an earlier stage. In the case of *a* (+Low) and *a* (+High) two different prevocalic components have to be supposed. Since the pitch depends in all other cases on the original presence or absence of the voice feature of the initial consonant[55] it can be assumed that *a* (+High) had an unvoiced preconsonantal element, while *a* (+Low) a voiced preconsonantal element. The historical analysis shows that this conclusion is correct.[56]

The conclusion that the vocalic initials are secondary, offers us a possibility to go a step further and claim that in the underlying syllabic structure we have only two types of syllables: CV and CVC.

Since we have proved by internal analysis that the long vowels are secondary, let us see which short vowels are permitted in final position. In monosyllabic words only the following vowels can be in final position: *-a, -o, -u, -i* and *-e*. We shall call them «Primary Vowels». It is now clear why these and only these are marked by the traditional Tibetan orthography (*a* being inherent). In polysyllabic words, however, a sixth short vowel can exist, the *ʌ*. This vowel occurs if the penult syllable has a closed vowel. This is a clear case of vowel assimilation or «vowel harmony». The set of the six short vowels is called «Basic Vowels». There exist three open vowels which can occur in a second syllable as short vowels: *e, a, o*. If the preceding syllable has a closed vowel all become closed, however only one new vowel appears: *e* changes into *i*, *o* changes into *u* and only *a* changes into *ʌ* which did not exist earlier.

Fig. 8 *Short vowels in final position (CV)*

In monosyllabic words: *a o u i e* (Primary Vowels)
In polysyllabic words: *a o u i e ʌ* (Basic Vowels)

penult syllable	final syllable	
Closed/Open	Closed/Open original	Closed/Open resultant
	a–	*ʌ*+
i+	*o*–	*u*+
u+	*e*–	*i*+
	i+	*i*+
	u+	*u*+

[55] Acoustically an initial consonant with voice and a voiceless initial consonant with co-occurring low pitch are very near to each other, because the low register causes more resonance. That the voiced character of the initial consonant is connected with the low pitch and the voiceless one with the high was also claimed for Chinese.

[56] It is at first sight striking that WT *db-* has High pitch and goes along with the *a-čhen*. In the early Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese the *ying* initial, i.e. the voiceless glottal stop is always rendered with Tibetan *a-čhen*, see B. Csongor, *Some Chinese texts in Tibetan script from Tun-huang: AOH* X (1960), pp. 113–114.

Fig. 8 cont.

A few examples:

čhu (+ High) «water»	+ *-pa* (nom.part.)	*chupʌ* «water carrier»
	+ *ṭe* «monkey»	*chuṭi* «water-monkey; year»
	+ *ṭo* «to go»	*chunṭu* «drainage»
	+ *ki* «dog»	*chuki* «water-dog; year»
mi (+ Low)	*to* «high»	*mitu* «low»
	ṭa «similar»	*miṭʌ* «different»[57]

If we confront the basic vowels with the 12 vowels of the system as described by Chang and Shefts, it can be stated that three processes were at work: lengthening, fronting and centralizing.

As a result of fronting four and as a result of centralizing two new vowels came into being. The processes worked as shown in Fig. 9:

Fig. 9 *Vowel processes*

Primary	Basic	Lengthening	Fronting	Centralizing
a	*a*	*a:*	*ɛ:*	*a:*
o	*o*	*o:*	*ö:*	*ɔ:*
e	*e*	*e:*	*e:*	*ɛ:*
i	*i*	*i:*	*i:*	*ė:*
u	*u*	*u:*	*ü:*	*ȯ:*
	ʌ	*ʌ:*	*ė:*	*a:*

Always the basic vowels change, i.e. they become long, fronted or centralized. (It becomes clear here why I would prefer *ȯ* instead of *ɔ* and *u̇* instead of *ȯ*).

From the above it is also clear that six of the twelve vowels were originally long and six were short:

Originally short: *a, o, e, i, u, ʌ,*

Originally long: *ɛ, ö, ü, ė, ɔ, ȯ.*

It can be added to the above that only long vowels can occur with nasality and as already stated, only long vowels can co-occur with contour.

It would be easy at this point to state that vowel quality and vowel quantity are in interdependence and hence one of them could be deleted. The fact is, however, that those vowels which were originally long can be shortened, e.g.: *kɛ:* (+ Low, Even, Oral) «to be victorious» + *tshɛ:* (+ High, Nasal, Even) «sign», *kɛntsɛ:* «banner (of victory)», *tɔ:* (+ Low, Fall, Oral) «single, individual», *tɔtɔ:* «solid, bulky». The shortening of the long vowels in polysyllabic constructions is an incomplete process

[57] For more examples see Chang and Shefts, *Vowel harmony...*

and some of its rules are clear, while others are not. Phonetic environment, stress and phrase intonation play an important role.

Up to this point my analysis avoided the use of historical or comparative evidence, and I did not rely on the written forms. Now I have to switch over to the history of the vowel system, because the quality of the secondary vowels can be determined only if we know which consonant was responsible for which change.

The final consonants of Old Tibetan (OT) pertain to one of the following three groups: 1. Consonants which disappeared as a rule, 2. consonants which have a tendency to disappear, and 3. a consonant which does not disappear. We can observe the following:

Fig. 10 *The disappearance of the OT final consonants and the emergence of the secondary vowel features*

	Finals	Lengthening	Fronting	Nasalization	Fall	Even	Special developments
1	*-d*	+	+	−	+		
	-s	+	+	−	+		
	-l	+	+	−		+	
	-n	+	+	+		+	
2	*-g*	+	−	−	+		*-og* > *ɔ:*
	-b	+	−	−	+		*-ab* > *ʌp*
	-ṅ	+	−	+	+		
	-r	+	−	−		+	*-or* > *ɔ:*
3	*-m*				+		

In the first category, the disappearence of all consonants caused lengthening and fronting. The difference is in nasality and in the contour. It is, however, remarkable that *-d* and *-s* make no difference in the features. This fact is of importance, because we know that in WT the final *-d* and *-s* were often interchanged by clerical error. This can be an indication of the fact that in the contemporaneous spoken language the loss of the two finals was already complete.[58] As already stated, the final consonants of group 2 have the tendency to disappear. Whether they do or do not depend on such conditions as polysyllabicity, unstressed position, and allegro speech tempo, etc. It is interesting that after the vowel *o* the disappearance of some consonants is farther advanced then after other vowels.

In group 2 we do not find fronting, on the other hand in those cases where the disappearence process is forwarded a centralizing process can be observed. This means that the centralizing process due to the disappearance of the final consonants emerges before our eyes.

[58] I would like to mention here that the *da-drag* and the *sa-drag* or the postfinal *-d* and *-s* were in complementary distribution in OT.

Since the disappearance of the consonants pertaining to group 2 is an uncompleted process, the presence or absence of the contour is also uncertain. If the consonant disappeared the contour is obligatory, e.g. *chɔ:* «to be allowed» (WT *čhog*) has High pitch, Falling contour and is Oral. In the composite *chɔqcɛ:* «approval» (WT *čhog-mčhan*) the first syllable is closed and though the vowel quality shows an originally long vowel, the vowel is short and has no contour. In the case of the verb with the meaning «to go into» two parallel forms exist: *cuq* (+ Low) and *cu:* (+ Low, Falling, Oral). It is from this type of ambiguity that in some cases a contour can be observed, in cases where disappearing consonants are still preserved.

The *sa-drag* has a special function. If it follows a consonant of the second category its tendency to disappear is greater. In addition, all syllables which ended in a *sa-drag* have a falling contour. If we look at Fig. 10. it can be seen, that only the *-r* occurs with Even contour, and in fact *-r* cannot be followed by a *sa-drag*. On the other hand, the Even contour co-occurs with those final consonants, which were permitted before a *da-drag*.

The consonant *-m* is the most stable final. In this respect Tibetan joins the East Asian linguistic area where the final consonants are generally disappearing with the exception of some nasals (as in Chinese, Manchu etc). Since the contour system is almost perfect, those syllables which have a final *-m* slowly adjust to the system and aquire Falling contour. In some cases, even long vowels appear before *-m* as positional, allophonic variants. Hence statement No. 3 on p. 224 can be made more precise. It is true that in general long vowels and contour appear only in open syllables, but contour and even long vowels are slowly emerging before *-m* which does not disappear.

As we have seen the vowel change has two major types of causes: vowel assimilation and the disappearance of the final consonants. A tendency of shortening long vowels in secondarily closed syllables can be added to this. We also have to reckon with a further process, which I shall call «vowel fusion» or «merger».

The difference between vowel fusion and vowel assimilation is that in the case of vowel assimilation two successive vowels influence each other or one of them the other, but both remain vowels. In the case of fusion, one vowel changes the other and simultaneously disappears. In ST the fusion occurs in the morphological alternants of nominal stems. Let us see the following example:

tshimpu «stitch»
tshimpȍ: (+ Falling) «tailor (i.e. who makes stitches)»
tshimpȍ: (+ Even) «to the stitch»
tshimpü: (+ Even) «of the stitch»
tshimpü: (+ Falling) «by the stitch»

In the above cases we deal with one and the same nominal word, but its meaning and/or syntactical function is different, and these different meanings and/or functions are marked by the change in the quality and quantity of the final vowel. What happened here can be seen if we compare the ST forms with the WT forms:

1. *'chem-bu*	*tshimpu*
2. *'chem-bu-pa*	*tshimpȯ:* (+ Falling)
3. *'chem-bu-la(ra)*	*tshimpȯ:* (+ Even)
4. *'chem-bu'i*	*tshimpü:* (+ Even)
5. *'chem-bus*	*tshimpü:* (+ Falling)

The first process was vowel assimilation. Under the influence of the closed *u* of the second syllable the *e* changed to *i* (see p. 227 above). In the cases of lines 2 and 3, the vowel *-a* of *-pa* and *-la/-ra* respectively caused a centralization of the final *-u* of the original stem: *u* > *ȯ* (this would be *u* > *u̇* in the transcripuon suggested by me) while both the consonants and the vowel *-a* disappeared. The difference is only in the contour. While by the disappearance of the *-p-* of *-pa* we have a Falling contour, and the disappearance of *-la* or *-ra* causes Even contour. Now looking at Fig. 10 it can be seen that the disappearance of *-b* causes Falling and the disappearance of *-l* and *-r* causes Even contour.

In lines 4 and 5, we observe fronting and lengthening: *u* > *ü:*. In case of *'chem-bu'i* we can interpret the second constituent as one syllable in the way that *-'i* could be interpreted as a final *-y*. It can be demonstrated with the help of the Tibetan metrics that this is not a speculative suggestion of a linguist, but a fact of the Tibetan language. Words ending in a short vowel plus the so-called «genetive marker» *i* (i.e. finals of the type *-V'i*) are treated as one syllable and if two syllables are needed, then *-yi* is written. For the illustration of this well known fact I quote only the first two stanzas of the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* (3a-b)

	number of syllables
1. mkhas-la yon-tan mdzod 'dzin-pa	7
2. de-dag legs-bšad rin-čhen sdud	7
3. rgya-mcho čhen-po *čhu-yi* gter	7
4. yid phyir čhu-bo thams-čad 'bab	7
5. skye-bo yon-tan yod-med-*pa'i*	7
6. blaṅ-dor blo-gros-ldan-pa mkhas	7
7. rtul-daṅ 'dres-*pa'i* lčags phye-rnams	7
8. khab-len *rdo-yis* len-pa šes[59]	7

[59] See L. Ligeti *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol*, Budapest, 1948.

It is clear that in line 3 the author needed a seventh syllable and therefore he wrote *čhu-yi* instead of *čhu'i*. The *-pa'i* of the lines 5 and 7 count one syllable each, while in line 8 instead of *rdos* the author used *rdo-yis* because he needed one more syllable.

Consequently: WT *bu'i* = ST *-puy* > *-pü:* (+ Even). The «instrumental marker» *-s* behaves as any final *-s* of the stem, and since according to Fig. 10 final *-s* causes Fronting and Falling contour we find *tshimpü:* (+ Falling).

In the case of the oppositions *tshimpu, tshimpò:* (+ Falling), *tshimpó:* (+ Even), *tshimpü:* (+ Even), *tshimpü:* (+ Falling) it can be clearly demonstrated that the contours have semantical functions, that is, they have the status of a toneme. It is also clear that length, centrality and fronting have distinctive lexical and morphological functions here. I think this is a very strong argument in favour of the phonological status of these vowels, though I would not like to enter into discussion here on what we understand by «phoneme». Be it enough to accept the principle that two sounds can be called phonemes if they can be contrasted. Two sounds are in contrast if they can occur in the same environment and are not in free variation, further if the contrast is used to express a semantic or grammatic difference.

Vowel assimilation has already been dealt with. This type of «vowel harmony» discussed by Sprigg,[60] Miller[61] and in this respect by Chang and Shefts in a special paper[62] shows a very strong influence of the closed vowels. The general processes are the following:

original				result		
1st syllable		2nd syllable		1st syllable		2nd syllable
OPEN	+	CLOSED	>	CLOSED	–	CLOSED
CLOSED	+	OPEN	>	CLOSED	–	CLOSED

It is very rare that the result is OPEN + OPEN.

Since we have analyzed a few processes, which have formed the present shape of the vowel system of ST, it would be of interest to consider what are the mutual relationships among them. Let us see an example: WT *dus-gtan* «always» became *thü:* (+ Falling) *tè:* (+ Even, Nasality). The *ü:* (+ Falling) is normal for the disappearing *-s* before *-u-*. WT *gtan* in isolation would become *tɛ̃:* (+ Even). But under the assimilative influence of *u* > *ü:* the *ɛ* becomes closed and the closed counterpart of *ɛ* is *è* (see Fig. 4). Nasalization, length and contour remain. If

[60] *Vowel harmony in Lhasa Tibetan: Prosodic analysis applied to interrelated vocalic features of successive syllables: BSOAS* XXIV (1961), pp. 116–138.

[61] *Early evidence for vowel harmony in Tibetan: Language* 42 (1966), pp. 252–277. See also: *Some problems in Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese from Tun-huang: Monumenta Serica* XXVI (1967), pp. 123–148.

[62] See the paper quoted in note 12.

assimilation would have occurred earlier than the disappearence of the final consonants, then in *dus-gtan* we would find *ʌ* in place of the *-a-* of the second syllable. If later this *ʌ* have been fronted, we would have *e:* (+ Nasality) and not *ė:* (+ Nasality). WT *dus-thog* «on time» is in ST *thü:* (+ Falling) *tȯ:* (+ Falling). WT *thog* itself is *thɔ:* (+ Falling) in ST. The vowel *ȯ* is the closed opposite of *ɔ*. If assimilation have worked first we would first have *-u-* in the second syllable, and *-u-* before a disappearing *-g* would remain *-u-* with the additional lengthening. Accordingly, it can be claimed that the results of the disappearence of the final consonant, if any, precede vowel assimilation. This means that the Tibetan vowel harmony developed relatively late, or at least its complete functioning was relatively late and it is unlikely that Old Tibetan already had it, as Miller supposed.[63]

It is very interesting to observe that lengthening and fusion exclude each other. Let us see the following example:

tshimpu: «stitch» *tshemqɔ:* (+ Even) «sewing machine»
tshimpü: (+ Even) «of the stitch» *tshemqɔ: - qi* «of the sewing machine»
tshimpȯ: (+ Even) «to the stitch» *tshemqɔ: - la* «to the sewing machine»

ST *tshemqɔ:* is WT *'chem-' khor*. Since both vowels are open no vowel assimilation occurred. After the disappearence of the final *-r o* became *-ɔ:* (see Fig. 10). This long vowel did not enter into fusion with the *-i* and *-a* of the suffixes.

This is very important for the investigation of the history of Tibetan. Here the phonetic function of the long vowels is the same with those of the final consonants. And in fact the suffixes in ST behave as they would occur after final consonants and not as they would after vocalic finals. This gives a relative chronology to the systems and processes, and further point to the age of the difference among the «genetive markers» of OT which were: *-'i* after vocalic finals and *-gi/gyi/kyi* after consonantal finals.

We can now combine the rules given above and their implications, and gain a more general statement of the vowel system of Spoken Tibetan:

Length, Fronting, Nasalization, Centralizing and Contour are secondary; their emergence precedes Vowel Harmony; Length with its co-occurrent features excludes Vowel Fusion. To this it can be added that the specific changes occurring within the general processes can be defined by historical rules.

The importance of these historical rules lies not only in the fact that they help reconstruct earlier forms and stages in the history of the Tibetan language. In some cases they may help in predicting future changes. This is, of course, possible only if the future changes are there in our present material as structural germs and/or just

[63] Cf. Note 61.

developing tendencies. In the following I shall try to show that the above analysis may serve as a starting point for predicting further changes.

Let us compare the following sets of words:

chu «water»	*khʌqcu* «water (honorific: icy water)»
chupʌ «water carrier»	*khʌqcò:* (+ Falling) «id.»
chulʌ «to the water»	*khʌqcó:* (+ Even) «id.»
chü: (+ Even) «of the water»	*khʌqcü:* (+ Even) «id.»
chü: (+ Falling) «by the water»	*khʌqcü:* (+ Falling) «id.»

What happened here? The particles *-pa* and *-la* did not enter into fusion with *chu* if it was a monosyllabic word. But as a second syllable of a bisyllabic word, the fusion did take place. To rewrite it into WT *čhu-pa* and *čhu-la* remain bisyllabic while in *khyags-čhu-pa* and *khyags-čhu-la* the same second parts entered into fusion and become *cò:* (+ Falling) and *-có* (+ Even) respectively.

Here we have a «weak point». I call «weak point» a place in the structure where it is the most likely that a change will occur. Let us generalize the above:

Fig. 11 *The «weak point»*

STEMS	PARTICLES				
	+ pa	+ ba	+ la	+ gyi	+ gyis
Monosyllabic					
-V	+ *pa*	-V:$_{F,C}$	+ *la*/*lʌ*	-V:$_{E,Fr}$	-V:$_{F,Fr}$
-V:	+ *pa*	+ *wa*	+ *la*/*lʌ*	+ *qi*	+ *qi*
-C	+ *pa*	+ *wa*	+ *la*/*lʌ*	+ *qi*	+ *qi*
Bisyllabic					
-V	-V:$_{F,C}$	-V:$_{F,C}$	-V:$_{E,C}$	-V:$_{E,Fr}$	-V:$_{F,Fr}$
-V:	+ *pa*	+ *wa*	+ *la*/*lʌ*	+ *qi*	+ *qi*
-C	+ *pa*	+ *wa*	+ *la*/*lʌ*	+ *qi*	+ *qi*

F = Falling, E = Even, C = Centralizing, Fr = Fronting

We see that the fusion is more general in bisyllabic words with short vocalic finals than in monosyllabic stems with short vocalic finals and does not occur at all in words having long vocalic or consonantal finals. It is interesting to see that *-pa* and *-ba* are kept separate with monosyllabic words, but merged after bisyllabic ones. The four features Falling and Even contour, Centralizing and Fronting work as distinctive features:

	Falling	Even	Centralizing	Fronting
Bisyllabic				
+ *la*		+	+	
+ *gyi*		+		+
+ *gyis*	+			+

Thus we can make the statement: Final syllables with short vocalic finals of polysyllabic words have a greater tendency to vowel fusion than monosyllabic words if all other conditions are the same.

In view of the above, some more general conclusions can be drawn: The gradual disappearence of the OT consonants in all positions with the exception of the radical position would have caused a large amount of homophonic words. The load of carrying distinctive features was shifted from the consonantal constituents of the syllable to the vocalic nucleus. This clear and general tendency can be divided into features which are clearly connected with the vocalic segment and to features which are suprasegmental, i.e. they effect the entire syllable. All changes which occurred in the prevocalic part of the syllable: disappearence, unvoicing, etc., effected the suprasegmental level and a two-pitch system arose with an additional feature of aspiration. The consonants of Spoken Lhasa Tibetan: *q, k, c, ṭ, t, p, ŋ, ñ, n, m, r, l, h, š* and *s* with the exception of the spirants *(h, š, s)* and *n* can be either aspirated or non-aspirated, carry either a High or a Low pitch. The position of the semivowels is special and needs further investigation.

All changes which occurred in the postvocalic part of the syllable caused the emergence of new segmental vocalic features and the appearance of the suprasegmental feature of contour.

The emergence of the new distinctive features was slow and for a long time they co-occurred and still co-occur with the constituents the gradual disappearence of which caused their emergence.

In a system where the basic syllable type is CV and CVC, the CV type is especially vulnerable and the fusion process, which has been demonstrated, works in this direction.

As in other «monosyllabic» languages, there is also in Tibetan a tendency working towards polysyllabicity. This lessens the functional load on the monosyllabic words. With the gradual generalization of the bisyllabic type of words, the language enters into a new linguistic type. Tone assimilation, atonic unstressed syllables, vowel fusion form the bisyllabic words. Whether or not a new monosyllabic period is in prospect by the reduction of some vowels remains an open, though interesting, question.[64]

[64] This is the original version of a paper, the abridged version of which was presented at the seminar «New directions in Tibetan Studies», Columbia University, July 25–31, 1982. Some of the ideas suggested in this paper were formulated in another paper given at the 3rd Csoma de Kőrös Symposium held at Velm/Vienna, 1981, but were not included in its published form. I would like to offer my sincere thanks to Betty Shefts and Kun Chang, with whom I had the opportunity to discuss some details of their already published work. My thanks are also due to Ch. Beckwith for his valuable comments on an earlier version. I had no access to A. M. Hari's *An investigation of the tones of Lhasa Tibetan*, Language Data, Asian Pacific Series No. 13, Huntington Beach, California, Summer Institute of Linguistic which is cited in R. Bielmeier's interesting recent paper: *Problems of Tibetan dialectology and language history with special reference to the* sKyid-gron *dialect*, *ZAS* 16 (1982), pp. 405–425. See recently: T. Takata, *Sur la naissance des tons du tibétain*, JA 1981, pp. 275–287.

NAMES OF KNOWN AND LESS KNOWN PLACES IN YER PA

BY

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Yer pa, or Brag Yer pa, is a well-known place of Tibet, linked to the Tibetan Buddhist tradition ever since the times of the Monarchy.

Located a few miles north-west of Lhasa, this important religious centre was a typical «hermitage city»[1] until the end of traditional Tibet, where siddhas or monks, but also simple laymen used to live in solitude in cells dug in the rocks, perhaps like the first cenobites,[2] to venture a comparison with our own religious history. In fact, like the cenobites, the meditators of Yer pa distinguished themselves from solitary hermits in that, even when remaining for years in their caves, they were in any case assisted by a conventual type of organization: authorities presiding over the community,[3] the *bla braṅ*,[4] temples and chapels for worship, people to take care of their daily necessities.

A famous place of pilgrimage, also because of some well-known visitors like Padmasambhava,[5] Vairocana,[6] Atīśa,[7] Dam pa Sańs rgyas,[8] Ras chuṅ rdo rje,[9] dGe 'dun rgya mtsho,[10] to mention but a few, Yer pa reminds us immediately of

[1] Tucci 1973, pp. 203–204.

[2] See, for example, the community of St. Pachome (348), H. Pirenne, *Storia d'Europa, dalle invasioni al XVI secolo*, Firenze 1956.

[3] Tucci 1980, p. 123.

[4] The temple of the *bla braṅ* of Yer pa is described as a building with twenty columns, inside of which were a statue of Atīśa, a bronze statue of sGrol ma, object of a special veneration as the protective divinity of Atīśa, 'Brom and rÑog, and a statue of Avalokiteśvara, *Si tu's guide*, p. 135.

[5] G. Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, Paris 1933, p. 411, *YKC* 15a.

[6] In *YKC* 16b it is said that Vairocana remained three years in the cave of Yer pa called Yer pa gtsug rum 'bar pa'i gnas drag po e yi pho braṅ; Vairocana's presence in Yer pa is also mentioned in *Si tu's guide*, p. 139.

[7] *YKC* 28b, *BA* p. 259.

[8] *BA* pp. 907–908.

[9] *rJe btsun ras chuṅ rdo rje grags pa'i rnam thar mkhyen thar lam gsal ba'i me loṅ ye śes snaṅ ba*, (1a–243a), 42b.

[10] The second Dalai-Lama (1475–1542) wrote a section of the third volume of his gSuṅ 'bum in Yer pa, as reported in the final colophon of that section under the title: *rJe btsun thams cad mkhyen pa'i gsuṅ 'bum thor bu las grub mtha rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru 'dazin* (1a–13b), 13b.

Lha luń dPal gyi rdo rje, the monk who murdered king Glań Dar ma (842).[11]

I should say at once that the historic data and descriptions of Yer pa, of some of its temples and caves, are found, as we known, in Ferrari and Tucci.[12] The text examined here, a guide-book of the place, will therefore add a few details to what is already known.

The title of the text is: *sGrub pa'i gnas mchog yer pa'i dkar chag dad pa'i sa bon,* indicated hereafter as *YKC (Yer pa'i dkar chag);* it was written by Źi ba'i sñiń po, printed in Lhasa in 1938 by Lhun thub bstan 'phel (*YKC* 33a–34b). It is subdivided into three parts: 1) history of the first spreading *(sńa dar)* of the Doctrine in Yer pa until the time of Glań Dar ma, 1b–18b; 2) a *dkar chag* of Yer pa attributed to Lha luń dPal gyi rdo rje, 18b–26b; 3) history of the second spreading *(phyi dar)* of the Doctrine in Yer pa, 26b–33a.

In all three chapters, the history of Yer pa is actually the history of the temples of Yer pa, of its *mchod rten* and caves *(phug)*, as well as of the related traditions and legends.

The names of places takes from the text follow the chronological order given by the author.

*

Brag lha — According to the tradition, the initiative of founding a first Buddhist temple in Yer pa was taken by one of the wives of King Sroń btsan sgam po (620?–649).[13] The story of a *lha khań* miraculously *(rań byuń)* sprung up from the rocks at the time of Sroń btsan sgam po is told in *YKC* 4b, and can be summarized as follows: «The Nepalese wife Khri btsun asked the King to build temples in order to counteract the strong power of the 'Dre srin who opposed the Doctrine. Although he had ordered the Ra sa sprul snań and the Ra mo che to be built, the Chinese princess Koń jo saw through her magic art that Ra sa[14] was not yet suitable. Avalokiteśvara himself selected the rock of Yer pa (*YKC* 5b). His emanation, the *sPrul pa'i rgyal po* Sroń btsan sgam po[15] brought the two queens there, and the Lha 'dre paid homage to them in the Brag lha dgon po of the *lha khań rdo rje brag* issued from itself.»

[11] For the account of Glań Dar ma's death, see S. Karmay, *The treasury of good sayings, a Tibetan history of Bon,* London 1972, p. 107; E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism by Bu ston,* 2nd. Vol., Heidelberg 1932, pp. 198–199; R. Stein, *Une chronique ancienne de bSam yas: sBa bżed,* Paris 1961, pp. 80–82; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism,* London 1895, pp. 34–35.

[12] Ferrari, pp. 103–104, Tucci 1980, pp. 123–127.

[13] Ferrari, p. 103.

[14] Ancient name of the Lhasa valley, G. Tucci, *The tombs of the Tibetan kings,* Rome 1950, p. 81.

[15] About this title of the king see R. A. Stein, *«Saint et divin», un titre tibétain et chinois des rois tibétains,* in *JA* 1981 (231–275), p. 234.

Thus, tradition has firmly linked the king's name to Yer pa, indicated in the text as *srog śiṅ*[16] of Lhasa, so that even in modern times his meditation cave, the Chos rgyal phug,[17] was shown to visitors.

Kha thog Si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho, disciple of 'Jam dbyaṅs mkhyen brtse'i dbaṅ po (1820–1892), whose book on his journeys to Tibet's holy places gives us a description of Yer pa somewhat more elaborate than his master's, recalls that in this cave[18] there was a statue of Buddha Sakyamuni *(Thub)*, the statues of the Rigs gsum mgon po and the horse-head shaped statue self-generated from the rock, and that the position of the cave was at a lower level than that of the Byams khaṅ.[19]

Brag lha, from which may derive the name of Brag Yer pa(?), designated a specific site in Yer pa, and it should be remembered that the latter is also the general name given to the valley where the place itself is located.[20] In fact, Brag lha is again mentioned in the *dkar chag* of Yer pa attributed to dPal gyi rdo rje, as the place where the first *mchod rten* were erected after the arrival of dPal gyi rdo rje and his two brothers (*YKC* 19b). In brief, this is the story: «In times past, Yer pa was looked upon as the residence of Bya rgyal rgod; it then became a market place for the Hor, and finally a point of arrival of the sages *(mkhas btsun)*. The name of Lha luṅ's family was sTag ñag bzaṅ, and his place of birth[21] 'Brom stod (*YKC* 19a). One day, he heard from a lecturer the story of a member of his family, a commander against the Chinese armies, allegedly reborn in hell after taking up arms, who had a red birthmark under the footsole.

Having heard this, dPal gyi rdo rje looked under his footsole and saw the red spot. With his two brothers bTsun pa dpal dbyaṅs and Rab 'byor dbaṅ po he then went to bSam yas, where he took the vows from the mkhan po Byaṅ chub sems dpa' (Śāntarakṣita), Vimalamitra and Padmasambhava (*YKC* 19b). It happened that dPal gyi rdo rje's religion coat was blown by the wind to the top of the Lha ri sñiṅ

[16] Literally, *srog* means vital force, Tucci 1973, p. 245; on this term see also R. A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, Paris 1962, p. 155. It is advisable to translate here: support *(śiṅ)* of the vital force, also because, as explained in *YKC* 6b–9a, Yer pa would provide for the necessities of Lhasa in case of need; for example, if Lhasa were struck by famine, its people could be fed by the gtor ma of Yer pa, etc.

[17] Tucci 1980, p. 126.

[18] *Si tu's guide*, p. 136.

[19] *See* note 43.

[20] Ferrari, p. 104.

[21] It is probably the same 'Brom stod south of Yer pa on the northern bank of sKyi chu, Ferrari, p. 105; it should be remembered that the region called sGreg or sGrags, south of this place, included in olden days Lha luṅ, place of birth of Khri 'dus sroṅ btsan (676), L. Petech, *Glosse agli Annali di Tun-Huang*, in *RSO* XLII (1967), (241–279), p. 243. dPal gyi rdo rje's place of birth as indicated in Tarthang Tulku, *The Twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava*, in *Crystal Mirror* IV (1975), (pp. 35–74), p. 67, Kar mo roṅ, is entirely different although located in proximity of Lhasa.

po.[22] At that time, as mKhas pa stoń gzigs pa was inspecting the territory, he saw that hill in a form similar to the image of sGrol ma, and after consecrating *(sgo bye)* the site, he made it suitable place for meditation. The three brothers invited their relatives and the people of Ka ba yul to go there, and the rNal 'byor phug *mchod rten*, the lCog khań *mchod rten*[23] and the Brag khuń ka ru'i *mchod rten* were erected (*YKC* 19b–20a) at Brag lha, on the spot where votive stones *(brag brus)* had been smashed, respectively in correspondence with the appearance of a *brag srin*, of a *klu* from below, and of a *lha srin* from above. In a twenty-year span, many followers of the doctrine had gathered there, and the three brothers exhorted people of higher and medium quality to go to Yer pa. Others came from Phu ron sgań, attracted by the sound of the trumpet and they all assembled in the Khyams khra mo (*YKC* 20a). Manifestations of common and uncommon nature took place: some people would hang their clothes on sun and moon rays,[24] others could fly.

So the caves of Yer pa were filled with *grub thob*; there were 108 caves. dPal gyi rdo rje's dependants attended to their needs (*YKC* 21b). From then on, the caves were named after the meditators; thus, for example, the rDo rje phug cave was named after rDo rje byań chub, the Sog phug after Sog rDo rje sñiń po, while the Dril bu phug[25] was given that name because it is there that 'Khun Klu'i dbań po[26] obtained the realization of bDe mchog (*YKC* 21b); the rNal 'byor phug, where Lha luń had received the siddhi of Kun tu bzań po was then given this name after rNal 'byor rGyal mtsan.

The three brothers went on building *mchod rten* and chapels. But rivalry and jealousy soon arose between dPal gyi rdo rje and Rab 'byor dbyańs (called before Rab 'byor dbań po) (*YKC* 22a). The latter had stronger power than his brother; in order to secure what he needed to compensate the sculptors for their work and to celebrate the consecration *(rab gnas)*, he took up his drum and hit the rock while he sang (*YKC* 22b); the stone crumbled and the pieces turned into gems. This made it possible to complete a nine-pinnacles *mchod rten*, which had relics of Śāriputra

[22] The Bla ri hill of Yer pa, Tucci 1980, p. 125; on the term *bla ri see* T. V. Wylie, *Etymology of Tibetan Bla ma*, in *CAJ* XXI (1977) (145–148), p. 147.

[23] The lCog khań is also mentioned in the *Si tu's guide*, p. 137, as the dPal lha lCog; several very ancient statues of the Lha luń period were kept inside.

[24] The religious background is that of the rÑiń ma pa; it should be noted that obtaining this particular power was common also for Bon masters, as can be read in their biographies; *see* for examples the biography of bKra śis rgyal mtshan in *Nispanna-yoga History and doctrine of Bon*, ed. by L. Chandra–L. T. Namdak, New Delhi 1968, p. 86–87.

[25] The rDo rje phug and Dril bu phug caves are also mentioned in the *Si tu's guide* p. 137, besides Ferrari, p. 43.

[26] 'Khun stands for 'Khon, as spelled correctly also in the text (*YKC* 24b); he is one of the famous seven *sad mi*, see G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts* (Part II) Rome 1958, p. 12.

inside, and to entrust the consecration to the *grub thob* of Chu bo ri.[27] They held the ceremony (*YKC* 23a) at Lhasa during seven days for three times, then repeated it three times at bSam grub,[28] three times in front of dPal ldan lha mo,[29] and twenty-four times at Brag lha. King Glaṅ Dar ma started to persecute the monks and the Doctrine. dPal gyi rdo rje received a letter enjoining him to go back to Lhasa to take charge of hunters and fishermen (i.e. the monks compelled to hunt and fish).

He decided not to obey and to kill the king (*YKC* 23b). After the assassination, a voice from heaven was heard saying that the king had been killed by Gru hor[30] (*YKC* 24a). After these events, an important centre for meditation was established at Yer pa; the temple of Tshaṅ dmar and many *mchod rten* were built which are no longer to be seen (*YKC* 25a).»

sPre'u dmar ser po: According to *YKC* 5b, this temple also is said to date back to the time of Sroṅ btsan sgam po, and to have been built with residual material of the Ra sa sprul snaṅ and Ra mo che building site. The *sku rten* of the temple was a statue of Vairocana (rNam par snaṅ mdzad), its *gsuṅ rten* were inscriptions of the six letters *(yi ge drug ma 'bum)*, and as *thugs rten* it had hundred *mchod rten sa tsha tsa*. At the time, a wood of juniper was planted as a support for the *Chos skyoṅ sruṅ ma*. The sPre'u dmar ser po lha khaṅ was located lower than Brag lha.

A temple with the same name is also cited in Tucci and in Si tu's guide,[31] but of such an ancient temple only the name has remained: both travelers limit themselves to record it, as they did not find anything else of significance. Kha thog *bla ma* just adds that inside the temple there were many clay statues donated by the *sde pa* of sTag rtse.[32] During the restoration works made by *Bla ma* Zaṅs ri[33] in the cemetery

[27] Ferrari, p. 163.

[28] I do not believe that bSam grub refers to gŹis ka rtse, whose ancient name was bSam grub rtse, Ferrari, p. 144.

[29] There was a chapel at Yer pa in honour of dPal ldan lha mo, Tucci 1980, p. 124; on the protective divinity of Lhasa, see R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz; *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, The Hague 1956, pp. 22–37.

[30] *Gru* stands for *gru gu-* or *dru gu*, a term used from the beginning of the 9th century to indicate the Uigurs, see L. Ligeti, *A propos du «Rapport sur les rois demeurant dans le Nord»*, in: *Études Tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris 1971, p. 174; also the *Hor*, a term used later to designate the Mongols, are the Uigurs, perhaps in an abbreviated from Ho yo hor, about whom see R. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, Paris 1959, p. 188, p. 278, and T. Moriyasu, *Hor et Ho yo hor dans le manuscrit Pelliot Tibétain 1283*, in *AOH* (1–3) 1980, (pp. 171–184), p. 183.

[31] Tucci 1980, p. 127, *Si tu's guide*, p. 137.

[32] This is probably the puppet-ruler Lha rgyal rab brtan of the Dzungar period (1717–1720), L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 2nd ed. Leiden 1972, p. 52.

[33] This is Bla ma Zaṅs ri rgya ras, one of the masters of rTa ston jo yes of Chu bo ri, (1163–1230), BA, pp. 143, 146–148

(dur khrod) of the temple, a bilingual Chinese and Tibetan inscription was also found in the building.

Zla ba phug and *Padma phug*: At the time of Khri sroṅ lde brtsan (755–797?), Padmasambhava came to Yer pa where he spent one month in meditation in the Padma phug, and seven months in the Zla ba phug, which he considered as being one of the three major places of realization *(sgrub gnas)*, the other two being Śel brag phug of Yar kluṅs and mChims phu'i khe'u tshaṅ phug of bSam yas.

A large number of texts were hidden in the caves of Yer pa during that period. The following list is taken from the *dKar chag gter yig* incorporated in *YKC* 9b–12b:[34]

Caves	Texts
mkha' 'gro phug	— *mkha' 'gro sde bźi sgrub pa'i chos gter*
pad phug	— *mkha' 'gro sde bźi bran du khol ba'i gter*
sog phug	— *'pho ba groṅ 'jug mṅon sum du mthoṅ ba'i gter*
lcog roṅ phug	— *bram ze skye ba bdun pa'i thod pa lṅa brtsegs pa'i gter*
bya phug	— *sṅon gyi pha ma ṅo śes pa'i gter*
hor tshaṅ phug	— *lha ma smad kyi skye ba maṅ po dran pa daṅ smon lam btab pa'i gter yig g.yu'i rul sbal ral gri pha rol 'phun bar byed pa 'phrul gyi źags pa gaṅ yin zin par byed pa'i gter*
zaṅ phug	— *mon mo gcig gyi gser bum pa gaṅ khur ba'i gter*
bka' na phug	— *sog pos gser sraṅ bco brgyad khur nas 'phel ba'i gter*
sog kha phug	— *g.yu dkar yol gaṅ gter*
bse phug	— *nad thams cad rab tu żi ba'i gter*
ñi ma phug	— *gser gyi gźoṅ pa g.yus kheṅs pa'i gter*
lcags phug	— *g.yul 'gyed pa las rgyal bar byed pa'i gter*
nam mkha' phug	— *rtsi ma gi žes bya ba bdud thams cad rab tu źi bar byed pa'i gter*
zla ba phug	— *sgrol ma dkar mo la brten nas tshe 'phel bar byed pa'i gter*
rnal 'byor phug	— *nor sgrub pa'i gter*
bse phug	— *dbaṅ che bar byed pa'i gter*

[34] I limit myself to transcribe the list of texts, since it is linked to the names of the caves in Yer pa; in the pages following (*YKC* 12a–13b) there are short indications about the time period *(dus)* in which these *gter ma* were to be found.

brag lha phug — *bu skye bar byed pa dań dbań du bsdu ba'i gter*
seń ge phug — *gser gyi maṇḍala gyi gter*
dril bu phug — *chu śel gyi gter*
rdo rje phug — *mthu bo che rṅa sgra'i gter*
rgyal phug — *sańs rgyas stoń rtsa gñis kyi skye brgyud bgrań ba'i gter*

stag phug — *dṅul gyi lu gu dkar mo gcig gi gter*
rdol phug — *dṅul gyi byis pa mtho gań pa gcig gi gter*
bya phug — *gser dṅul sbrań rta'i khog pa gań gyi gter*
gzim phug — *lha ma yin bran du 'khol ba'i gter*
smam phug — *nam mkha'i bya la sgom thebs pa'i gter*
g.ya phug — *chos gos ñi zer khebs pa'i gter*
rtsa ri phug — *gser drel rgyab mdun gyi gter*
'byor ldan phug — *padma 'byuń gnas nub phyogs o rgyan du bźud pa'i skor gter*

yon tan phug — *gsań sṅags gsar rñiń guń sprod pa'i gter*
bdud rtsi phug — *ral gri brgya'i gter*
loń khoń phug — *ci bsam grub pa'i gter*
rta na phug — *dbań po lag pa bcud len gyi gter*
brag rtsa phug — *me'i gter*
blo yas phug — *lcags gyi gter*
tshal phug — *zańs gyi gter*
ral pa phug — *dṅul gyi gter*
bkra śis phug — *śiń gi gter*
yi roń phug — *gnag phyugs dgras mi tshugs pa'i gter*
gser phug — *tshańs pa'i gnas mthoń ba'i gter*
phag phug — *gań 'dod slebs pa'i gter*
bkra śis phug — *tshoń gań 'dod 'thebs pa'i gter*
rta na phug — *gser gyi rma bya'i gter*
a phug — *rin chen sna lṅa'i gter*
gol phug — *sdań ba thams cad rab tu bźi ba'i gter*
yol phug — *char 'bebs pa'i gter dbus gyi ri bo mgo mjug med par mthoń ba'i gter*

cuń tshań phug — *bzod pa sgom pa gzuńs thob pa'i gter, sgrol ma'i dbu la char 'bebs pa'i gter, sgrol ma'i nu ma g.yas na byis pa 'byuń ba'i gter, sgrol ma'i nu ma g.yon la tshe chu'i gter, sgrol ma'i bha ga na chu'i gter sgrol ma'i źabs g.yas pa śā ri bu'i riń bsrel gyi gter, źabs g.yon pa la de bźin gšegs pa'i riń bsrel gyi gter, phyag gñis na bum gter*

spre'u ser po	— *byams pa dań sñiń rje'i gter*
spre'u dmar po	— *rgyal po bran du 'khol ba'i gter*
'khyams khra mo	— *dgon po byams pa'i skye rab dań sańs rgyas rnams kyis bstan pa'i 'byuń tshul dań skye rabs kyi gter*
ba rań	— *chu šiń blań gor gyi gter*
klu khań	— *bdud rnams mnan te 'dul ba'i gter*
bla brań	— *sńon gyi rgyal blon rnams kyi bka' tshems kyi gter*
ra ba koń mo	— *rtsi ma ṭi ta'i gter*
gzim khań	— *rta mgrin dmar po'i gter*
dpal ldan lha mo	— *gdoń bgegs rtsad nas gcod pa'i gter*
sroń phug	— *seń ge brzus nas 'phur pa'i gter*
mchod rten ke ru	— *duń gi mi dkar po gcig gi gter*
mchod rten rtse mo gsum pa	— *sńoń gyi rgyal blon rnams gyi gduń rgyud gyi gter*
mchod rten de zur mań	— *padma 'byuń gnas kyi phur pa bsgrub pa'i gter, klu bran du 'khol ba'i gter*
mchod rten dkar chuń	— *'khor bar blo ldog pa'i gter*

mChod rten phur 'bum: The story of a *mchod rten* by that name is also linked with the presence of Padmasambhava in Yer pa. Here it is in brief: «Padmasambhava threw a wooden magical dagger *(phur pa)* against a spirit of the soil *(sa bdag)* who had appeared at the top of a hill, looking like a child of about eight years. From then on, the internal relic of the *mchod rten* has been the wooden *phur pa*» (*YKC* 15b).

mChod rten dkar chen: Still at the time of Khri sroń lde brtsan, this *mchod rten*, with relics of the Buddha and the *Vaiḍūrya glegs bam* as internal relics at its centre, was erected at Yer pa with residual building material of bSam yas (*YKC* 16a).

mChod rten dkar chuń bar ma: This *mchod rten* was built at the time of Sa da na legs (799–815) with residual material from the Lha khań dKar chuń[35] (*YKC* 17b).

mChod rten dkar chuń goń ma and *Ra ba'i mchod khań*: These constructions belong to the Ral pa can (815–838) period, and were made with residual material from the Lha khań U śań rdo[36] (*YKC* 18a). In *YKC*, the *mchod khań* of Ra ba is linked to the story of the sixteen Arhats.[37] The story is briefly told and corresponds to the traditional legend, but with the addition that the images of the sixteen Arhats

[35] G. Tucci, *The tombs of the Tibetan kings*, Rome 1950, p. 50.

[36] Ferrari, p. 166.

[37] See the history of the introduction into Tibet of the cult of the sixteen Arhats in Tucci 1949, pp. 556, 562–563, 616, and L. S. Dagyab, *Tibetan religious art*, (2 Vols), Wiesbaden 1977, p. 61 and *ff.*

donated by a king of China, were placed together with other relics in the temple of Ra ba[38] of the mÑa bdag (Ral pa can) (*YKC* 18b).

The name of this *mchod khaṅ* does not appear in the sources to which I have access; it could be the ancient name of the chapel with the images of the sixteen Arhats, usually indicated as *gnas bcu khaṅ* (abbr. of *gnas brtan bcu drug gi khaṅ*). The gNas bcu khaṅ of Yer pa, whose *naṅ gzugs* were the images of the sixteen Arhats brought by Klu mes 'Brom chuṅ from China, is also mentioned in the Si tu's guide.[39]

Oddly enough, the *YKC* does not say a word about Klu mes and his disciples in connection with this legend, while, as we know, they are generally said to have introduced the cult of the sixteen Arhats into Tibet.

mChod khaṅ: rÑog Byaṅ chub 'byuṅ gnas, one of the four famous disciples of Klu mes, came to Yer pa and built a chapel whose main divinity were Vairocana and his attendants (*YKC* 27a).

This chapel may be the same than the one called Yer pa lha khaṅ, mentioned in the *Blue Annals*, which was built in 1110 or 1020 by the disciples of Klu mes.[40]
Byams Khaṅ: In the text, the name given to this temple is Sog kha'i *mchod khaṅ*[41] too. It was built on the initiative of dMar ston Chos kyi 'byuṅ gnas of Khams.[42] Its main statue was that of Maitreya, from which derived the name Byams khaṅ.[43] The *sgo sruṅ* or guardians of the entrance of the temple were the statues of the red rTa mgrin and of the angry Phyag na rdo rje (*YKC* 27a). The Si tu's guide also refers to an image of dMar ston which was kept inside the temple, and that the temple itself had been built on the site where the eighty siddhas of Yer pa once used to live.[44] About this temple, the text (*YKC* 30b) further says that Atīśa, rÑog and 'Brom (rÑog Byaṅ chub 'byuṅ gnas and 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byuṅ gnas) used to perform the rituals of sMan lha before the statue of Maitreya.

[38] Literally, *ra ba* means courtyard, corridor, and also an open air space, as in H. Richardson, *The Jo khang «Catheadral» of Lhasa*, in *Essais sur l'art du Tibet*, Paris 1977, p. 159; but here it is the name of a chapel or temple, also because in the list of the caves of the *gter ma* in Yer pa a Ra ba *koṅ mo* (i.e. Ra ba *phug*) is mentioned.

[39] *Si tu's guide*, p. 139.

[40] *BA*, p. 74.

[41] Literally, the term *sog kha pa* means a kind of medicinal grain; I wonder whether this temple is the one referred to by H. Harrer, *Seven years in Tibet*, 4th ed. London 1970, p. 170, where the physician monks dried the erbs picked up in the neighbourhood of Yer pa.

[42] The master of dMar is one of the disciples of the seven *sad mi*, BA, p. 83.

[43] The description of the temple is in Tucci 1980, p. 125, and in *Si tu's guide*, p. 136.

[44] Ferrari, p. 104.

Ma ni lha khaṅ yig drug: A legend is told about this place considered as being highly miraculous: «An old blind woman and a deaf girl found their lost goat, which was their only good, in this place, and recovered sight and hearing. Also later on, the water springing from that spot would heal the eyes.» (*YKC* 27a).

This is probably the same place that Dam pa Saṅs rgyas visited, and which is mentioned in the *Blue Annals* as the Ma ni padma.[45] A Yig drug lha khaṅ is also mentioned in the Si tu's guide, and is said to have been located under the *gzims khaṅ* of Atīśa, with an image of Saṅs rgyas rgya mtsho[46] kept inside.

When Atīśa came from sÑe thaṅ to stay at Yer pa on the invitation of rṄog Byaṅ chub 'byuṅ gnas, several chapels, *mchod rten* and statues were erected and consecrated by Atīśa himself.[47] The text (*YKC* 31b) refers to five *sku rtsa*, the *mchod rten bkra śis sgo maṅ* and the *mchod khaṅ dri gtsaṅ khaṅ* whose main statue was one of Atīśa, 'Brom and Nag tsho lotsava (Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba), made of clay and with a tooth of Atīśa as its internal relic (*YKC* 31b). The Si tu's guide mentions the cave where this statue had been placed as the rTen 'brel phug.[48] And further, to enable Atīśa to perform the ritual of salutation, the *mchod rten* dKor sbyoṅ 'bum 'bar was built there.

One of Atīśa's disciples, Bla ma Yer pa Źaṅ btsun,[49] built the *sku gduṅ mchod rten* (*YKC* 32a). It is obvious that because of the presence of Atīśa at Yer pa, where for three years he gave a full exposition of the doctrine *(bka' gdams nor bu'i źus lan, thig le bcu drug, pha chks, bu chos, khu chos)*,[50] this place would be venerated especially by the bKa' gdams pa, who considered it greater than Rva sgreṅ (the monastery founded by 'Brom ston in 1056), and that some of them who were sick would go to Yer pa to die. In fact, the Si tu's guide mentions the existence of four large funeral pyramids of the bKa' gdams pa.[51]

Then, after a period of decline, the first people who went back to Yer pa to perform the rites of offerings (*YKC* 32a) laymen were.

[45] *BA*, p. 908; *Si tu's guide*, p. 139.

[46] Even if only briefly, Yer pa is mentioned in *Vaiḍūrya ser po*, the catalogue of the monasteries of the gDe lugs pa sect, written by the regent Saṅs rgyas rgya mtsho (1673–1705), see *Vaiḍūrya ser po*, ed. by L. Chandra, New Delhi 1960, Part. I, p. 125a.

[47] About Atīśa at Yer pa, see also A. Chattopadhyaya, *Atīśa and Tibet*, Calcutta 1967, pp. 427, 432, 466.

[48] *Si tu's guide*, p. 136.

[49] *BA*, pp. 262, 321.

[50] On the bKa' gdams pa texts see H. Eimer, *Berichte über das Leben der Atīśa*, Wiesbaden 1977; in particular it was precisely at Yer pa Lha ri sñiṅ po that rṄog Legs pa'i ses rab, the founder of gSaṅ phu (1073), wrote a section of the bKa' gdams bu chos entitled: *'Brom ston rgyal ba'i byuṅ gnas kyi skyes rabs bka' gdams bu chos le'u ñi su pa.*

[51] *Si tu's guide*, p. 135.

The necessary restoration work was carried out by the *Chos rje* Kumāra Buddha[52] according to the order of Lho brag Phyag rdor-ba (*YKC* 32b). In the residence of Kumāra Buddha, there was a life-size mural of the eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, made by his younger brother as spiritual support of Kumāra Buddha himself.

At that time, lay people were banned and a school of meditation was established at Yer pa. Grags pa rgyal mtshan[53] paid a visit to Yer pa; restoration works were done by the lords of sNe'u gdoṅ[54] who had also borrowed from the temple of Ra ba for worship, and then returned, the images of the sixteen Arhats (*YKC* 18b); the *rdzoṅ dpon*[55] donated a silken image of Rigs gsum mgon po to the temple of Brag lha; the *bla ma* of gÑa' naṅ and his disciple built a *mchod rten* with a Chinese dome, and, in particular, the Authorities of Lhasa had several constructions erected on this site (*YKC* 33a).

ABBREVIATIONS

BA = G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, New Delhi 1976, *reprint*.

Ferrari = A. Ferrari, *mK'yen brtse's guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958.

Si tu's guide = Si tu's guide to Central Tibet, *Gaṅs ljoṅs dbus gtsaṅ gnas bskor lam yig*, by Kha thog Si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho, Tashijong 1972.

Tucci 1949 = G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 2 vols, Rome 1949.

Tucci 1973 = G. Tucci–W. Heissig, *Les religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie*, Paris 1973.

Tucci 1980 = G. Tucci, *A Lhasa ed oltre*, Rome 1980, 2nd ed.

[52] This personage was a contemporary of Phag mo gru pa (1110–1170); he is mentioned in Tucci 1949, p. 688 and in *Si tu's guide*, p. 135.

[53] Grags pa rgyal mtshan of the Sa skya pa (1147–1216).

[54] sNe'u gdoṅ was the seat of the temporal ruler *(goṅ ma)* of the Phag mo gru pa family.

[55] On the *rdzoṅ dpon*, or district chiefs, the new aristocracy created by Byaṅ chub rgyal mtshan of rLaṅs (1302–1373), see Tucci 1949, p. 27.

A TIBETO-MONGOLIAN MANUSCRIPT OF LEXICOGRAPHICAL EXPLANATIONS TO THE *RGYUD-BŽI*

BY

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Among many other subjects, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös paid keen attention to the principal Tibetan medical work, the *Rgyud bži* «Four Treatises». It is attributed to Shākya, though not introduced into the Kanjur and Tanjur. Csoma gave a detailed analysis of this fundamental handbook of medicine based on the book written by his lama-teacher, Saṅs-rgyas phun-chogs, a monk of the monastery of Zangla. This work is the only book which was published by Csoma almost in its entirety.[1] The work has four parts:

1) Tib. *Rca-rgyud*	Skr. *Mūla-tantra*	«The primary text»
2) Tib. *Bšad-rgyud*	Skr. *Ākhyāta-tantra*	«The explanatory text»
3) Tib. *Man-ṅag-rgyud*	Skr. *Upadeśa-tantra*	«The text of instructions»
4) Tib. *Phyi-ma-rgyud*	Skr. *Uttara-tantra*	«The concluding text»[2]

The language and mode of expression in *Rgyud bži* are very cryptic and this is perhaps the reason why there are many commentaries on different sections of this work. The most important commentaries are:
Legs-bšad nor-bu (Skr. *Subhāṣita-ratna*) by *Byams-pa* (14th century),
Commentary by *Zur-mkhar-ba Mñam-ñid-rdo-rje* (14th century),
Vaidūrya sṅon-po (Skr. *Nīla vaidūrya*, or Blue Lapis lazuli) by *Sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mcho* (1653–1705).[3]

[1] Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, *Analysis of a Tibetan Medical Work: Journal of the Asiatic Society IV*, 1835, 1–20. Also in: *Tibetan Studies* being a reprint of the articles contributed to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, ed. by E. Denison Ross, Calcutta 1912, pp. 47–65. The summary made for Csoma by Saṅs-rgyas-phun-chogs is preserved at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, cf. J. L. Nagy, *Tibetan Books and Manuscripts of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* in: *Analecta Orientalia Memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dedicata*, ed. by L. Ligeti, Budapest 1947, pp. 38–41. J. Terjék gave a detailed description of the manuscript in *The Collection of Tibetan MSS and Xylographs of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, Budapest 1976, pp. 33–37. It is reprinted in: *Tibetan Compendia Written for Csoma de Kőrös by the Lamas of Zans-dkar: Śata-piṭaka Series* 231, New Delhi 1976, pp. 223–312, ed. by J. Terjék.

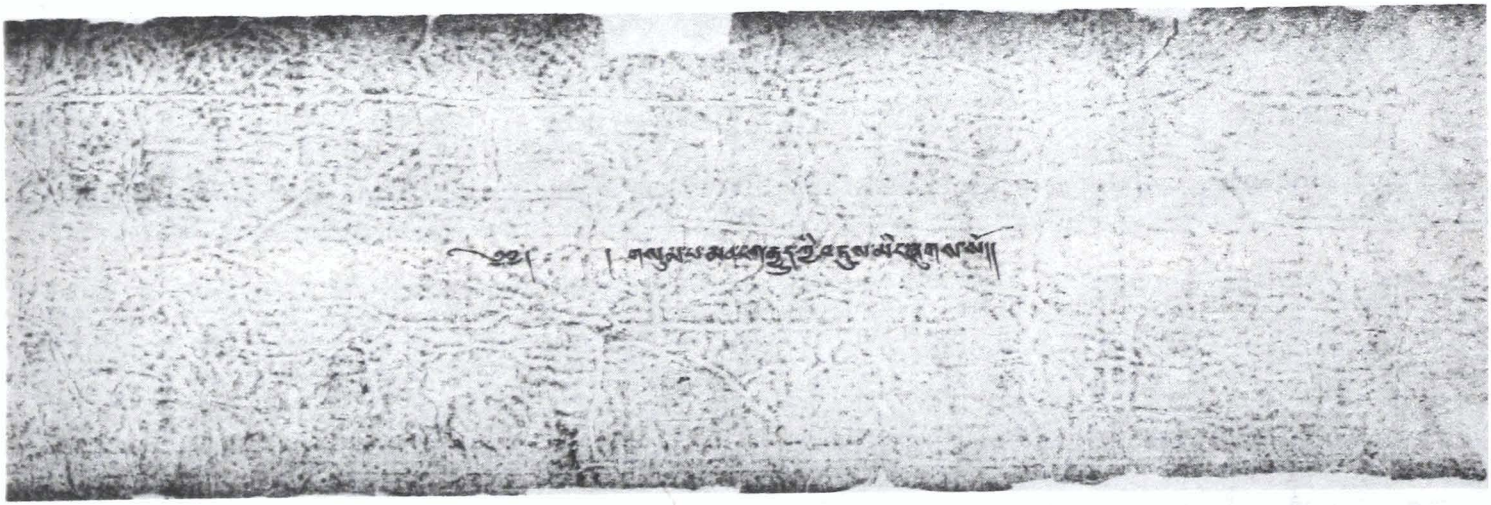
[2] Bhagwan Dash, *Tibetan Medicine with special reference to Yoga Śataka*, Dharamsala 1976, p. 50.

[3] Bhagwan Dash, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51.

The *Rgyud bži* also became popular in Mongolia. Several translations were made and the commentaries were also adapted and further explanatory texts were compiled concerning certain parts of the voluminous book.[4] The *Rgyud bži* found its way to Mongolia, where the renaissance of Buddhism resulted in the demand to translate and adapt canonic and non-canonic works from Tibetan. This major movement of translation activity brought about the need for special vocabularies as aids to the translators. Large concise dictionaries were compiled as well as small explanatory vocabularies to certain works.

The present paper is devoted to a small Tibeto–Mongolian bilingual list of terms taken from the third chapter of the *Rgyud bži*. The manuscript belongs to a private library. It consists of eleven leaves measures 49 × 10 cm and is written with black calamus on of darkened Russian paper pasted together of several layers. The orthography of the handwriting shows Oirat characteristics: in several places it spells *ö* and *ü* instead of *o* and *u*, and even in the second syllable gives a superfluous *yod* in these vowels. The booklet is not a strict systematic classification of words, a list giving only medical terminology, but different kinds of words and expressions are given that were thought obscure and worth explaining by the compiler from this or some other point of view. It contains about a thousand entries grouped in about eighty chapters. The titles of these chapters read only in Tibetan, and they are nearly identical with those given by Csoma in his Analysis. The chapters are as follows (the numbers for the chapters given by Csoma were preserved here, when there is any difference, a reference is given):

[4] W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 113, No. 125. *Rasiyan-u jirüken nayiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün*. The author points out: «... W. A. Unkrig (*Med. Welt*, 1933) zufolge berichtete der Lamaarzt P. Badmajev, daß die erste Übersetzung schon von Č'os kyi 'od zer und eine weitere kritische von einem gelehrten Kollegium zur Zeit des Ligdan Khan der Tsakhar (1604–1634) angefertigt worden sei ...». W. Heissig—Ch. Bawden, *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs etc. in Danish Collections*, Copenhagen 1971, Mong. 308. *Dörben ündüsün*, cf. further No. 384, 288, 295, 434. W. Heissig, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutchland II*, Wiesbaden 1961, No. 633. (Amṛtahṛdayāṣṭāṅgaguhyopadeśatantra) Mong. *Rasiyan-u jirüken nayiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün*. Parts of this Tibetan medical work were translated from the Tibetan by A. Pozdneev, *Učebnik tibetskoj mediciny*, St. Petersburg 1908; cf. W. A. Unkrig, Introduction to C. v. K. Krasinski, *Tibetische Medizinphilosophie*, Zürich 1953.

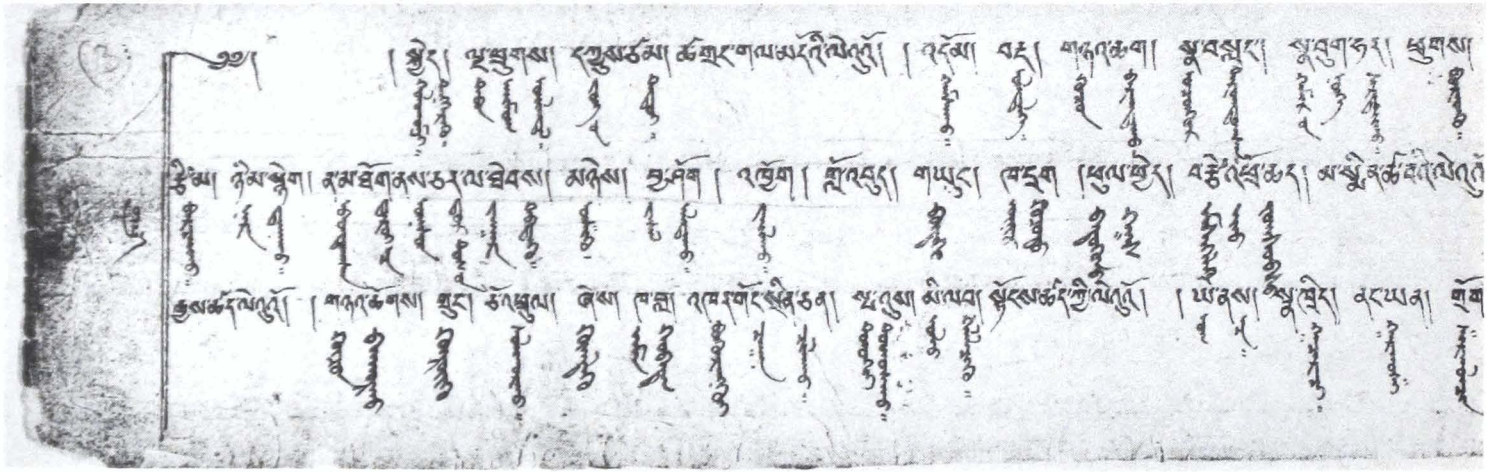


1. 1a

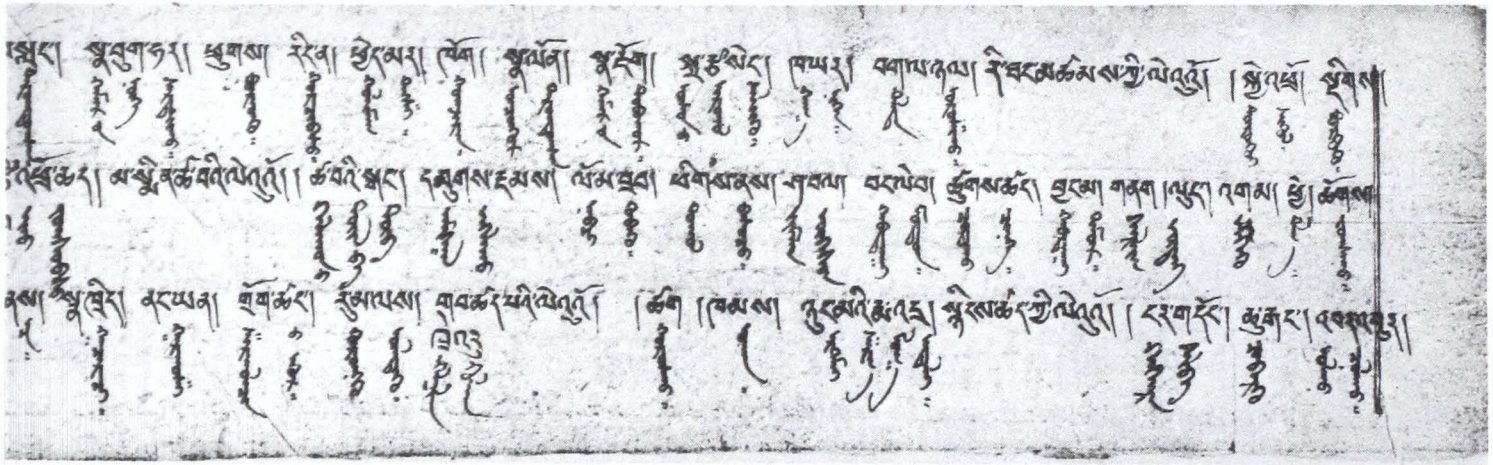
2. 1b

3. 2a

4. 2b



5. 3a



6. 3b

7. 4a

8. 4b

9. 5a

10. 5b

11. 6a

12. 6b

13. 7a

14. 7b

15. 8a

16. 8b

17. 9a

18. 9b

19. 10a

20. 10b

21. 11a

22. 11b

Gsum-pa man-ńag rgyud-kyi btus miń bžugs-so[5]

Third part. Expressions Extracted from the Text of Instructions

1. *Žus-pa'i leu* «Chapter on Digesting»[6]
2. *Rluń-gi le'u* «Chapter on the Windy Humours»
3. *Mkhris-pa'i leu* «Chapter on Biles»
4. *Bad-kan le'u* «Chapter on Phlegmatical Humours»
5. *'Dus-pa'i le'u* «Chapter on the Gathering [of the three humours (wind, phlegm, bile) and of blood]»
6. *Ma-žu'i le'u* «Chapter on Indigestion»
7. *Gčoń-čhen skran-pa'i le'u* «Chapter on Chronic Tumours»
8. *Skya-rbab-kyi le'u* «Chapter on White Swelling, a Kind of Dropsy»
9. *'Or-gyi le'u* «Chapter on Another Kind of Dropsy»
10. *Dmu čhu'i le'u* «Chapter on Dropsy in the Chest»
11. *Gčoń-čhen-zad-byed-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Phthisis»
12. *Cha-ba spyi'i le'u* «Chapter on Feverish Disease (where heat prevails)»
13. *Cha-grań-gal-mdo'i le'u* «Chapter on Sunstroke»[7]
14. *Ri-thań-mchams-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Fever»
15. *Ma smin cha-ba'i le'u* «Chapter on Fever in its Beginning»
16. *Rgyas-chad le'u* «Chapter on Increased Fever»
17. *Stońs chad-kyi le'u* «Chapter on a Kind of Fever»
18. *Gab chad-pa'i le'u* «Chapter on Consumptive Fever»
19. *Sñińs chad-kyi le'u* «Chapter on a Kind of Fever»
20. *Sñogs chad-kyi le'u* «Chapter on a Kind of Fever»[8]
21. *'Grams chad-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Fever as a Consequence of Great Exertions»[9]

[5] Cf. M. Taube, *Verzeichnis der Tibetica des Leipziger Völkerkunde-museums: Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 17 (1958), No. 2703, p. 979. bDud rci sñiń po, Yan lag brgyad pa gsań pa man ńag gi rgyud (Amṛtahṛdayāngāṣṭaguhyopadešatantra).

[6] Csoma's first chapter is different: «Exhortation to the teacher (Shākya) to deliver a treatise *(rgyud)* or oral instruction on the manner of curing deseases.»

[7] Chapters 13–14 are given together by Csoma: «Farther explanations on the causes of the heat and cold in fever.» Our translation is given on the basis of Das (p. 129b) *cha-grań-gal-mdo* «sunstroke, the diagnosis of this disease whether it is based upon heat or cold so as not to mistake the origin of disease being very difficult»; cf. Sumatiratna: *cha-gran-bsre — qalayun küiten selgümüi: sebkimüi* «changing heat and cold, to regulate temperature».

[8] Chapters 17–20 are given together by Csoma: «On curing several kinds of fever, such as: the sly, hidden, inveterate and the mixed ones».

[9] Csoma gives here: «The curing of inflammation of any hurt or wounded part of the body, with several distinctions and that of inward and outward hurt: the inwards are: the viscera and the vessels; the outward parts are the flesh, bone, marrow, tendon and fibre».

22. *'Khrugs chad-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Fever Caused by Overwork and Fatigue»[10]
23. *Rems chad bal-nad-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Contagious Disease and a Kind of Pestilence of Nepal»
24. *'Brum-bu'i le'u* «Chapter on Smallpox»
25. *Rgyug zer-gyi le'u* «Chapter on Infectious Diseases»[11]
26. *Gag lhog-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Swelling in the Throat»
27. *Čham rims-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Catarrh and on Epicemic»
28. *Mgo-nad-kyi le'u* «Chapter on the Diseases of the Head»
29. *Mig-gi le'u* «Chapter on the Eyes»
30. *Rna-ba'i le'u* «Chapter on the Ear»
31. *Sna'i le'u* «Chapter on the Nose»
32. *Kha'i le'u* «Chapter on the Mouth»
33. *Lva-ba'i lba-ba le'u* «Chapter on Goitre»
34. *Sñiṅ-gi le'u* «Chapter on the Heart»
35. *Glo-ba'i le'u* «Chapter on the Lungs»
36. *Mčhin-pa'i le'u* «Chapter on the Liver»
37. *Mčher-ba'i le'u* «Chapter on the Spleen»
38. *Mkhal-gyi le'u* «Chapter on the Kidneys»
39. *Pho-ba'i le'u* «Chapter on the Stomach»
40. *Rgyu'i le'u* «Chapter on the Small Intestines»[12]
41. *Loṅ-gi le'u* «Chapter on Intestines»
42. *Pho-mchan-gyi le'u* «Chapter on the Male Organs»
43. *Mo-mchan-gyi le'u* «Chapter on the Female Organs»[13]
44. *Skad 'gags-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Hoarseness of the Voice»
45. om.[14]
46. *Skom-gyi le'u* «Chapter on Continual Thirst»
47. *Skyigs-bu le'u* «Chapter on Hiccough»
48. *Dbugs mi bde-ba'i le'u* «Chapter on Difficulty of Breathing»
49. *Glaṅ-thabs-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Sudden Colic»
50. *Srin-gyi le'u* «Chapter on Worms [in the Belly, etc.]»

[10] Csoma gives: «The curing of heat or fever (arising from the contest between wind, bile and phlegm) in which the mental faculties are troubled, with several distinctions to be considered . . .»

[11] Csoma gives: «Curing of infectious diseases affecting the bowels (colic) . . .» Here I give the translation on the basis of this, because the word *rgyug* is not given in the dictionaries of Tibetan language, not even by Csoma's dictionary, or Sumatiratna.

[12] Cf. Sumatiratna I p. 454: *rgyu-dkar — narin gedesü* «small intestines».

[13] Chapters 42–43 are given together by Csoma: «In these two chapters for male and female cases are considered. This class of disorder is called *gsaṅ nad* (secret disease). The curing of little diseases *(thor nad)*».

[14] Csoma gives: «Curing aversion from food, or restoring the loss of appetite *yi-ga 'čhus-pa*».

51. om.[15]
52. om.[16]
53. *Dri-ma 'gags-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Obstruction of Evacuation»
54. *Čhu 'gags-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Retention of Urine»
55. *Gčin sñi* [=*sñe*] *le'u* «Chapter on a Disease of the Kidneys in Which Urine is Frequently and Involuntarily Discharged»
56. *Chaṅ 'gru-ba daṅ dreg-pa'i le'u* «Chapter on Indian heat»[17]
57. om.[18]
58. *Grum-bu'i le'u* «Chapter on Gout»
59. *Čhu ser-gyi le'u* «Chapter on the Watery Parts of the Blood (Bad Humours)»
60. *Rca dkar-gyi le'u* «Chapter on the Disease called the White Vein»
61. *Pags-pa'i le'u* «Chapter on Cutaneous Diseases»
62. *Phran-bu'i le'u* «Chapter on Miscellaneous Diseases of the Smaller Kind»[19]
63. *Lhan skyes rma'i le'u* «Chapter on Ulcers»[20]
64. *Gžaṅ brum-gyi mchan-par rdol-ba daṅ drug phrugs* «Chapter on Haemorrhoids (piles or emerods in the fundament, with six distinctions)»
65. om.[21]
66. om.[22]
67. om.[23]
68. om.[24]

[15] Csoma gives: «Curing vomiting».

[16] Csoma gives: «Curing purging diseases (or dysentery)».

[17] The expression is not to be found in the dictionaries, except for the word: *dreg-pa* «dirth». The translation is given on the basis of Csoma's Analysis where he writes: «In curing the disease called the «Indian heat» (very dangerous to Tibetans, by causing excessive heat and frequent evacuation, of which many die who visit India)».

[18] Csoma gives: «Curing the swelling or enlargement of the feet».

[19] Csoma gives: «The curing of miscellaneous diseases of the smaller kind: such as contraction or sinking of the sinews; dysentery; vomiting; any hurt caused by fire; hurt or wound made with a needle; or when a needle or the ironpoint of an arrow happen to be swallowed; choking or suffocation; on the stopping of any thing in the throat, as a beard of corn, bone, fish-prickle; the entering or swallowing in of a spider or scorpion; intoxication; stiffness of the neck; ill small of the body; hurt of the hands and feet caused by cold and snow; the creeping of any insect into the ear; the swelling of the teat of woman. The curing of all such diseases is called the cure of small diseases. Thus there are 19 chapters on minute diseases. The healing of wound, sores, or ulcers».

[20] The Tibetan word given here by Csoma is different from that found in our booklet. Csoma gives: *'byas*.

[21] Csoma gives: «Curing of St. Anthony' fire (any swelling full of heat and redness, *me-dbal*)».

[22] Csoma gives: «The Curing of the Surya disease *(sur-ya'i nad)* affecting the lungs, and liver, etc.

[23] Csoma gives: «The curing of cancerous or virulent bad sores or ulcers».

[24] Csoma gives: «The curing of the swelling of the testicles *(rlig blugs)*».

69. om.[25]
70. om.[26]
71. *Byis-pa ñer-spyod-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Consulting the Future State of Health of Children»[27]
72. *Byis-pa nad gso-ba'i le'u* «Chapter on Curing Children's Diseases»
73. *Byis-pa gdon-gyi le'u* «Chapter on Children's Diseases Caused by Evil Spirit»
74. *Mo-nad spyi bye-brag phal-ba'i le'u* «Chapter on the Diseases of the Female Sex: General, Peculiar and Common»
75. om.[28]
76. om.[29]
77. *Byuń-po'i gdon-gyi le'u* «Chapter on Evil Spirits»
78. *Gdon-gyi le'u* «Chapter on Evil Spirits»[30]
79. *Klu'i gdon-kyi le'u* «Chapter on Serpent Demi-gods»[31]
80. om.[32]
81. om.[33]
82. *Rma spyi'i le'u* «Chapter on Wounds in General»
83. *Mgo'i rma'i le'u* «Chapter on Wounds on the Head»
84. *Ske'i rma'i le'u* «Chapter on Wounds on the Neck»
85. *Byań khog-gi le'u* «Chapter on the Inside of the Body»[34]
86. om.[35]

[25] Csoma gives: «The curing of the diseases in the foot and tigh, called *Kángbám (rkań-'bam)* or enlarging and corruption of the feet, etc. A painful disease in the bones, accompanied with inflammation, and blue colour of the skin».

[26] Csoma gives: «The curing of the ulceration in the perineum».

[27] Csoma gives: «The curing of diseases incident to infant children, with the description of several superstitious customs or practices which are performed at the birth of a child, as examination of the time at which was born, whether it is lucky or unlucky, imparting of the benediction: the cutting of the umbilical cord; the making it live long; the making it suck, and the time, etc., etc.»

[28] Csoma gives: «The curing of the particular diseases of woman».

[29] Csoma gives: «The curing of the common or vulgar diseases of women with the circumstances of child-birth».

[30] Csoma gives: «The curing of insanity or madness».

[31] Csoma gives: «The curing of a kind of insanity called 'forgetfulness' (lunacy ?)».

[32] Csoma gives: «The curing of palsical diseases, and the telling of the periodical time of their occurrence, the symptoms and the remedies for preventing their recourse».

[33] Csoma gives: «On the curing of diseases, in which the body is infected with cancerous ulcers, is eaten away and dissolved. The above five chapters are on such diseases as are supposed to be caused by the influence of some malignant demon».

[34] Csoma gives: «The curing of wounds on the upper and lower parts of the trunk of the body, manner or that of being, symptom, remedy, healing».

[35] Csoma gives: «The curing of wounds of the hanging members (arms and legs), the knowing the importance or consequence of, etc., symptoms in general, mode of curing, or restoration».

87. *Sbyar dug-gi le'u* «Chapter on Prepared Poison»
88. om.[36]
89. *Gyur dug le'u* «Chapter on Real or Material Poison»[37]
90.[38], 91., 92. om.[39]

The facsimile of the booklet is given here, and at a later date the transcription and translation of the whole text will be published in Acta Orientalia.

However, some entries are presented here to give a glimpse of the problems of the book, which is a valuable lexicographical material as some of the Tibetan words and expressions are not attested in the dictionaries.[40]

Tib. *sna-'dren* «guide, leader» Mong. *udumǰi* (The Mongolian word cannot be found in the dictionaries of classical language. *Sumatiratna* gives: *sna-'dren-yaǰarči*;[41] *udusin-a* (?) «leader»; Kalmük: *udχv* «ein Tier verfolgen, nachjagen» (*Ramstedt*, 446);[42] the word is attested in *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* 146/a[43] *maγu aran urida ügeber uduǰu* «the bad firs deceive with words». There are two possibilities here: either the Mongolian translator did not find the proper equivalent of the Tibetan word, or the Tibetan word here in the text really means: «to deceive; somebody, who deceives.» A further analysis of the context will solve this question.

Tib. *bem* Mong. *činekü ba badayiraqu* «to have a dull pain and to become numb» *Sumatiratna* also supports this translation: *bem-pa — menerekü, badayiraqu*[44] «to become dull, to become numb».

Tib. *'gyel bub* Mong. *türügülen unaqu* «to fall on the face» (the word *türü-* can be found in Kalmük: 1) «die hervorstehenden Knochen am Fusse des Menschen; 2) äusserste Not, das Elendsein (Leide)»).[45]

[36] Csoma gives: «The curing of simple poison and of poison in the flesh».

[37] Csoma gives: *rgyu-ba daṅ mi rgyu-ba* that is different from our Tibetan equivalent.

[38] Csoma gives: «On curing the weakness of old age or procuring strength to weak, old men.».

[39] Chapters 91–92 are given together by Csoma: «On the means of increasing the power or vigour in men».

[40] R. E. Emmerick recently published a paper on *Some Lexical Items from the Rgyud-bźi* in: *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium* ed. by L. Ligeti, Budapest 1978, pp. 101–108.

[41] Sumatiratna, *Tibetan–Mongol Dictionary*, Ulan Bator 1959: *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum* VI–VII; vol. I, p. 1225.

[42] G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmükisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki 1935, p. 445.

[43] L. Ligeti, *Trésor des sentences. Subhāṣitaratnanidhi de Sa-skya Paṇḍita*, Budapest 1973; J. E. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels: The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa Skya Paṇḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian*, Bloomington 1969, pp. 67, 155, 233.

[44] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, 207.

[45] Ramstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

Tib. *yib* Mong. *qoršiγsan* «putrid» cf. *Sumatiratna*: *lug-ša yib-pa — qonin-u qorsiγsan miq-a*[46] «putrid flesh»

Tib. *'khren* Mong. *bayтaqu* «to fit in». This equivalent of the Tibetan word is also given in *Sumatiratna* as the second meaning of the word: *'khren* — 1) *qargisqu, qargis, qaram, sinuqu* «to feel a strong desire, craving, etc.» 2) *bayтuqu*[47] «to fit in, to have enough room».

Tib. *zaṅ-mar* Mong. *imayta qoličay-a ügei* «always, without admixture». The Tibetan dictionaries do not give this expression, but *Sumatiratna* offers: *zaṅ-mar — imayta*[48] «always».

Tib. *zo-mar* Mong. *suulγan-u önggör-ün tosu* «butter on the wall of the bucket»; *Sumatiratna*: *zo-mar ram rgya phrum ni — öngger-ün tosun tükei sün-ü čučegei inu*[49] «cream on unboiled milk, butter»; *Čhos-kyi grags-pa* gives: *'o ma'i zo-ba'i mar-rñiṅ lta-bu.*[50]

Tib. *'ol-goṅ* Mong. *dobuγur kögege* [= *kögemei*] «the forepart of the larynx»; *Sumatiratna*: *'ol-goṅ ṅam 'ol-ba ni ske'i mdun ṅos-kyi ča' ma kos-ko daṅ ma-ne — kögemei buyu küjügün-ü emün-e tal-a buyu ereü* (?)[51] «Adam's apple, the forepart of the neck, or chin (?)».

Tib. *phag gra-ma'i* Mong. *ider γaqai* «a young pig» cf. *Sumatiratna*: *gra ma... ste ña phag skyes-nas lo gčig lon-pa julǰay-a γaqai ... anu törögseger nige ǰil boluγsan ǰiγasu γaqay-yin julǰay-a*[52] «young pig, for one year after the birth fish and pigs are called like that».

Tib. *lto-lu* Mong. *ödken qoγolan* «rich food». The expression occurs in *Sumatiratna*: *'o-zan... lto-lu ni 'tu-re-ba — γulir-tu ödken : sün*[53] «milk thickened with flour».

Tib. *rul-čhags* Mong. *i[l]ǰaraγsan* «rotten»; *Sumatiratna* gives the whole expression: *rul-čhags — ilǰerekü*[54] «to decay, rot, spoil».

Tib. *braṅ-žol* Mong. *ebčigün-ü čorui* «pleura»; *Sumatiratna* gives: *braṅ-žol — čorui*[55] «diaphragm, membrane».

[46] *Op. cit.*, II, 832.

[47] *Op. cit.*, I, 256.

[48] *Op. cit.*, II, 738.

[49] *Op. cit.*, II, 757.

[50] Tibetan–Tibetan–Chinese dictionary: Dge-bšes Čhos-kyi grags-pa, *Brda-dag miṅ-chig gsal-ba*, Peking 1957, p. 763.

[51] *Op. cit.*, II, 1383.

[52] *Op. cit.*, I, 321.

[53] *Op. cit.*, I, 870.

[54] *Op. cit.*, II, 930.

[55] *Op. cit.*, II, 251.

Tib. *mon-ru* Mong. *γuyar-un* [*γura*?] *eber* «horn of the wild goat»; cf. *Sumatiratna*: *mon-ru — γura-yin eber*[56] «horn of the wild goat».

Tib. *phaṅ-loṅ* Mong. *moγol-čuγ*; in the dictionaries we find the Tibetan word: *phaṅ-lo* «wheel», the Mongolian word means: «round like the full moon, globular, ball, pendant». *Sumatiratna* gives: *phaṅ-lo — bulu*: *tergen-ü kürdü-yin dumda aγči tenggelig-dür kelkikü moγolčuγ modu.*[57]

Tib. *boṅ-spul* [= *boṅ-spu*] Mong. *taulai üsün* «fur of hare»; cf. *Sumatiratna*: *boṅ-spu = taulay-yin üsün.*[58]

Tib. *boṅ-mčhu* Mong. *taulay-yin uruγul* «harelip»; cf. *Sumatiratna: boṅ-mčhu ste ri-boṅ-gi mčhu'i kha lta-bu phyogs bži-nas bšags-te = taulay-yin qosiγu metü inu taulay-yin qosiγun-u aman metü dörben jüg-eče qaγalaqu*[59] «like the muzzle of a hare, like the mouth of a hare that is cut into four».

[56] *Op. cit.*, II, 463.
[57] *Op. cit.*, II, 86.
[58] *Op. cit.*, II, 210.
[59] *Op. cit.*, II, 210.

TUNHUANG TIBETAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LENINGRAD INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

BY

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In his scholarly activities, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, the eminent Hungarian researcher and traveller, founder of Tibetan philology, relied upon the knowledge of Tibetan written sources, including the translation of the Buddhist Canon as well as various works compiled by local authors.

However, during the lifetime of the great Hungarian orientalist, the Central Asiatic (first of all Tunhuang) monuments of Tibetan writing of the 7th–10th centuries were not yet known. Thus this contribution has no direct relation to Csoma's legacy, nevertheless, it is a token of homage to his life and scholarly work.

Tibetan manuscripts from Tunhuang became known to the world of learning after the expeditions of M. A. Stein and Paul Pelliot, who brought back large and most precious collections of written monuments of diverse content. The main bulk is now kept in London (India Office Library) and in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), while a relatively small quantity is to be found in some other countries.

That part of the Tunhuang written sources, which is included in the description of the Tunhuang monuments of the Leningrad Section of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., contains Chinese texts and has only two items concerning Tibetan. One is No. 2953, the Tibetan transcription of a hitherto unidentified Chinese text; the second, No. 2954, is a fragment (5 to 7 cm) containing a part of the title of an unidentified work compiled in Tibetan.[1]

However, in the collection of Far Eastern written documents, there is a considerable amount of Tunhuang paper scrolls with Tibetan text, which have not yet been investigated.

The scrolls in question form three distinct groups. The first group consists of 202 scrolls with similar paper, size and content: they preserve one and the same text from the Buddhist Canon. Ten small scrolls, similarly belonging together, form a second group, while the rest, two manuscripts which are different from each other, as well as from the other 212 scrolls of the collection, may be considered as a third group.

The Mss of the first group are written on scrolls formed of 3–4 (or, in some cases, of 5 or more) sheets of paper. The lines run at right angle to the length of the scrolls

[1] M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, I. T. Zograf, A. S. Martynov, L. N. Men'šikov, B. L. Smirnov, *Opisanie kitajskich rukopisej Dun'chuanskogo fonda Instituta narodov Azii*, Moscow 1967, vol. 2, pp. 563–564, No. 2953–2954.

and usually form two colums of text. Thus the scrolls bear 6 or 8 or sometimes 5, 7 or 9 columns each. The average length of the scrolls is between 125 and 140 cm, their width is 31–32 cm. The average size of the columns is 31–32 cm in height (which approximately corresponds to the width of the scroll) and 20–22 cm in width. The columns are framed and the lines are marked by very weak black ink traced by a sharp reed or wooden pen, which left lines similar to those made by a very hard pencil or a lead. The columns contain 19–20 lines each, the first and the last columns of a scroll may contain less; between the columns a space of about 1.5 cm is left, it is bordered by lines running between the two edges of the scroll. Similar marginal lines border the first column on the left and the last column on the right side.

The heads of the letters follow the line marked by the sharp pen, only *gi-gu* and *'greng-bu* are written above the line, as it is usual in the Tibetan tradition of writing.

As mentioned earlier, these Mss contain the same text from the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. This is *Ārya-Aparimitāyurjñāna-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra* from the section *Rgyud-'bum*, vol. 25, Ba, ff. 211b2–216a7 of the Sde-dge (Derge) edition. Another version found on ff. 216a8–220b5 was not copied on these scrolls.[2]

The text on the scrolls is written in *dbu-can* characters in a slightly longhand calligraphy, never shorthand. Particular abbreviations of some graphic elements are relatively rare. Alternation of styles is due to the large number of scribes who took part in the copying work, but the general characteristics of the *dbu-can* script, used in most of the written monuments known from Tunhuang, appears fairly clear and distinct.

The paper of the scrolls bearing the text of the *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* is of grey colour with a firm brownish tint, it is rigid, solid and thick (cca. 0.15 mm; some parts of the columns may be thicker or thinner between 0.19 and 0.13 mm). The network of the paper is clearly seen when transilluminated: it consists of parallel lines running along the length of the sheets (5 lines/cm) and of crossing lines (with a distance of 5–6 cm between them). Text on recto cannot be seen from the verso side, which also affirms the fairly high quality of the paper. It is highly probable that the paper of these scrolls was manufactured in the region of Tunhuang.

Having compared the paper of the 202 scrolls of *Aparimitāyurjñāna* with that of the dated Chinese Tunhuang Mss of the Leningrad Oriental Institute (where the date was found immediately in the text and incorporated into the chronological table of the description)[3], I noted a considerable similarity in them.

[2] Tibetan Collection of the Leningrad Section of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Kanjur ed. Derge, No. B 10186; *A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, Derge edition*, Sendai 1934, No. 674, 675.

[3] M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja et al., *Opisanie kitajskich rukopisej*, pp. 569–600.

In this respect the scrolls are essentially similar to the Chinese scrolls F 4 and F 29 (both written between 684 and 704 A. D.), F 32 (1002 A. D.) and F 70 (858 A. D.);[4] these dates suggest that the paper of the scrolls in question was made between the 7th and the beginning of the 11th century.

Comparing the paper of the Tibetan and Chinese monuments concerned, a close similarity in their colour can primarily be observed, although the tint of the Chinese scrolls appears more brownish and the surface of the paper is somewhat brighter and smoother.

In both groups the density of the long lines of the network and the distance between the crossing lines are identical. The thickness (about 0.15 mm) is also identical, the touch is similar, including such qualities as solidity, compactness and elasticity, but when transilluminated, the paper of the Chinese scrolls proves to be somewhat more homogeneous, the paper mass being spread more evenly. Hence this paper must be of higher quality than that of the Tibetan scrolls, which may be explained by the fact that greater importance was given to the copying of Chinese Buddhist texts in Tunhuang than to that of the texts in Tibetan.

With its 202 scrolls it is the *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* which dominates the Tunhuang Tibetan collection in the Leningrad Oriental Institute. Analogous scrolls with the same work are also kept in Paris (their number is unknown, but it must be more than the two pieces included in Marcelle Lalou's catalogue), in London (more than 500 scrolls), in Kyoto («a great number» as mentioned in Ishihama's and Yoshimura's paper) and in T'aipei (on T'aiwan, four scrolls).[5]

In the catalogue of the London collection all scrolls are described under the same number (No. 310) and title, and with the colophon of seven Mss containing the names of the scribes' and of the correctors.[6] From among the seven scribes' names mentioned in these colophons, five also occur in the Leningrad collection. These are as follows:

Kwag-stag-rtsan,
Chos-gyi-ye-shes,
Cang-lha-legs,
'Wan-klu-legs,
Stag-lod.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] M. Lalou, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang, conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1939–1961, vol. I–III, No. 105, 560; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts . . .*, p. 101, no. 310; J. Ishihama, Sh. Yoshimura, *Various manuscripts of the Aparimitāyuh-sūtra: Monumenta Serindica* I (Kyoto 1958), p. 49; Wu Chi-yu, *A study of four Tibetan sūtras of Tun-Huang conserved in the National Central Library at Taipei: Studies on Tun-Huang*, vol. II, Hong Kong 1975, pp. 56–69.

[6] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue*, p. 101; No. 310.

Some names of the correctors are also mentioned in some other monuments of the two collections, but here it has to be taken into consideration, that this does not concern the Mss in *dbu-med* script. Because of the lack of a detailed, full catalogue of the London collection, there is no possibility to make a wider comparison of the analogous scrolls kept in London and Leningrad, and the possibility is even more restricted concerning the collections in Kyoto and Paris. Nevertheless it can be supposed that the Tunhuang scrolls bearing the *dbu-can* text of the *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* kept in Leningrad, London, Paris, Kyoto and T'aipei are wholly identical.

A collated version compiled on the basis of two scrolls kept in London was published by Sten Konow as a supplement to the texts in Khotanese and Sanskrit. He also gave the English rendering of the Khotanese version. His Tibetan text is printed in modern Tibetan type.[7] The Tibetan text of the *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* as it reads on the Tunhuang scrolls does not correspond to the version found in the avalaible block-print editions of the Canon, which remount to the middle of the 18th century. Seven passages of the canonical version are absent in the text of the Tunhuang scrolls, as stated by Sten Konow.[8]

The parts that are missing from the Tunhuang text contain nothing essential for the whole: they merely represent a varied repetition of those endless benefits which are said to promote Buddhist liberation and are obtainable by reading and copying of this sūtra.

The existence of more than 700 identical Tibetan scrolls with the text in question (their number in Paris and Kyoto is unknown) may be considered as a token of the great popularity of *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* in the 8th–10th centuries over the Buddhist world of Central Asia; the high number of the scrolls found confirms the considerable boom in its multiplication (copying) and distribution.

In this connection it is noteworthy that the Leningrad scrolls contain the names of 97 scribes and of 62 correctors. The names occur in most of the *Aparimitāyurjñāna*-scrolls at the end, as a part of the information traditionally given in this kind of Mss, see e.g. the colophon of Leningrad Tunhuang Tib. 5:

Khang-tig-tig bris | Li-phab-weng dang zhus | Leng-pe'u yang zhus | Phab-weng sum zhus, i.e. «Written down by Khang-tig-tig, controlled first by Li-phab-weng, also controlled by Leng-pe'u, thirdly controlled by Phab-weng».

The word *zhu* occurs here in a special meaning, different from the usual «to ask, to pray» or «to call, to name». It means here «to correct, to amend; to compile, to

[7] R. Hoernle, *Manuscript remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, Oxford 1916, vol. I, pp. 289–329. In his description Sten Konow quotes colophons with scribes' names (Bam-stag-slebs and 'Go-mdo-brtsan) and compilers' names (Shin-dar, Ston-ma, Chos-bdun). One of them, Shin-dar also occurs among the compilers mentioned on the Leningrad scrolls.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

edit» as in some compounds with *dag* «to cleanse; clean», etc. In the colophons of the scrolls it is attested alone.[9]

The texts of the scrolls show traces of the work done by the correctors: corrections, deletions and insertions, etc., are written in black or red ink. The frequency of marking reflects the qualities of this or that scribe (and, of course, also that of the corrector).

The large number of those who took an active part in the multiplication of the texts (97 scribes and 62 correctors are mentioned in the colophons of the 202 scrolls) not only confirms the boom in the industry of copying such Buddhist works, but also gives a hint about the probably large staff of professionals. Their names may be informative for the student of the cultural history of this part of Central Asia, especially for the researcher of the history of writing.

Who were these literati? To what nationality did they belong? Although the analysis of the names does not provide us with the exact answer, their character suggests that not all of their bearers were Tibetans. While names such as Klu-legs, Bam-shes-rab or Chos-grub must belong — so it seems to me — to Tibetans, and the names Cang-zhun-tshe, and Wang-gYu-rton belong to Chinese. It is highly probable that among the scribes and correctors there were also representatives of other nationalities who then lived in the region of Tunhuang. For example, the name *Khang-tig-tig* may belong to this third group.

But even this latter name can be read according to the Chinese phonetics as *K'ang Ti-ti*. And so can, with some probability, most of the names on the scrolls. An attempt to read these names in Chinese was supported by L. N. Men'šikov, an expert in the Tunhuang studies (Leningrad Section of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.) with the following result:

Tibetan form	Chinese form
Cang-zhun-tshe	*Chang Chüan-tz'ŭ*
Cang-legs-rtsan	*Chang Li-tsan*
Cang-shib-tig	*Chang Shih-ti*
Cang-lha-legs	*Chang Lê-li*
Je'u-hwa-'do	*Chou Hua-tê*
Jin-legs-kong	*Chen Li-kung*

[9] I express here my sincere gratitude to Professors Th. J. Norbu, L. S. Dagyab and K. Sagaster for their kind advice concerning the meaning of this word. See also Chos-kyi grags-pa's *Brda-dag ming-tshig gsal-ba*, Peking 1957, p. 740: *zhus-dag = zhu-dag = dpe-cha dag-par zhus-zin-pa;* Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 1072: *zhu-dag* «improvement, correction, revision, examination», *zhu-dag-mkhan* «revisor, corrector, censor», *zhu-che* «revisor or comparer of the translation with the original Sanskrit texts», etc.

Pe'u-tshwen	*Pao Chun* (or *Chuan*)
Phan-phan	*P'an-p'an* (or *Fan-fan*)
Phan-la-brtan	*Fan Lê-tan*
Bam-kwang	*Pan Kuang*
Bam-kong	*Pan Kung*
Bam-stag-bzang	*Pan Ta-tsang*
Bam-thon-thong	*Pan T'ung-t'ung*
Wang-rma-snang	*Wang Ma-nan*
Wang-g Yu-rton	*Wang Yü-tun*
Li-brtan-legs	*Li Tan-li*
Leng ·ho-zhun-tse	*Ling-hu Jun-tsê* (or *-tzu*)

I repeat that the Chinese reading of these names is at least problematic, and their deciphering proves to be rather complicated. Nevertheless, the Chinese interpretation of the last name of this short list may be affirmed by the fact that in Tunhuang in the Old Tibetan period there lived a family named Ling-hu.[10]

Repeated occurrence of a syllable as the first element in names makes it possible to discern groups. In the 17 names just quoted four groups may be delimited with the aid of the first element: 1. *Cang*, 2. *Phan*, 3. *Bam*, 4. *Wang*. The full list of the scribes names offers more and larger groups of this kind, it contains e.g. 10 names beginning with *Cang*, 5 names beginning with *Khang*, or 3 names beginning with *An*.

The first element of such names must denote its bearer's belonging to the same family or to a group of families of common origin.

It is known that in 751 A.D., in the village of Ts'unghuahsiang near Tunhuang there lived some 1,400 descendants of immigrants from Western Turkestan, Khotan, Tokharistan, and Sogdiana, etc., i.e. from territories formerly inhabited by Iranians and other Indo-Europeans, mainly by Sogdians.[11]

Around Tunhuang there were some 10 villages of Sogdians. In Ts'unghuahsiang, in the middle of the 8th century we find *K'ang* (from Samarkand), *An* (from Bukhara) and *Shih* (from Tashkent) among the most populous families.[12] Thus the scribes names beginning with *Khang* and *An* may be, with all probability, considered identical with the Chinese denominations of Sogdian families mentioned above.

[10] W. Eberhard, *Settlement and social change in Asia*. Hong Kong 1967, pp. 115–116.

[11] See Ikeda On, *Hasseki nakaba-ni okeru Tonkō-no sogudojin shuraku (Sogdian colony at Tunhuang in the mid-eighth century)*, in: *Yurashia bunka kenkyu* I (Sapporo 1965), pp. 49–92. (L. I. Čuguevskij, expert of Tunhuang Chinese economic documents kindly drew my attention to this study; I am also indebted to him for his advice I received on several questions during my work).

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

This list also gives three names beginning with *Sag*, the final *g* of which may also be a normal Tibetan rendering for a foreign *k* (cf. also the voiceless final stops in several modern Tibetan dialects). Does this *Sag* denote a person or a family of Saka origin? (Sakas also lived in this region then.)

According to Prof. H. Hoffmann Old Tibetan *Sog-po* and *Sog-dag* denoted the Sakas and the Sogdians, resp.[13] If this is so, how can we interpret the name *Sag*, which is phonetically more exact and nearer to the ethnonym *Saka*, than *Sog*? All these questions can hardly be answered here; they demand a wide range of and special investigation. As a part of this it would be important to gather medieval Tunhuang anthroponyms (first of all: the scribes' names and correctors' names) as many as possible, from documents in Tibetan, Chinese, Saka and other languages. As a step in this direction, the list of the scribes' names and the list of the correctors' names are given at the end of this paper. I hope my contribution will draw the attention of those engaged in a more detailed investigation and description of the Tunhuang documents of Tibetan writing, among them the copies of the *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* bearing the names of the scribes and compilers.

The more than 700 Mss of this kind kept in other collections all over the world may contain not less than 300 names of scribes and correctors. The importance of this onomastic corpus for the medieval cultural history of writing in Central Asia is, I think, self-evident.

More detailed and many-sided descriptions of such scrolls (especially of those kept in London) could largely enrich our knowledge concerning the most different aspects of the early practice of manuscript-making in this region. In this respect, special attention is payed to the manuscripts bearing one and the same canonical text and accessible in many similar copies. A large file of paleographic data could be compiled on the basis of the different scribes' handwriting, as found in the many hundred copies of the *Ārya-Aparimitāyurjñāna-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* known today. Such a file would be useful in clarifying the handwriting of numerous Mss and ms-fragments containing no information on their scribes and correctors. Several thousand Mss belonging to this latter group form the main body of the monuments of Tibetan writing discovered in the region of Tunhuang.

Further research should clarify the lifetime of a number of scribes and correctors, and this would help to define the date of several anonymous Mss.

Such investigations would open a new field in the study of the Tunhuang monuments of writing as well as in research into the cultural history of this part of Central Asia.

[13] H. Hoffmann, *The Tibetan names of the Saka and Sogdians: Asiatische Studien*, Bern, No. XXV, p. 454. Cf. also W. W. Bailey, *The culture of the Sakas in ancient Iranian Khotan*, Delmas, New York 1982, p. 9 (about the vivid contact between Throana-Tunhuang and the ancient Khotan).

My contribution to the outset covers the onomastic data of the 202 scroll copies of the *Ārya-Aparimitāyurjñāna-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* kept in the Leningrad Section of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

LIST OF THE SCRIBES' NAMES

Kwag-stag-rtsan 83
Klu-gzigs 79
Klu-legs 45, 141
Khang-kog-khen 41
Khang-'go-'[illegible] 31, 189, 201
Khang-tig ti(g) 113, 114
Khang-tig-tig 5, 39, 74, 101, 110
Khang-rmang-legs 143
Kham-kim-kang 131
Khong-dge-legs 171
dge-slong Bam-shes-rab 172
'Go-kang-kang 212
Sgron-ma 144
Cang-brtag-lod 65
Cang-stag-rma 60
Cang-stag-lod 32, 92
Cang-snangs-legs 38, 121, 168
Cang-'phan-legs 16, 156
Cang-zhun-tshe 126
Cang-legs-rtsan 61, 70, 179
Cang-legs-brtsan 2
Cang-shib-tig 17, 191
Cang-lha-legs 22
{Cha} (-)lha-legs *see* Lha-legs
Chos-gyi-ye-shes 55
Chos-grub 27, 100, 135
Gchug-legs 46
Je'u-hwa-'do 67, 102
Jin-legs-kong 54
Jin-lha-bzher 105, 120, 136
Jin-lha-bzang-bzhe(r) 175
Rnyag-ra 34 *see also* Rtag-ra
Rnyag-ras 177 *see also* Rtag-ras
Rtag-snang 137
Rtag-rma 78
Rtag-ra 49
Brtan-legs 52, 123, 188, 192
Stag-lod 18, 119
Dam-'gi 21, 72
Do-lha-sbyin 33, 80, 202
{Do} (-)im-tshe-tsheng *see* Im-tshe-tsheng
Pe'u-tshwen 127
Spang-po-ldong(-)nyas 29
Dpal-kyi-sgron-ma 182
Dpal-gyi-sgron(-)ma 51
Dpal-gyi-sgron-ma 97
Dpal-gyi-chos-grub 111
Dpal-mchog 40, 94
Phan-phan 1, 19, 30, 84
Phan-la-brtan 12 (also first corrector)*
'Phan-la-brtan* 15, 48, 87, 91, 153 (also first corrector), 155, 173
'Phug-'gi 174
Bam-kwang 185
Bam(-)kim(-)kang 150
Bam-kong 180
Bam-stag bzang 115
Bam-thong-thong 190
Bam-shes-rab 25
'Bre-lha-bu 81
Meg(-)le-gYu(-)bzang 125
Gtsug-bzang 85
Gtsug-legs 93
Mtshams-gYu-gzigs 28
Dze-tsheng 35
Dze'u-hing-tsin 154, 214
Wang-klu-legs 106
Wang-rgyal(-)legs 89
Wang-rma-snang 109, 140, 176, 181
Wang-legs-brtan 90, 98 (also first and second corrector)
Wang-gYu-rton 128
Wang-hwa-cho 112
Wang-hing-rtse 10, 23

* Judging by the handwriting here we have variants of the same name.

Bzang-kong 130
Li-brtan-legs 199
Legs-rma 117, 134 (also first corrector)
Leng-ho-zhun-tse 163
Shin-cheg 145
Sag-klu-gzigs 183
Sag-chos-grub 124, 167
Sag-phan-phan 95
Se'thong-pa 186, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 209, 210, 211
Ser-thong-thong 9, 14 (also first corrector), 96, 103, 129, 148, 165
Sa-hwa-hwa 64, 166
Ha-stag-lod 108
Hw'a-hwa-hwa 4, 8 (also first corrector), 26, 63 (also first corrector), 69, 73, 75, 77 (also first corrector), 86, 138 (also first corrector), 158, (also first corrector), 164, (also first corrector), 170
Heng-je'u 66, 122, 213
Lha-snang 36
Lha-bus 184
Lha-legs 59
Lha-lod 187
Lha-snya-gzigs 194
An-dge-brtan 40, 151, 162
An-phab-dzang 118, 132, 142
An-btsan-zigs 116
Im-stag-rma 76
Im-tshe-tsheng 62
Im-'phan-'phan 3, 7 (also first corrector), 20, 42, 47, 57, 68, 139, 152, 161

LIST OF THE CORRECTORS' NAMES

dge-slong Dam-cheng 199
dge-slong Dam-tsheng 168, 191, 192
dge-slong Dam-tshong 52
dge-slong Leng-ce'u 115
dge-slong Shin-dar 121, 123, 181, 191, 192
Sgron-ma 59, 86, 115, 143, 175, 182
Cang-snang-legs 201 (first and third corrector)
Cang-'phan-legs 156 (first, second and third corrector, also scribe)
Ci-ke(ng) 128
Ci-keng 27(first and third corrector), 31, 32, 43, 45 67, 85, 97, 118, 121, 123, 126, 132, 145 (first and third corrector), 149, 150, 154, 160, 168, 174, 181, 188, 189, 200, 214
Ce-king 191, 192
Ci-shan 172, 183
Cing-kang 46
Cos-brtan 86
Ji-keng 59, 202
Ji-min 190
Ji-in 79
Dam-'gi 27, 32, 33, 45, 85, 118 (first and third corrector), 126 (first and third corrector), 132 (first and third corrector), 145, 149, 200
Dam-zhan 36
Dam-ing 21, 36, 46, 60, 72, 90, 94, 127, 184
De(-)ing 81 (first and second corrector)
Deng-khur-'od 29
De'u-ing 21, 29, 36, 60, 72 (first and third corrector), 90 (first and second corrector), 94 (first and third corrector), 98, 127, 184
Dpla-mchog (= Dpal*) 195 *see next*
Dpal-mchog 25, 51, 66, 79, 83, 102, 117, 140, 144, 151, 162, 171, 172, 183, 186, 193, 196, 197, 198, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211
Dphyad-ldan 29
Phan-la-brtan 12
Phab-nga-[dzang ?] 3
Phab-ce 40, 100 (first and third corrector), 11 (first and third corrector), 117, 124 (first and third corrector), 135 (first and third corrector), 151, 162, 167 (first and third corrector), 171, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 208, 209, 210, 211
Phab-ting 51, 144
P(h)ab-dzang 66, 83, 102, 140, 186, 204, 205, 207
Phab-dzang 4, 7, 8, 12, 15, 26, 35, 40, 47, 57, 62, 68, 73, 77, 91, 100, 111, 117, 124, 134, 135, 138, 139, 151, 152, 153, 155, 158, 159, 161, 162, 167, 170, 171, 173, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211
Phab-dzang *see* Bab-dzang
P(h)ab-weng 150
Phab-weng 5, 46, 60, 67, 81, 93, 101, 127, 154, 160, 184, 214

Bab-dzang 87, 164 *see also* Phab-dzang
Dze-tshang 35 (also scribe)
Dze-the 4, 8, 26, 47, 63, 69, 73, 75, 77, 134, 158, 164, 170
Dzeng-the 3, 7, 12, 15, 20, 35, 42, 57, 62, 68, 87, 91, 99, 139, 152, 153, 155, 159, 161, 173, 190
Wang-legs-brtan 98 (first and third corrector)
{'O-} phab-dzang 69 *see also* Phab-dzang
'Od-[snang ?] 87
'Od-snang 3, 15, 20, 26, 42, 47, 57, 62, 63, 68, 69, 73, 75, 91, 99, 138, 139, 152, 155, 159, 161, 170, 173
Li-phab-weng 5, 14, 74, 96, 101, 148
Legs-'dus 201
Legs-rma 134 (also scribe)
Leng-ce'u 97, 121, 123, 128, 143, 168, 174, 175, 181, 189, 199
Leng-che'u 52
Leng-pe'u 5, 32, 33, 45, 51, 59, 67, 74, 85, 93, 101, 144, 150, 154, 160, 182, 200, 214
Leng-p'eu 149 *see also* Leng-pe'u
Leng-le-ce'u 31
Le'u-leng-pe'u 182
Shin-dar 52, 86, 97, 115, 128, 143, 174, 175, 188, 199
Shin-dar *see* dge-slong Shin-dar
Shin-dar-sa 31
Shes-rab 190
Song-ci-keng 33
He-jing 74, 93, 148 (second and third corrector)
Ho-jang 14 (second and third corrector), 96 (second and third corrector)
Hw'a-hwa-hwa 8 (also scribe), 63 (also scribe), 77 (also scribe), 138 (also scribe), 158 (also scribe), 164 (also scribe)
Im-'phans-brtan 7 (also scribe)

ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS USED IN THE TRANSLITERATION OF THE NAMES

( ) Tibetan characters reconstructed on the basis of the space in the lacuna
[?] Tibetan characters partly damaged and hardly legible
{ } Tibetan characters deleted in the text

RECHT UND GESETZ IN TIBET

VON

DIETER SCHUH (Bonn)

Erste, kurze Nachrichten über das Recht und die Rechtspraktiken in Tibet verdanken wir den zahlreichen Tibetreisenden.[1] Interessanterweise sind von deren Berichten die ältesten, nämlich die der katholischen Missionare, die sachlichsten, detailliertesten und informativsten. Zu erwähnen sind hiervon zuvörderst die Angaben von Ippolito Desideri und Francesco Orazio della Penna, die in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts jeweils über einen mehrjährigen Zeitraum hinweg in Lhasa lebten.[2] Wie alle späteren Tibetreisenden konzentrieren sich die Missionare in ihren Berichten mehr auf das Strafrecht. Dies ist auch verständlich, erscheinen

[1] Ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit zu erheben, sei hier eine Anzahl einschlägiger Reiseberichte aufgeführt: Sarat Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, New Delhi 1970 (Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1902), S. 51f, 54, 56, 64, 177f; Montgomery McGovern, *To Lhasa in Disguise*, London 1924², S. 294ff; Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, Kathmandu 1979 (Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1909), S. 374–387; William Carey, *Travel and Adventure in Tibet*, London 1902, S. 119; Charles A. Sherring, *Western Tibet and British Borderland*, London 1916, S. 194ff; L. Austine Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London 1905, S. 8f und 339; F. Grenard, *Tibet. The Country and its Inhabitants*, London 1904, S. 260 und 346; William Woodville Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, New York 1891, S. 205 und 220f; Charles Bell, *The People of Tibet*, Oxford 1928, S. 11, 88 und 106; Heinrich Harrer, *Sieben Jahre in Tibet*, Wien 1952, S. 155f; David Macdonald, *Mœurs et coutumes des Thibétains*, Paris 1930, S. 54, 110, 185–190; M. Gaborieau, *Récit d'un voyageur musulman au Tibet*, Paris 1973, S. 85–93; Andrea Becker, *Eine chinesische Beschreibung von Tibet aus dem 18. Jahrhundert*, München 1976, S. 73–81. Als allgemein kulturgeschichtliche Werke, die Bemerkungen über das Recht in Tibet enthalten, seien hier aufgeführt: Martin Brauen, *Heinrich Harrers Impressionen aus Tibet*, Innsbruck–Frankfurt 1974, S. 168–170; Tsung-Lien Shen and Shen-Chi Liu, *Tibet and the Tibetans*, New York 1973, S. 112; Thubten J. Norbu, *Social and Economic Structure in Traditional Tibet*. In: *Tibet. A Handbook*, Bloomington [1975], S. 188f; Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibet. Land of Snow*, London 1967, S. 205–206; A. Cunningham, *Ladák*, London 1854, S. 262–268.

[2] *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* a cura di Luciano Petech, Ippolito Desideri S. I., Parte VI, S. 76–78; Englische Übersetzung: *An Account of Tibet. The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S. J., 1712–1727*. Edited by Filippo de Filippi, London 1932, S. 173f. Francesco Orazio della Penna de Billi, *Breve notizia del regno del Thibet*. In: *Journal Asiatique* XIV (1834), S. 177–204, 273–296 und 406–432. Zweitausgabe in: *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* a cura di Luciano Petech, *I Cappuccini Marchigiani*, Parte III, S. 47–85. Die das tibetische Recht betreffenden Angaben finden sich auf S. 65–70. Englische Übersetzung in: *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, edited by Clements R. Markham, London 1879, S. 309–340. Die das Recht betreffenden Angaben finden sich hier auf S. 323–328.

doch strafrechtliche Vorgänge auch heute noch spektakulärer als zivile Prozeßsachen.

Aus den Berichten der genannten Missionare erfahren wir von der Existenz von Gesetzestexten, an denen sich tibetische Richter bei ihrer Rechtssprechung orientierten, wir hören etwas über prozessurale Verfahrensweisen, werden über Hauptstrafen für Verbrechen verschiedener Art informiert, hören von der Anwendung der Folter und der Verwendung von Gottesurteilen zur Wahrheitsfindung in Straf- und Zivilgerichtssachen.

Die von den Missionaren beschriebenen, in Strafprozessen verhängten Strafen reichten von der Verhängung von Geldstrafen, der Auspeitschung und der Zur-Schau-Stellung am Pranger über die Abtrennung von Körperteilen, wie z. B. der Hände, bis hin zur Todesstrafe. Deliquenten wurden mit Pfeilen erschossen oder mit Steinen beschwert in den Fluß geworfen. Während die Missionare über die Strafen und den Gebrauch der Folter im Verhör völlig unemotional berichteten, widmete E. Kawaguchi in seinem 1909 veröffentlichten Buch «Three Years in Tibet» voller Entrüstung ein ganzes Kapitel den grausamen tibetischen Strafen. Kawaguchi erwähnt als Foltermethode das Hineintreiben von spitzen Bambusstöckchen in das Nagelbett des in Arrest befindlichen Verdächtigen. Die aus heutiger Sicht offenkundige Grausamkeit der tibetischen Strafen mag mit ein Grund dafür gewesen sein, daß zwei Tibetforscher, nämlich Sarat Chandra Das und S. Hummel, sie in zwei Aufsätzen untersucht und dargestellt haben.[3]

Wie die Befragungen von Cassinelli und Ekvall über die Behandlung eines Mordfalls des Jahres 1940 in Sa-skya ergeben haben, war die Auspeitschung als Foltermethode beim Verhör bis in die jüngste Vergangenheit in Tibet in Gebrauch.[4] Als Folgen solcher Folterungen sind irreparable Verkrüppelungen belegt. Hervorzuheben ist, daß die Folter *(cha-'dri)* des Verhörs in Tibet selbst weder tabuisiert wurde noch irgendwie als fragwürdig galt. Sie wird auch in Rechtsentscheiden als angemessenes Mittel der Wahrheitsfindung direkt erwähnt.[5]

Als weiteres Mittel der Wahrheitsfindung erwähnen die Missionare verschiedene Arten von Gottesurteilen, ein Vorgang, den die Tibeter selbst als «Ablegung eines Eides» *(mna'-skyel)* bezeichnen. Dazu sind verschiedene Verfahrensweisen beschrieben worden. So wurde ein schwarzer und ein weißer Stein in kochendes Öl gelegt, und der Angeklagte mußte einen Stein mit der Hand herausnehmen. Wurde

[3] Sarat Chandra Das, *Tibetan Jails and Criminal Punishments: Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894; S. Hummel: *Strafen und Torturen der Tibeter: Geographica Helvetica*, Zürich 1957, S. 93–102.

[4] C. W. Cassinelli and Robert B. Ekvall, *A Tibetan Principality. The Political System of Sa sKya*. New York 1969, S. 175.

[5] Vgl. *MTH* III/5, Dokument XXX, Zeile 9.

der weiße Stein herausgenommen und blieb die Hand unverletzt, war die Unschuld des Verdächtigen erwiesen. Daneben wird das Berühren von glühendem Eisen mit der Zunge oder der Hand erwähnt, Prozeduren, die der Angeklagte unverletzt überstehen mußte, um seine Unschuld zu erweisen. Eine weitere Art des Gottesurteils ist die schon von Francesco Orazio della Penna erwähnte Entscheidung durch Würfeln. Diese Methode wurde bis in die Neuzeit sowohl in zivilgerichtlichen Verfahren[6] als auch bei Strafprozessen angewandt. Cassinelli und Ekvall beschrieben dieses Verfahren, das im Zusammenhang mit einem Mordfall im Jahre 1940 praktiziert wurde, folgendermaßen:[7]

«Die Richter gaben den Befehl, einen Yak zu töten. Die Yakhaut wurde mit der blutigen Seite nach oben im Gerichtsraum ausgebreitet. Der Angeklagte kniete nackend und mit herunterhängenden Haaren an einer Seite nieder, während der Ankläger, normal angezogen, an der gegenüberliegenden Seite niederkniete. Der Angeklagte hatte, wie es sein Recht war, sich dafür entschieden, daß anstelle von einem Mal dreimal gewürfelt werden sollte. Indem sie die übernatürlichen Mächte anriefen, um Rechtfertigung baten und die jeweiligen Opponenten verdammten, warfen die beiden Männer die beiden Würfel gleichzeitig. Der Wurf des Angeklagten war höher als der des Anklägers. So hatte der Angeklagte die erste Runde gewonnen. Er verlor die zweite Runde, gewann aber die dritte. Daraufhin wurde er vom Mordverdacht freigesprochen.»

Der angesprochene Mordprozeß war damit abgeschlossen. Der private Ankläger mußte sich beim Angeklagten entschuldigen. Der Angeklagte war durch die Folterungen des Verhörs so geschädigt worden, daß er den Rest seines Lebens hinkte.

In den tibetischen Rechtsbüchern, die weiter unten näher beschrieben werden, findet sich stets ein Kapitel mit detaillierten Vorschriften über die Durchführung solcher Gottesurteile. J. C. White, dem wir die erste ausführliche Inhaltsangabe der in Sikkhim verwendeten Version des tibetischen Gesetzbuches der sechzehn Gesetze verdanken, gibt zu dem 11. Gesetz, das die die Gottesurteile betreffenden Vorschriften enthält, folgende Zusammenfassung, die hier vollständig wiedergegeben sei:[8]

«Wenn man meint, daß jemand nicht die Wahrheit sagt, soll ihm ein Eid abgenommen werden. Zum Zeitpunkt der Eidesleistung sollen mächtige Gottheiten

[6] *MTH* III/5, Dokument XXX, Zeile 34–39. In diesem Schlichtungsrechtsentscheid aus dem Jahre 1861 schlägt der *Rva-sgreṅ*-Regent vor, die Parteien mögen durch Würfeln im Tempel dpal Lha-lčogs in Lhasa entscheiden lassen, wessen Ansprüche gerechtfertigt sind.

[7] Cassinelli–Ekvall, *op. cit.* Anm. 4, S. 176. Deutsche Übersetzung von mir.

[8] J. C. White, *The Book of the Law*. In: *The Gazetteer of Sikhim*, Calcutta 1894, S. 51f. Deutsche Übersetzung von mir.

angerufen werden und jene, die den Eid abzunehmen haben, sollen anwesend sein. In alten Gesetzen steht geschrieben, daß der Paradiesvogel nicht getötet werden darf, daß die giftige Schlange nicht zu Boden geworfen werden darf, daß der Rabe nicht gesteinigt werden darf und daß der kleine Türkis nicht befleckt werden darf. Somit sollen reine Lama und Mönche nicht vereidigt werden. Zauberer, schamlose Personen, Frauen, Geistesgestörte, Taubstumme und Kinder dürfen nicht vereidigt werden.

(Mit der Durchführung der Prozedur) sollen Männer betraut werden, die beide Parteien kennen und die intelligent und wahrhaftig sind. Die, die bereit sind, einen Eid abzulegen, sollten von gleicher Herkunft sein. Sobald alle zugegen sind, sollte zuerst versucht werden, den Fall durch einen Schiedsspruch zu regeln. Wenn dies nicht geht, soll auf das Gottesurteil mit heißen Steinen oder mit kochendem Öl zurückgegriffen werden.

Zum (Gottesurteil) mit Öl: Das Öl muß von der Regierung bereitgestellt werden und muß rein sein. Es soll in einem Topf bei einer Tiefe von drei Inches aufgekocht werden. In das Öl legt man je einen schwarzen und einen weißen Stein von gleicher Größe und gleichem Gewicht. Derjenige, der den Eid leistet, muß zuerst seine Hände in Wasser, in Milch und im Urin einer Witwe waschen. Seine Hand wird dann mit Stoff umwickelt und versiegelt. Dies wird ein, zwei Tage vor dem Gottesurteil gemacht, um ihm die Möglichkeit zu einem Geständnis zu geben. Der Topf mit dem kochenden Öl wird dann so hingestellt, daß die Steine nicht gesehen werden können. Er hat einen herauszunehmen. Wenn er den weißen Stein ohne Verbrennung herausnimmt, hat er den Fall gewonnen. Derjenige, der den schwarzen Stein nimmt, ist mit Sicherheit auch verbrannt und verliert den Fall. Falls der, der den weißen Stein nimmt, leichte Verbrennungen hat, so bedeutet dies, daß er teilweise die Wahrheit gesagt hat. Er gewinnt den Fall zur Hälfte.

Zum (Gottesurteil) mit einem heißen Stein: Der Stein wird von einem Schmied heißgemacht, mit einer Zange aus dem Feuer genommen und auf eine Kupferplatte gelegt. Zuvor sind die Hände des Mannes wie oben gewaschen worden. Nachdem man sie nach Kennzeichen untersucht hat, die durch (normalen) Gebrauch entstanden sind, wird der heiße Stein in die Handfläche gelegt. Mit dem heißen Stein (in der Hand) muß er vier bis sieben Schritte machen. Seine Hand wird dann umwickelt und drei bis sieben Tage sich selbst überlassen. Wenn bei der Inspektion (der Hand) kein Kennzeichen vorhanden ist oder falls ein langes Kennzeichen, das rdo-lam genannt wird, vorhanden ist, gewinnt er den Fall. Er gewinnt auch, falls Steine dreimal bei der Erhitzung zerplatzen. Es hängt von der Zahl der Kennzeichen ab, wieviel er von dem Fall für sich entscheidet.

Ein Stück Tuch und ein Teppich sind als Unkosten zu bezahlen. Der Schmied erhält die Messingplatte. Um den Hitzegrad des Öls zu prüfen, wird ein Gerstenkorn hineingeworfen. Falls es in die Luft springt, ist das Öl richtig (erhitzt).

Während die Person ihre Hand in das Öl steckt oder den Stein in der Hand hält, wird ein Schriftsatz über den Fall auf ihren Kopf gelegt.

Das Gottesurteil mit Öl kann durchgeführt werden, ohne (zusätzlich das mit dem) Stein anzuwenden. Anstelle von Öl kann auch Schlamm oder Wasser verwendet werden. Man pflegte (früher) anstelle eines Steins heißes Eisen zu benutzen, doch dies ist abgeschafft worden.»

Francesco Orazio della Penna erwähnt zwei weitere wichtige Grundzüge der tibetischen Rechtsordnung, die auch in späteren Reisebeschreibungen immer wieder angesprochen worden sind. Einerseits gab es im Machtbereich der zentraltibetischen Herrscher abgesehen von den Gerichtshöfen in Lhasa keine gesonderten Institutionen der Judikative. Vielmehr fielen Judikative und Exekutive zusammen. Selbst der Grundherr war auch Gerichtsherr seiner abhängigen Bauern. Er konnte kleinere Straftaten seiner Grundbauern mit Sanktionen belegen, die Bauern unter Arrest stellen und sie auspeitschen lassen. Gegen Rechtsentscheide untergeordneter Verwaltungsbehörden gab es insbesondere in zivilrechtlichen Angelegenheiten die Möglichkeit der Berufung bei der nächtshöheren Instanz. Das System der Berufungsmöglichkeiten reichte weiter hinauf bis zur Kanzlei des Herrschers und zum Herrscher selbst. Die Herrscherkanzlei konnte aber zumindest seit dem 17. Jahrhundert zur Entscheidung zivilrechtlicher Streitfälle unter Umgehung des Instanzenweges direkt angerufen werden. Ich hebe schon an dieser Stelle diesen Aspekt des tibetischen Rechtswesens besonders hervor, weil er mir für das Rechtsverständnis der Tibeter typischer zu sein scheint als die eingangs geschilderten Strafen, Foltermethoden und Gottesurteile.

Es ist selbstverständlich, daß angesichts der Tatsache, daß wir es in Tibet mit einer literarischen Hochkultur zu tun haben, die Berichte von Tibetreisenden als einzige Quelle zur Erforschung des tibetischen Rechts dieser Forschung enge Grenzen setzen. Über diese Grenzen führt hinweg zunächst das Studium der eigentlichen Rechtsquellen, also der von Francesco Orazio della Penna erstmals erwähnten Gesetzesbücher. Es sei aber sogleich hier der Hinweis gegeben, daß die Forschung auf diesem Gebiet nicht einmal bis zur wissenschaftlichen Edition einzelner Gesetzestexte vorgedrungen ist. Einen ersten Einblick in Inhalt und Struktur tibetischer Rechtstexte gestattet die oben schon zitierte Inhaltsangabe einer sikkhimesischen Sammlung von sechzehn Gesetzen, die J. C. White veröffentlicht hat. Leider unveröffentlicht geblieben ist eine auf Veranlassung von Charles Bell von Tsering Phuntshog angefertigte Übersetzung eines Buches von dreizehn Gesetzen, auf die uns E. Gene Smith aufmerksam gemacht hat.[9] Erstmals allgemein zugänglich wurde ein tibetischer Gesetzestext durch die Veröffentlichung

[9] E. Gene Smith, *University of Washington, Tibetan Catalogue*, Part I–II, Seattle 1969, S. 187.

einer Sammlung von 13 Gesetzen durch G. Tharchin aus dem Jahre 1954.[10] Allerdings blieb diese Publikation — abgesehen von einer kurzen Erwähnung durch R. O. Meisezahl — von der tibetologischen Forschung praktisch unbeachtet. R. O. Meisezahl verdanken wir die bisher einzige ausführliche Beschreibung verschiedener tibetischer Rechtsbücher, die er 1973 veröffentlichte.[11] Die in den genannten Veröffentlichungen vorgelegten Materialien bestätigen zunächst die Existenz von zwei Hauptsammlungen tibetischer Gesetze, auf die auch von anderen Tibetologen, wie z. B. von Jäschke, durch kurze Bemerkungen schon hingewiesen wurde:[12] 1. Die Sammlung von 16 Gesetzen *(žal-lče bču-drug)* und 2. die Sammlung von 13 Gesetzen *(žal-lče bču-gsum)*.

Vergleicht man diese Sammlungen von Gesetzen unter rein inhaltlichen Aspekten miteinander, so wird sofort deutlich, daß das Buch der 16 Gesetze nur eine Erweiterung des Buches des 13 Gesetze um drei Abschnitte darstellt, von denen zwei an den Anfang gestellt erscheinen und einer am Ende angefügt wurde. Die Abschnitte 3 bis 15 der bisher bekanntgewordenen Versionen des Buches der sechzehn Gesetze entsprechen inhaltlich und in ihrer Anordnung weitgehend den verschiedenen Versionen des Buches der dreizehn Gesetze. Folgen wir hier der von White durch eine Inhaltsangabe zugänglich gemachten sikkhimesischen Version des Buches der sechzehn Gesetze, so enthält der erste Abschnitt Vorschriften über das Verhalten von Armeeführung und Soldaten im Felde. Neben der Vorschrift, daß bei unabsichtlicher Tötung eines Kriegskameraden der Verantwortliche die Bestattungskosten zu tragen habe, finden sich z. B. Regeln über die Behandlung von Abgesandten des Feindes, über Methoden der Kriegsführung, über das Errichten eines Lagers und über Lagerbewachung. Der zweite Abschnitt enthält Vorschriften über das Verhalten von Soldaten in belagerten Festungen, über die Behandlung von Gefangenen und über die Behandlung der eigenen Armee, wenn diese besiegt von einem Feldzug zurückkehrt. So findet sich z. B. die Bestimmung, daß derjenige, der einen Feind tötet, welcher sich ergeben hat, aus der Armee ausgestoßen werden soll. Der 16. Abschnitt des Buches der 16 Gesetze enthält

[10] *Letter-Writers, Yik-bskur rnam gshag*. Edited and published by G. Tharchin, Kalimpong 1954, S. 217–234.

[11] R. O. Meisezahl, *Die Handschriften in den City of Liverpool Museums (I)*, *ZAS* 7 (1973), S. 221–284.

[12] H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London 1881, S. 473: *žal-čé bču-drúg-pa* and *bču-ysúm-pa* «(the code) with the 16 and that with the 13 judgments», these are two distinct bodies of law, both of them in Central Tibet of standard authority. Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta 1902, S. 1068, erwähnt beide Arten von Gesetzessammlungen und gibt eine Liste mit den Überschriften der einzelnen Gesetze. Vgl. des weiteren Charles Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, Oxford 1931, S. 185; Zuiho Yamaguchi, *Catalogue of the Toyo Bunko Collection of Tibetan Works on History*, Tokyo 1970, S. 144, wo ein Gesetzbuch mit 13 Gesetzen beschrieben ist.

Vorschriften für die Bevölkerung der Randgebiete Tibets. Nach Angaben von Meisezahl enthält der erste Abschnitt des Buches der sechzehn Gesetze nach dem von ihm als Bailey-Handschrift bezeichneten Manuskript Vorschriften für aggressive Kriegsführung und der zweite Abschnitt Vorschriften für defensive Kriegsführung.[13] Ob hier ein Mißverständnis vorliegt oder ob sich diese Version in diesen Bestimmungen grundsätzlich vom sikkhimesischen Gesetzbuch unterscheidet, vermag ich nicht zu sagen.

Wenn wir oben davon gesprochen haben, daß das Buch der 16 Gesetze nur eine Erweiterung des Buches der 13 Gesetze darstellt, so sollte damit nur ein inhaltlicher Sachverhalt beschrieben werden. Aus geschichtlicher Sicht ist es natürlich vorstellbar, daß das Buch der 13 Gesetze durch Weglassung von Rechtsvorschriften des Buches der 16 Gesetze entstanden ist. Jedenfalls vertritt R. O. Meisezahl diese Ansicht, wenn er schreibt:[14]

«Es mögen nicht nur Gründe der Opportunität gewesen sein, die zu einer Neugestaltung des Rechtsbuches *Źal lče bču drug* geführt haben. Durch Ausschaltung der Kriegsgesetze (I und II) sowie des Minoritätengesetzes (XVI) entstand eine um drei *Źal lče* gekürzte Fassung, die *Źal lče bču gsum*, 'Die Dreizehn *Źal lče*'.»

Meisezahl gibt keine nachvollziehbare Begründung für seine Annahme, was das gegenwärtige grundsätzliche Dilemma der rechtshistorischen Forschung über Tibet verdeutlicht. Ohne eine Edition der inzwischen bekannt gewordenen Gesetzesbücher und ohne eine erfolgreiche Suche nach weiteren Rechtsbüchern des tibetischen Mittelalters werden viele Fragen zur Rechtsgeschichte in Tibet nur hypothetisch oder überhaupt nicht beantwortbar bleiben.

Beachtet man, daß in Sikkhim eine Version des Buches der sechzehn Gesetze in Gebrauch war und daß Cassinelli und Ekvall ein in Sa-skya in Gebrauch befindliches Rechtsbuch der 13 Gesetze erwähnen, das sich von der in Lhasa gebräuchlichen Version nur geringfügig unterschieden haben soll,[15] so wird man annehmen müssen, daß die Strukturierung in 13 bzw. 16 Abschnitte für die Rechtsbücher des größten Teils des tibetischen Kulturraumes in den letzten drei Jahrhunderten typisch war. Dies führt zu der Frage nach dem Alter der Handschriften der bisher beschriebenen Rechtsbücher dieser Art. Meisezahl datiert von den beiden ihm vorliegenden Büchern der 16 Gesetze die Entstehung des Rechtstextes der Bailey-Handschrift mit 1631, während er für die Si-dhi-dharma-Rezension die Jahre 1636 und 1696 zur Disposition stellt. Von den beschriebenen

[13] Meisezahl, *op. cit.* Anm. 11, S. 227.

[14] Meisezahl, *op. cit.* Anm. 11, S. 231.

[15] Cassinelli-Ekvall, *op. cit.* Anm. 4, S. 153.

beiden Büchern der 13 Gesetze datiert Meisezahl die rDo-riṅ-Rezension mit 1867, während er die Handschrift Bell 18 als Abschrift einer von Shatra Desi (19. Jahrhundert) stammenden Gesetzessammlung ansieht.[16] Zu der Tharchin-Ausgabe bemerkt Meisezahl, sie repräsentiere eine spätere Fassung der Shatra Desi-Version.[17] Obwohl man diese zeitlichen Angaben nur mit größter Vorsicht benutzen sollte, läßt sich doch sagen, daß alle bisher bekanntgewordenen Handschriften und Ausgaben in den letzten vier Jahrhunderten zusammengestellt worden sind und somit keine dieser Ausgaben vor dem 17. Jahrhundert entstanden ist. Dies bedeutet, daß uns für den weitaus größten Teil der tibetischen Geschichte noch keine Rechtsbücher vorliegen.

Zur Frage der Entstehung der genannten Rechtsbücher und zur Geschichte der Kodifizierung bzw. schriftlichen Fassung von Rechtsnormen in Tibet finden sich zunächst Hinweise in den Rechtsbüchern selber. Die Tharchin-Ausgabe nennt in der Titelüberschrift (S. 217) den berühmten König Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po als Urheber des Rechtsbuches der 13 Gesetze und erwähnt in einem Nachwort Rechtsvorschriften eines Königs Me-loṅ gdoṅ und des Königs Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, die bei der Abfassung des vorliegenden Rechtsbuches zugrundegelegt worden waren. Im Nachwort der rDo-riṅ-Rezension wird ebenfalls ein 'Rechtsbuch' *(khrims-yig)* des Königs Me-loṅ gdoṅ erwähnt.[18] Daß mit solchen Nennungen nicht notwendigerweise rechtshistorisch konkrete Sachverhalte gemeint sein müssen, zeigt die Person des Königs Me-loṅ gdoṅ, bei dem es sich um den sagenhaften indischen König Ādarśamukha handelt. Dieser König ist den Tibetern aus einer im buddhistischen Kanon enthaltenen Vorgeburtengeschichte *(Jātaka)* des Buddha bekannt, in der Ādarśamukha als Vorgeburt des Buddha insbesondere als ein in Rechtssachen weiser König erscheint.[19] Die Nennung dieses Königs im Zusammenhang mit der tibetischen Rechtsordnung gibt somit primär eine rein ideologische Rechtfertigung dieser Rechtsordnung und keinen konkreten historischen Sachverhalt. Anders könnte es sich bei der Nennung des ins 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. einzuordnenden König Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po verhalten, der als der Organisator des tibetischen Staatswesens und als der Gesetzesgeber Tibets bekannt ist. Meisezahl beschreibt die gesetzgeberischen Aktivitäten des Königs Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po unter Bezugnahme auf das Vorwort der Bailey-Handschriften folgendermaßen:[20]

«Man darf aber annehmen, daß Tibet schon vor 1400 Jahren ein eigenes Gesetzbuch in der Gestalt der *Mi čhos gcaṅ ma bču drug [gi khrims]* von König

[16] Meisezahl, *op. cit.* Anm. 11, S. 225, 236, 242, 250.

[17] Meisezahl, *op. cit.* Anm. 11, S. 241.

[18] Meisezahl, *op. cit.* Anm. 11, S. 250.

[19] Vgl. Jampa Losang Panglung, Die Erzählstoffe des Mūla-sarvāstivāda-vinaya, Tokyo 1981, S. 39, und die dort zitierte Literatur.

[20] Meisezahl, *op. cit.* Anm. 11, S. 225.

Sroṅ bcan sgam po (gest. 649 A.D.) erhalten hat. ... Das im Vorwort mit dem Gesetzbuch in Zusammenhang genannte Rechtstraktat *dGe ba bču'i khrims* enthielt die Rechtsgrundsätze, die theoretisch und praktisch von großer Bedeutung für die Gestaltung der neuen Rechtsverhältnisse in Tibet waren.»

Nun ist zu der Problematik der gesetzgeberischen und eine Staatsordnung schaffenden Aktivitäten des Königs Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po von G. Uray schon 1972 eine vorbildliche Untersuchung vorgelegt worden, in der nahezu alle zugänglichen historiographischen Quellen zu dieser Problematik ausgewertet worden sind.[21] Aus der Untersuchung Uray's folgt zweifelsfrei, daß unter Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po keine Kodifizierung des Rechts vollzogen wurde und daß sowohl die Kodifizierung als auch die Schaffung einer Staatsverfassung unter Khri Maṅ-slon Maṅ-rcan in den Jahren 654–655 stattgefunden hat. Beides, die Kodifizierung und die Schaffung einer Staatsordnung, die somit kurz nach Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po's Tod stattgefunden haben, wurden dann später diesem König nur zugeschrieben.

Die in den Rechtsbüchern erwähnten *Mi-čhos gcaṅ-ma bču-drug* werden nach Uray in zahlreichen historiographischen Werken aufgeführt und sind allgemeine Regeln des moralischen Verhaltens.[22] Folgen wir der Auflistung dieser Regeln durch Shih-Yü Yü Li und Tucci, so gehören dazu die Aufforderung zur Zufluchtnahme bei den drei Kostbarkeiten des Buddhismus oder das Gebot, den Buddhismus zu praktizieren.[23] Mit der Formel *dGe-ba bču'i khrims* hingegen ist nicht der Name eines Gesetzbuches genannt, sondern die Aussage formuliert, daß die angeblich von Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po geschaffenen Gesetze sich an den zehn Geboten des Buddhismus orientierten. Anders gesprochen wird mit dieser Formel von seiten der tibetischen Rechtsgelehrten und Historiographen die These aufgestellt, das tibetische Recht sei konsequent aus den moralischen Grundsätzen des Buddhismus entwickelt worden.

Die Frage, ob der damit behaupteten religiösen Absicherung und Fundierung des tibetischen Rechts irgendeine Faktizität zukommt, läßt sich nur durch einen Blick auf den Inhalt der uns vorliegenden Rechtsbücher beantworten.

Die dreizehn Abschnitte des Buches der 13 Gesetze, welches uns in der Ausgabe von Tharchin vorliegt, zerfallen in drei Gruppen.

1. Vorschriften über die Amtsführung der Amtsträger und prozessurale Vorschriften

[21] G. Uray, *The Narrative of Legislation and Organisation of the mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston. The Origins of the Traditions Concerning Sroṅ-brcan sgam-po as first Legislator and Organisator of Tibet; AO (Hung.)* XXVI (1972), S. 11–68.

[22] Uray, *op. cit.* Anm. 21, S. 53ff.

[23] Shih-Yü Yü Li, *Tibetan Folk-Law: JRAS* 1950, S. 125f; G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* II, Roma 1949, S. 692.

Hierzu gehört der erste Abschnitt, welcher neben allgemeinen Regeln für gute Amtsführung insbesondere Verhaltensregeln für Richter enthält, wie z. B. die Aufforderung zur Unparteilichkeit. Der zweite Abschnitt enthält Vorschriften über Verhandlungsführung und Beweisaufnahme, während der dritte die Vergehen nennt, die eine Festnahme rechtfertigen, und die Modalitäten der Urteilsverkündung beschreibt. Der sechste Abschnitt enthält die Kostenordnung für reisende Gerichtsbeamte und der neunte Abschnitt umfaßt die Darstellung des Vorgehens bei den verschiedenen Arten von Gottesurteilen.

2. Strafvorschriften

Die Verhängung von Todesstrafen und Verstümmelungen werden durch den vierten Abschnitt geregelt. An wichtigsten Verbrechen, die mit solchen Strafen zu ahnden sind, werden aufgezählt: Vater- und Muttermord, Tötung von Geistlichen, Delikte gegen das Eigentum von Kirche und Staat, Vergehen gegen den Adelsherrn, Giftmord, Tötung durch Magie, heimtückischer Mord sowie Raub, Raubmord und Aufruhr in Friedenszeiten.

Für Vergehen, die nicht unter die Bestrafung nach Abschnitt vier fallen, regelt Abschnitt fünf zu verhängende Geldstrafen.

3. Kompensationsrechtliche Vorschriften

Die Vorschriften über Kompensationszahlungen an die Geschädigten eines Rechtsverstoßes nehmen im tibetischen Recht einen großen Raum ein. Hierzu regelt Abschnitt sieben Entschädigungen bei Tötungsdelikten, Abschnitt acht legt Entschädigungen für Körperverletzungen fest und Abschnitt zehn regelt primär Entschädigungszahlungen bei Eigentumsdelikten. Abschnitt elf legt die Abfindungen bei Ehescheidung fest, Abschnitt zwölf regelt Entschädigungen für Ehebruch und Abschnitt dreizehn beschreibt die Kompensationszahlungen bei Nicht-Rückgabe geliehener Tiere.

Der hiermit kurz skizzierte Inhalt des Buches der dreizehn Gesetze der Tharchin-Ausgabe, wie auch der Inhalt des sikkhimesischen Gesetzbuches, der dem vorstehenden weitgehend entspricht, läßt einen konkreten Bezug zwischen dem damit formulierten Recht und den buddhistischen Moralprinzipien im Sinne der Herleitung des einen aus dem anderen nicht erkennen. Vielmehr ist die Behauptung eines solchen Zusammenhanges in der tibetischen Historiographie wie auch in den Einleitungen der Rechtsbücher eine nachträgliche, rein fiktive Konstruktion zur ideologischen Absicherung des Rechts, die auf dieses faktisch keinen Einfluß gehabt hat.

Aus dem Vorstehenden ist zunächst ersichtlich, daß für das tibetische Recht der letzten Jahrhunderte zwei Grundzüge charakteristisch sind, nämlich das Prinzip der Bestrafung im Sinne einer reinen Abschreckung und Vergeltungsju-

stiz und das Prinzip der Wiedergutmachung durch Kompensationszahlungen an die jeweils Geschädigten. Die Frage, wie sich diese beiden Grundzüge aus rechtshistorischer Sicht zueinander verhalten, läßt sich beim gegenwärtigen Quellenstand natürlich nicht abschließend und mit völliger Sicherheit beantworten, doch erlaubt ein Blick auf die Rechtspraxis in Tibet die Aufstellung einer Hypothese zu diesem Fragenkomplex.

Cassinelli und Ekvall haben in ihrer Untersuchung zur Rechtspraxis in Saskya daraufhingewiesen, daß die Zahlung von Entschädigungen verfahrensmäßig eine Entsprechung hatte im Auftreten eines privaten Anklägers. Im Gegeneinander von Ankläger und Angeklagtem erscheint das Gericht als eine reine Stelle der Wahrheitsfindung und Schlichtung durch Festlegung der Entschädigung. Daß in solch einem Fall der Regelung eines Deliktes zwischen Privatpersonen das Strafprinzip eine völlig untergeordnete Bedeutung hatte, belegen die folgenden Feststellungen in Cassinelli-Ekvall:[24] «Eine lange Gefängnisstrafe konnte sich auch aus dem Unvermögen des Mörders ergeben, die Entschädigung zu zahlen, die man ihm abverlangte. War die Person, die er getötet hatte, eine Inkarnation, ein Heiliger oder ein Herrscher, so war die Kompensation so hoch, daß nur wenige einen solchen Betrag aufbringen konnten. Der Mörder war damit in Konsequenz zum Tode verurteilt. In den Fällen, in denen eine geringe Entschädigung aufzubringen war, wurde der Mörder solange gefangengehalten, bis er sie bezahlt hatte. Diese Praxis scheint Mord als Verbrechen zu verwechseln mit Mord als Schädigung der Familie des Toten oder von dessen Adelsherrn.»

Die Feststellungen von Cassinelli-Ekvall werden bestätigt durch die Beobachtungen von Sherring, der zur Rechtspraxis in Westtibet anmerkt, daß durch die Zahlung von tausend Rupien jede Todesstrafe aufgehoben wurde.[25] Ausführliche Erläuterungen zum Vorherrschen eines nahezu reinen Kompensationsrechtes in Osttibet verdanken wir Shih-Yü Yü Li, der u.a. daraufhingewiesen hat, daß diese Rechtspraxis bei Angehörigen verschiedener Stämme insbesondere weitere blutige Stammesfehden verhinderte.[26] Shih-Yü Yü Li gibt auch eine tibetische Begründung für das Kompensationsrecht, wenn er bemerkt:[27] «Die offizielle Erklärung für dieses System betont den Wert des menschlichen Lebens. Es ist schlimm genug, daß ein Mensch getötet wurde. Warum soll noch einer getötet werden, um das Recht aufrecht zu erhalten?» Übrigens wirkten die kompensationsrechtlichen Bestimmungen durchaus prohibitiv, war doch zum Beispiel im Falle eines Diebstahls die

[24] Cassinelli-Ekvall, *op. cit.* Anm. 4, S. 180.

[25] Sherring, *op. cit.* Anm. 1, S. 195.

[26] Shih-Yü Yü Li, *op. cit.* Anm. 23, S. 128–133.

[27] Shih-Yü Yü Li, *op. cit.* Anm. 23, S. 132.

zu leistende Entschädigung wesentlich höher als der Wert der gestohlenen Sache. Das generelle Vorherrschen des Kompensationsrechtes im nahezu gesamten Bereich der tibetischen Zivilisation scheint mir ein deutlicher Hinweis darauf zu sein, daß uns damit die älteste tibetische Rechtspraxis zur Konfliktbereinigung gegeben ist, zu der erst später mit der Entstehung staatlicher Gebilde das Strafrecht als Vergeltungsrecht zum Schutze von Staat und buddhistischer Kirche hinzugetreten ist, ohne aber dabei das ältere Kompensationsrecht zu verdrängen.

Das eingangs geschilderte System von Strafmaßnahmen und Foltern mag die Folgerung nahelegen, daß sich die tibetischen Herrscher bei der Einführung strafrechtlicher Bestimmungen zum Schutze ihrer Macht und zum Schutze der buddhistischen Kirche an chinesischen Vorbildern orientiert haben. Offenkundig haben auch chinesische Gesetzestexte als rein literarische Vorlagen bei der Kompilierung der tibetischen Rechtsbücher als Modell gedient. Nur in diesem eingeschränkten Sinne vermag ich hier der These von R. A. Stein folgen, daß China für Tibet als Ursprungsland des säkularen Rechts anzusehen ist.[28]

Betrachten wir die von Meisezahl vorgelegten Beschreibungen der ihm zugänglichen vier Rechtsbücher, so fällt auf, daß drei dieser Texte regelrechte Kolophone besitzen, die uns über die Zeitpunkte der Abfassung und in zwei Fällen auch über die Verfasser Auskunft geben. Die dabei festzustellende formale Ähnlichkeit zu Kolophonen von Werken der tibetischen Literatur führt konsequent zu der Frage, ob uns zumindestens mit einigen dieser Texte überhaupt regelrechte Gesetzestexte vorliegen und ob es sich bei diesen nicht um rechtsgelehrte Schriften tibetischer Gelehrter handelt, die über Geschichte, Aufbau und Inhalt tibetischer Gesetzestexte und Rechtsnormen Auskunft geben. Das letztere scheint mir der Fall zu sein bei dem von Meisezahl als *rDo riṅ* Rezension beschriebenen Text, der, wie Einleitung und Kolophon deutlich machen, in die Gattung der rechtswissenschaftlichen Literatur einzuordnen ist.

Dennoch zeigt ein Blick in die historiographische Literatur, daß in Tibet Gesetzbücher mit 13 und 16 Abschnitten und dem oben skizzierten Inhalt existiert haben, die den Richtern bei ihrer Rechtssprechung als normative Grundlage gedient haben. Tucci hat als erster daraufhingewiesen, daß der tibetische Herrscher Byaṅ-čhub rgyal-mchan (1302–1364)[29] aus dem Hause Phag-mo gru nach dem Ende der Yüan-Dynastie ein für seinen Herrschaftsbereich gültiges Gesetzbuch verkündet hat.[30] Tucci erwähnt ein weiteres Gesetzbuch, das zur gleichen Zeit in Chal entstanden sein soll und das in seinem Besitz befindliche Rechtsbuch des

[28] R. A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, London 1962, S. 52.

[29] Datierung nach G. Tucci, *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma*, Roma 1971, S. 206, 210.

[30] G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* I, Roma 1949, S. 37.

Karma bstan-skyoṅ, der in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts über gCaṅ herrschte.

Nach Tucci behielt das Rechtsbuch des Phag-mo gru-Herrschers auch in späterer Zeit Gültigkeit, wurde vom 5. Dalai Lama und vom sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mcho im 17. Jahrhundert revidiert und war in dieser Form bis in die Neuzeit in Gebrauch. Tucci's Quelle für die Beschreibung der gesetzgeberischen Aktivitäten des Phag-mo gru-Herrschers ist die Chronik *(rgyal-rabs)* des 5. Dalai Lama. Diese Chronik des 17. Jahrhunderts spricht im Hinblick auf die gesetzgeberischen Aktivitäten von Byaṅ-čhub rgyal-mchan davon, daß er ein Gesetzbuch mit 15 Gesetzen *(žal-lče)* geschaffen habe und zählt die einzelnen Überschriften dieser fünfzehn Gesetze auf.[31] Vergleicht man diese Überschriften mit denen der von Meisezahl beschriebenen Rechtsbücher der sechzehn Gesetze, so ergibt sich, daß die fünfzehn Gesetze des Phag-mo gru-Herrschers des 14. Jahrhunderts inhaltlich exakt den Abschnitten 1–15 der Rechtsbücher der sechzehn Gesetze entsprechen.

In der Chronik des fünften Dalai Lama findet sich eine interessante Bemerkung über die Gründe, die den Phag-mo gru-Herrscher zur Kompilation seines Gesetzeswerkes veranlaßt haben sollen.[32] Danach war das mongolische Recht,[33] welches von der Mitte des 13. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts in Tibet Gültigkeit hatte, durch Charakteristika wie dieses gekennzeichnet, daß die Tötung eines Menschen durch die Tötung eines weiteren Menschen vergolten wurde. Um diese sündhafte Rechtspraxis zu beseitigen, ließ Byaṅ-čhub rgyal-mchan unter Rückgriff auf altes tibetisches Recht die fünfzehn Gesetze verkünden. Diese Begründung zeigt deutlich, daß den Tibetern auch während der Yüan-Zeit das reine Vergeltungsstrafrecht der Mongolen fremd und unakzeptabel geblieben war und daß sie deshalb unmittelbar nach der Auflösung des Yüan-Reiches zur alten tibetischen Praxis des Kompensationsrechtes zurückkehrten.

Weitere Informationen über das tibetische Recht sind von einer Wissenschaftsseite beigesteuert worden, der wir inzwischen zahlreiche wichtige Beiträge zur Erforschung der traditionellen Kultur und Gesellschaft Tibets dieses Jahrhunderts verdanken, nämlich von der Sozial- bzw. Kulturanthropologie. Zu erwähnen sind

[31] *Gaṅs-čan yul gyi sa la spyod-pa'i mtho-ris kyi rgyal-blon gco-bor brJod-pa'i deb-ther | rjogs-ldan gžon-nu'i dga'-ston dpyid kyi rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyaṅs.* Indischer Nachdruck, New Delhi 1967, S. 85f: (1.) *dpa'-bo stag gi žal-lče* | (2.) *sdar-ma-va'i žal-lče* | (3.) *sne-mo las-'jin gyi žal-lče* | (4.) *žu-bžes bden-rjun gyi žal-lče* | (5.) *bzuṅ-bkyigs khrims-ra'i žal-lče* | (6.) *nag-čan khrag-bčor gyi žal-lče* | (7.) *dran-'jin čhad-las kyi žal-lče* | (8.) *hor-'dra za-rkaṅ gi žal-lče* | (9.) *bsad-pa stoṅ gi žal-lče* | (10.) *rmas-pa khrag gi žal-lče* | (11.) *smyon-ham mna'-dag gi žal-lče* | (12.) *brkus-pa 'jal gyi žal-lče* | (13.) *ñe-'brel 'bral-bzlums kyi žal-lče* | (14.) *byi-byas byin-(!)-rin gyi žal-lče* | (15.) *nam bar-(!)-chur gyi žal-lče* |.

[32] *Op. cit.* Anm. 31, S. 85; G. Tucci, *op. cit.* Anm. 23, S. 638.

[33] Zum mongolischen Recht vgl. V. A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, Tientsin 1937; C. Alinge, *Mongolische Gesetze*, Leipzig 1934.

hier Arbeiten von M. C. Goldstein[34] und die schon mehrfach zitierte Untersuchung von Cassinelli und Ekvall[35]. Die in diesen Untersuchungen zu findenden Hinweise auf das tibetische Rechtssystem beruhen auf Befragungen von tibetischen Informanten über konkrete Fälle von Rechtsstreitigkeiten bzw. über Gerichtsverfahren zu Straftaten. Solche Berichte können in einem gewissen Maße als Ersatz und Ergänzung von Gerichtsakten angesehen werden. Es sei hier darauf verzichtet, die Problematik der Befragung von Exiltibetern zu diesem Fragenkomplex zu diskutieren. Diese wird z.B. an der Feststellung von Cassinelli-Ekvall deutlich, die Todesstrafe sei in Tibet aufgrund des Einflusses des Buddhismus abgeschafft worden.[36] Andererseits führten die Befragungen der genannten Anthropologen zu interessanten Thesen über Grundprinzipien tibetischen Rechtsverständnisses und tibetischer Rechtssprechungspraxis. Cassinelli-Ekvall heben zunächst hervor, daß die Regierung von Sa-skya bei der Regelung zivilrechtlicher Angelegenheiten die private Schlichtung unter Vermittlung eines außergerichtlichen Vermittlers vorzog.[37] Wurde die Regierung bzw. das Gericht angerufen, so war das Ziel der daraus folgenden Aktivitäten nicht die Bestrafung Beteiligter, sondern die Erreichung eines «gerechten Vergleichs zwischen den direkt betroffenen Leuten.»[38] Cassinelli und Ekvall heben hervor:[39]

«Gerechtigkeit war hier weniger eine Sache abstrakter Prinzipien sondern etwas, das für die Parteien akzeptierbar war. Die soziale Harmonie sollte wiederhergestellt werden und zukünftigen Konflikten sollte vorgebeugt werden.»

Goldstein versucht die praktischen Auswirkungen dieses Grundprinzips näher zu fassen, wenn er die Norm der Stiftung eines gerichtlichen Vergleichs wie folgt beschreibt:[40]

«Mit anderen Worten funktionierte die Norm eines vernünftigen Vergleichs so, daß — obwohl der Richter die Macht hatte, so zu handeln — nicht entschieden wurde, A sei im Recht und B sei im Unrecht, sondern daß eine Übereinkunft geschlossen wurde, nach der A und B übereinstimmten, daß die Angelegenheit bereinigt sei. In Konsequenz besaßen Entscheidungen den Charakter eines Kompromisses.»

[34] Melvyn C. Goldstein: (1.) *An Anthropological Study of the Tibetan Political System*, Washington 1968; (2.) *The Balance between Centralization and Decentralization in the Traditional Tibetan Political System*: *CAJ* XV (1971), S. 170–182.

[35] *Op. cit.* Anm. 4.

[36] *Op. cit.* Anm. 4, S. 179.

[37] *Op. cit.* Anm. 4, S. 159f.

[38] *Op. cit.* Anm. 4, S. 166.

[39] *Op. cit.* Anm. 4, S. 166f.

[40] Goldstein (1.), *op. cit.* Anm. 34, S. 93f.

Folgen wir Cassinelli-Ekvall, so wurde Gerechtigkeit in Tibet verstanden als Wiederherstellung eines sozialen Konsensus bzw. der sozialen Harmonie zwischen den beteiligten Parteien. Diese Feststellung erscheint insbesondere vom Hintergrund der oben beschriebenen Praxis des Kompensationsrechts durchaus als akzeptabel, zumal sie offenkundig das Verständnis von Gerechtigkeit formuliert, das die tibetischen Informanten selbst vorgetragen haben. Wurde aber die Wiederherstellung eines friedlichen sozialen Miteinanders als gerechte Rechtsprechung angesehen, so mußte dies nicht, wie Goldstein wohl meint, bedeuten, daß bei Rechtsentscheidungen auch dann der gütliche Ausgleich vorgezogen wurde, wenn dies auf Kosten evidenter Rechtsansprüche einer der beteiligten Parteien geschah. Anders gesprochen konnte das System der Berufungsmöglichkeit bis hinauf zum Herrscher doch nur dann einen Sinn haben, wenn Rechtsprechung auf bindenden Prinzipien beruhte, die von der Hauptmasse der Mitglieder der Rechtsgemeinschaft akzeptiert wurden. Die Eruierung dieser Prinzipien bedarf aber neben eines Studiums der Gesetzestexte insbesondere des Studiums von Prozeßakten, Urteilen, Verträgen und anderen Urkunden.

Zu den wichtigsten Quellen zur Erforschung des tibetischen Rechts zählen zweifelsfrei Prozeßakten, Ausfertigungen von Urteilen, Verträgen und Herrscherurkunden. Gerichtsakten zu Strafprozessen sind uns bisher noch nicht zugänglich geworden. Völlig anders verhält es sich aber mit Akten aus dem Bereich des sogenannten Zivilrechtes. Hier waren die Parteien von Vertragsabschlüssen, privaten Vergleichen und gerichtlichen Vergleichen und Entscheidungen natürlicherweise sehr daran interessiert, die zugehörigen schriftlichen Ausfertigungen als Beweismittel eigener Rechtsansprüche zu verwahren. Im alten Tibet fanden sich selbst in den Haushalten wohlhabener Bauern nicht selten Kisten, die mit Rechtsdokumenten gefüllt waren. Große Adelige und Klöster besaßen eigene kleine Archive mit Rechtsdokumenten. Von diesen sind uns inzwischen über tibetische Flüchtlinge eine große Zahl zugänglich geworden, wenn auch betont werden muß, daß die Erforschung der Hauptmasse dieser Dokumente noch immer in den Anfängen steckt. Der Hauptteil dieser Dokumente deckt einen Zeitraum ab, der von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts bis in die fünfziger Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts reicht. Ordnet man die bisher zugänglich gewordenen Urkunden nach Klassen, so fällt auf, daß die Privaturkunden, also die außerhalb des Gerichts geschlossenen Verträge und Vereinbarungen die Hauptmasse darstellen. Inhaltlich handelt es sich hierbei um Schuldscheine, Vereinbarungen über die Aufteilung von Ländereien unter Verwandten, Eheverträge, Pachtverträge, Vereinbarungen über wechselseitige Dienstleistungen usw. Wenn ich festgestellt habe, daß Privatverträge außerhalb der Gerichtsinstitutionen geschlossen wurden, so heißt dies natürlich nicht, daß sie im Verhältnis zum offiziellen Recht der Gerichtsinstitutionen ein Recht besonderer Art begründeten. Dies wird schon aus den Eingangsformeln

solcher Urkunden deutlich, in denen sich die Vertragsparteien stets direkt an die Gerichtsinstitutionen wenden. Als Beispiel sei hier der Wortlaut der Eingangsformel einer Schuldurkunde aufgeführt:[41]

«Wir, die am Tag des 16. Kalendertages des Wasser-Schlange-Jahres am Lotos zu Füßen Seiner Kostbarkeit, des Gerichtsherrn, des Erhabenen in Bezug auf die beiden Arten von Verhaltensvorschriften vorlegen, von uns, deren Namenszeichen und Herkunft unten klar ersichtlich ist, wird aus eigenem Entschluß die Verpflichtung, die niemals geändert wird, ohne Vorbehalte überreicht, wobei deren Herzstück folgendes besagt.»

Daneben enthalten Verträge dieser Art eine Formel mit der Festlegung einer Vertragstrafe, welche im Falle des Vertragsbruches an den Gerichtsherrn zu zahlen war. Wurden durch Privatverträge bestehende Rechtsbeziehungen zwischen dem Herrscher und den Untertanen in größerem Maße tangiert, war die Einholung einer Einwilligung der Regierungsbehörden ratsam, denn das Herrscherrecht war gegenüber dem Privatrecht naturgemäß vorrangig.

Unterzieht man die Rechtsurkunden, die unter Beteiligung von Gerichtsbehörden bzw. der Herrscherkanzlei entstanden sind, einer groben Klassifizierung, so ergeben sich drei Gruppen, nämlich 1. Gerichtliche Vergleichsurkunden, 2. Rechtsentscheidungen bzw. Urteile aufgrund von Eingaben und Beschwerden und 3. Herrscherurkunden zur Konfirmation und zur Schaffung grundlegender Neugestaltungen von Rechtsverhältnissen.

Die Bevorzugung des gerichtlichen Vergleichs bei größeren Streitfällen erscheint — und dies bestätigt die Ergebnisse der kulturanthropologischen Forschungen — als hervorstechendes Merkmal tibetischer Rechtspraxis. Es muß den westlichen Leser erstaunen, mit welcher Geduld und Ausdauer tibetische Amtsstellen Streitfälle zu behandeln pflegten, um schließlich die Parteien zu veranlassen, dem Vergleich zuzustimmen. Vergleichen wir die vorliegenden gerichtlichen Vergleiche mit den einfachen Rechtsentscheiden bzw. Urteilen, die aufgrund von Eingaben ausgefertigt wurden, so fällt ein wichtiger Unterschied sofort ins Auge. Urteile bestätigten allgemein nur durch Urkunden belegte Rechtsverhältnisse, in die von irgendeiner Seite eingegriffen worden war. Sie konnten auch aufgrund des Vortrages nur einer der beteiligten Parteien ausgesprochen werden, ergingen dann aber unter der Einschränkung, daß die vorgetragenen Sachverhalte stimmten und die vorgelegten Beweismittel vollständig waren. Vergleiche regelten zumeist Rechtsfragen, die anhand vorgelegter Herrscherurkunden, Privatverträge und auch unter Beiziehung gewohnheitsrechtlicher Tatbestände nicht eindeutig entscheidbar erschienen.

[41] Dieter Schuh, *Eine kollektive tibetische Schuldurkunde: Folia Rara*, Wiesbaden 1976, S. 107.

Daran wird deutlich, daß das Vorherrschen des Vergleichs bei schwierigen Rechtsfällen keineswegs den Schluß zuläßt, das tibetische Recht sei ein Kompromißrecht. Waren Rechtsansprüche eindeutig belegbar, so war ein Vergleich überflüssig und es erging ein Rechtsentscheid. Dies widersprach keineswegs dem Ziel der tibetischen Rechtsprechung, die Wiederherstellung der sozialen Harmonie zu bewirken, wurden doch die bestehenden Rechtsverhältnisse als Konstitutiva einer friedlichen, harmonischen Sozialordnung angesehen.

Ich möchte im folgenden der Frage nachgehen, wodurch im Tibet der letzten vier Jahrhunderte Rechtsverhältnisse als solche konstituiert wurden. Anders gefragt: Was mußte Rechtsansprüche kennzeichnen, damit sie im Falle ihrer Anfechtung vor Gericht Bestand haben konnten, d. h. als Recht anerkannt wurden. Zur Beantwortung der so gestellten Frage nach dem Verständnis von Recht in Tibet geben die mir vorliegenden Rechtsdokumente zahlreiche Hinweise. Denn Rechtsentscheide und gerichtliche Vergleiche beschränken sich keineswegs auf die bloße Darstellung der Rechtsinhalte, über die man sich etwa in einem Vergleich einigte oder die im Urteil bestätigt wurden. Vielmehr umfaßten z. B. die gerichtlichen Vergleiche eine ausführliche Darstellung des gesamten Ablaufs des Verfahrens bis hin zur Ausfertigung der Vergleichsurkunde. Die Dokumente geben der Darstellung der Argumentationen der Parteien breiten Raum, zitieren relevante Passagen vorgelegter Urkunden wörtlich und geben eine Begründung für die letztlich gefällte bzw. im Vergleich zu akzeptierende Entscheidung. Da Rechtsentscheidungen und Vergleiche stets auf einem einzigen Blatt Papier ausgefertigt wurden, ist es von daher auch nicht verwunderlich, daß uns einzelne Dokumente vorliegen, die bis zu fünfzehn Meter lang sind.

Recht war im Tibet der letzten Jahrhunderte zuvörderst das in Herrscherurkunden verbriefte Recht des guten Herrschers. Dies wird zunächst deutlich aus den selektiven Aufzählungen bestimmter Urheber von Rechtsverhältnissen in den Narrationes von Konfirmationsurkunden. Privilegien guter Herrscher galten als Rechtsquelle der Schaffung oder Bestätigung von Rechtsverhältnissen. Das Konzept des «guten Herrschers» gab dem Recht in Tibet eine relativierende, politische Komponente. Dies wird daran deutlich, daß nach den mir vorliegenden Rechtsdokumenten in Begründungen von Petitionen und in Konfirmationen bestimmte Herrscher niemals aufgeführt werden, wie z. B. Pho-lha-ba's Sohn 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal, oder Karma bstan-skyoṅ, der oben erwähnte Herrscher von gCaṅ, die beide aus der Sicht ihrer Nachfolger als politisch mißliebig angesehen wurden. Erwähnt werden hingegen čhos-rgyal 'Phags-pa, die Könige von Guṅ-thaṅ in Westtibet als Angehörige des altehrwürdigen Herrschergeschlechts der Yar-kluṅs-Dynastie, die Dalai Lama, die mongolischen Qoshot-Könige Tibets des 17. Jahrhunderts, die Mi-dbaṅ-Herrscher Khaṅ-čhen-nas und Pho-lha-ba sowie verschiedene Regenten *(rgyal-chab)* des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Daß dies in

konkreten Fällen zu einer gewissen Rechtsunsicherheit führen konnte, zeigt ein Erlaß aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert, der die Feststellung enthält, daß die Rechtsbriefe des ersten Rva-sgreṅ-Regenten im Jahre 1864 außer Kraft gesetzt worden sind.[42]

Rechtsbriefe rechter und guter Herrscher sind solche, die «rechte Herkunft» haben *(khuṅs-thub)*. So gebraucht sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mcho in seinem 1681 verfaßten Beamtenspiegel *Dvaṅs-šel me-loṅ* diesen Ausdruck zur Kennzeichnung der Rechtsverordnungen *(khrims-yig)*, die ein König zur Anwendung bringen sollte, oder er bezeichnet die Urkunden, die von einem jeweils neuen Herrscher komfirmiert werden dürfen, als «Rechtsbriefe mit rechter Herkunft» *(bka'-šog daṅ yig-ris khuṅs-thub)*.[43] Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint denn auch die oben erwähnte Zurückführung der tibetischen Rechtsordnung auf den sagenhaften indischen König Ādarśamukha und den berühmten König Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po erst richtig verständlich.

Neuzuerkanntes Herrscherrecht war aber nur dann Recht, wenn seine Zuerkennung aus akzeptablen Gründen vollzogen wurde. Gerade Eingaben bei Gericht zitieren immer wieder die Verdienste, die die Nutznießer rechtlicher Neuordnungen erworben hatten.

Durch gute Gründe zugestandene Anrechte waren auf die Nachkommen übertragbar. Wie stark das Erbprinzip im tibetischen Recht verankert war, zeigt eine Herrscherurkunde des Pho-lha-ba aus dem Jahre 1744, durch die dem Adelsherrn des Hauses rGyal-mkhar naṅ-pa bestimmte Privilegien zuerkannt wurden.[44] Wie wir aus weiteren Urkunden dieses Adelshauses wissen, war Rabbrtan rgyal-po ein Bruder des Herrschers Pho-lha-ba. Wir wissen noch nicht, unter welchen Umständen die alten Herrn dieses Adelshauses der rGyal-mkhar naṅ-pa ihrer Besitzungen verlustig gegangen sind. Doch ist augenfällig, daß die Übereignung ihrer Besitzungen an den Bruder des Herrschers einherging mit der Übernahme des Hausnamens durch den neuen Herrn. Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang interessant zu bemerken, daß dieser Seitenzweig des Hauses Pho-lha-ba unter dem Hausnamen rGyal-mkhar naṅ-pa bis in die Neuzeit fortbestand, während andererseits das Haus Pho-lha-ba zwar nach dem unrühmlichen Tod des später als politisch mißliebig eingestuften 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal dem Namen nach aufhörte zu existieren, de facto aber unter dem Hausnamen lČaṅ-čan fortbestand.[45]

In einer sikkhimesischen Herrscherurkunde, ausgefertigt im Jahre 1796, lesen wir folgenden Satz:[46]

[42] *MTH* III/5, Dokument 28.

[43] *Blaṅ-dor gsal-bar ston-pa'i dran-thig dvaṅs-šel me-loṅ ñer-gčig-pa*, Handschrift, 58 Bl., Bl. $8r^3$, $9r^4$.

[44] *MTH* III/5, Dokument IX.

[45] L. Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet*, Roma 1973, S. 211ff.

[46] *MTH* III/3, Dokument I.

«Deshalb laßt sie, solange der Reiseweg von Sonne und Mond nicht unterbrochen ist, über (diesen) Rechtsbrief verfügen.»

In einem Zwischentext zu einer Urkundensammlung des 17. Jahrhunderts aus Ladakh lesen wir:[47]

«Indem insbesondere der čhos-rje sMu-rjiṅs-pa und der König Seṅ-ge rnam-par rgyal-ba die Götter als Zeugen anriefen, legten sie mit diesen Worten einen Eid über die gehegten Absichten ab:

«Solange der oben gelegene (Schneeberg) Gaṅs-dkar Ti-se nicht schmilzt und solange der See Ma-pham nicht austrocknet, wollen wir, Opferpriester und Gabenherr, unser Wohlergehen zu einem zusammenfassen!»»

Und in einem zu dieser Urkundensammlung gehörenden Rechtsbrief heißt es dementsprechend:[48]

«Von der Königsresidenz Šel sollen diese ... (Gehöfte) für solange, wie die buddhistische Lehre existiert, (dem Kloster sTag-sna) gewährt sein.»

In einem im 15. Jahrhundert ausgefertigten Rechtsbrief des Guṅ-thaṅ-Königs Kun-bzaṅ ñi-zla grags-pa lesen wir:[49]

«Darum habe ich für solange, wie die buddhistische Lehre existiert, den großen geistlichen Lehrer zusammen mit seinen Nachkommen zum Nutznießer dieses (Tempels) ernannt.»

Vergleichen wir diese zuletzt aufgeführte Eingangsformulierung der Dispositio mit der entsprechenden Formulierung in der zugehörigen Konfirmationsurkunde des 5. Dalai Lama aus dem Jahre 1670, so fällt ein bedeutender Unterschied auf. Der 5. Dalai Lama verfügt nämlich:[50]

«Solange die Mönche religiöse Zeremonien für Lebende und Tote sowie Umwandlungen (des Tempels) für die Zu-Erlösenden durchführen, die Spenden an den Tempel für Opfer verwenden und die Arbeiten der Reparatur und Abdichtung auf rechte Weise durchführen, macht ihnen die zugeteilten Gebiete nicht streitig.»

Einerseits besteht hier in den Herrscherurkunden aus Sikkhim und Ladakh sowie aus Guṅ-thaṅ das alte Rechtsverständnis der Yar-kluṅs-Dynastie fort, also des tibetischen Herrscherhauses des 7.–9. Jahrhunderts, nach dem Recht gleichsam ewiges Recht war und durch Eidesformeln eine transzendente Verankerung erfuhr.[51] Das Recht hatte solange Bestand, wie die Welt oder die buddhistische

[47] Dieter Schuh, *Frühe Beziehungen zwischen dem ladakhischen Herrscherhaus und der südlichen 'Brug-pa-Schule: Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung*, Heft 2 (1983), Dokument G 2 (5).

[48] *Op. cit.* Anm. 47, Dokument G 2 (4).

[49] *MTH* III/5, Dokument XXXVIII.

[50] *MTH* III/5, Dokument XL.

[51] Dieter Schuh, *Ergebnisse und Aspekte tibetischer Urkundenforschung: Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium*, Budapest 1978, S. 422.

Lehre existierte. Es war göttlich gesichert und verankert, auch wenn der Akt seiner Schaffung durch den König vollzogen wurde.

Ein ganz anderes Bild andererseits bietet sich uns in Tibet spätestens seit der Zeit des 5. Dalai Lama. Das Recht war stärker konditioniert, an Bedingungen gebunden. Einher damit war das Recht nicht mehr gleichsam ewig, sondern bedurfte ständig der Erneuerung.

Gutes Recht war, wie die Argumentationen in Eingaben an den Gerichtsherrn immer wieder deutlich machen, sukzessiv konfirmiertes *(rim-čan)* Recht. Natürlich gab es auch im tibetischen Mittelalter, wie uns Urkunden aus *Guṅ-thaṅ* zeigen, die Praxis der Konfirmation. Konstitutives Element des Rechts als solchen wurde es erst durch die Hervorhebung der Konditionalität im tibetischen Recht, die, wie die mongolischen Urkunden der Yüan-Zeit zeigen, primär mongolischer Provenienz ist.[52] Bedingtheit meint hier nicht die Tatsache, daß die erstmalige Schaffung bestimmter Rechtsverhältnisse aus bestimmten Gründen erfolgte, sondern daß nur der Fortbestand bestimmter Voraussetzungen von seiten des Destinatärs die Kontinuität der Rechtsverhältnisse gewährleistete. Dies wird nicht nur in den Herrscherurkunden im Zusammenhang mit der Gewährung bestimmter Privilegien erwähnt, sondern es wird auch in Eingaben an den Gerichtsherrn zur Verteidigung in Frage gestellter Rechtsverhältnisse stets besonders hervorgehoben. Die Konditionalität des Rechts führte dazu, daß Dienstleistungen und Steuerabgaben einerseits und Besitz- und Nutzungsrechte andererseits als sich gegenseitig bedingend verstanden wurden. In Konsequenz wurden zugestandene Ländereien und Nutzungsrechte als Existenzgrundlage zur Erbringung von Dienstleistungen weltlicher und religiöser Art für den Herrscher und die Allgemeinheit verstanden.

Aus der Konditionalität des Rechts folgte die stärkere Betonung des Postulats der Ausgewogenheit zwischen Rechtsansprüchen einerseits und Leistungen andererseits. War diese Ausgewogenheit nicht mehr gegeben, konnte es zum Entzug exzessiver Rechtsansprüche kommen. So erwähnt ein Dokument aus dem Jahre 1794, daß es im Jahre 1793/94 offenbar im Rahmen einer allgemeinen Überprüfung dieser Ausgewogenheit zur Einziehung exzessiver Privilegien gekommen ist.[53]

Das Verhältnis von Herrscher und Untertanen wird in Eingaben zu Rechtsverletzungen, aber auch in Generalerlassen, häufig angesprochen. Die patriarchalische Struktur dieses Verhältnisses wird in den Urkunden mit dem Ausdruck *pha-bu* «Vater-Sohn» direkt angesprochen. Hinzukommen Ausdrücke wie Liebe *(byams-pa)* und Mitleid *(rñiṅ-rje)*, mit denen das Verhältnis des Herrschers zu seinen Untertanen umschrieben wird. Ebenso zentral sind Begriffe wie *'jin-spras* «Obhut» und *lar-rgya* «Solidarität», «Verantwortung». Letztere kennzeichnen nicht nur das Verhältnis der Herrschenden zu den Untertanen. Störungen der Rechtsordnung

[52] *MTH* III/1, S. 174.

[53] *MTH* III/5, Dokument XVI.

durch Streitigkeiten zwischen den Untertanen werden unter Rückgriff auf diese Begriffe beschrieben. So heißt es z. B. in einer Vergleichsurkunde zur Begründung der Wahl des gerichtlichen Vergleichs als Mittel der Streitschlichtung: [54]

«In dieser durch heilvolle Umstände gekennzeichneten Zeit, in der (die Mönche und das Volk) somit so glücklich wie möglich leben können, hat sich durch euch eine Einhaltung der Gelübde, durch die Priester und Gabenherr verbunden sind, sowie wechselseitiger Nutzen und wechselseitige Hilfe, bei der man die Solidarität als leitend nimmt, in einer als Vorbild nachzueifernden Weise nicht ergeben. Doch ist es gewißlich notwendig, daß es bei solch einem mit Kontroversen und Haß verbundenen Gerichtsfall nicht zu einer vollständigen Trennung (der Parteien) kommt.»

Die hier angesprochenen Begriffe von Solidarität und Verantwortung dürfen aber nicht etwa im Sinne des Vorherrschens eines Sozialgedankens als einer der Grundpfeiler der tibetischen Gesellschaft überinterpretiert werden. Sicherheit in Bezug auf die eigenen Rechtsansprüche bestand nur solange, wie Dienstleistungen mehr oder minder reibungslos erbracht wurden. Es muß zwar hervorgehoben werden, daß nach einem gründlichen Studium tibetischer Gerichtsakten kein Zweifel daran bestehen kann, daß das System der Anrufung höherer Gerichtsinstanzen bis hinauf zum Herrscher ein hohes Maß an Rechtssicherheit garantierte, auch wenn diese gerade für einzelne Untertanen aufgrund eventuell mangelnder Bildung und wegen hoher Kosten Einschränkungen erfuhr. Wirtschaftliche Notzeiten, in denen Gruppen von Untertanen ihren Abgabeverpflichtungen nicht nachkommen konnten, konnten durch Stundungen oder gar durch Ausleihungen an die Betroffenen überbrückt werden. Aber auch hier gab es Grenzen, was in extremen Notzeiten dazu führte, daß den Bauern nur die Landflucht übrigblieb. Vergleichbares galt auch für den reichen und wirtschaftlich besser gestellten Adel. War der wirtschaftliche Ertrag eines Gutes etwa in Kriegszeiten nicht mehr groß genug, um die Abgaben an die Regierung zu zahlen, so drohte der Einzug dieses Gutes durch die Regierung *(gžuṅ-bžes)*. Die vorliegenden Dokumente zeigen, daß Landflucht in Tibet häufig stattfand. Der Grund dafür ist weniger darin zu suchen, daß die tibetischen Untertanen etwa durch ihre Feudalherren prinzipiell übermäßig ausgebeutet wurden. Vielmehr resultierte dieses Phänomen aus einem Grundzug der tibetischen Abgabeordnung, nach der Abgaben und Dienstleistungen aufgrund einer einmal erfolgten Bemessung der Einkommengrundlagen festgelegt waren. Diese Bemessung war zwar an dem durchschnittlichen Ertrag orientiert, die Abgaben blieben danach aber ertragsunabhängig gleich bestehen. Daß dies in Krisenzeiten notwendigerweise zum Ruin der Untertanen führen mußte, bedarf keiner weiteren Erläuterung.

[54] *MTH* III/5, Dokument XXX.

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF A TIBETAN MEDICAL CHART

BY

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Many interesting and remarkable subjects arise in the course of studying Tibetan culture. One such field is the medicine of the Land of Snow.

«The principal work on medicine in Tibet, is that entitled the «*rGyud bZhi*» — the tract in four parts. It is attributed to Shákya, though not introduced into the *Kah-gyur* or *Stan-gyur* collections.»[1]

Although Csoma was in a way interested in Tibetan medicine, the source of his knowledge was not the mentioned Rgyud-bži, but the little syllabus of his Tibetan master called Sańs-rgyas phun-chogs.

According to the introduction in the booklet, he — the bla-ma — being ill at ease, claimed apologetically that he was not encouraged to write the syllabus by ambition:

Oh, how I would wish, with the impudence of a selfish baby,
To complete with a myriad scholars of the mahāyāna and
With the medical knowledge of so many scholars
Who ascended to the rank of the wise and the perfect!

But it is not toke. This short compendium was only made
For my friend, born in Europe,
A wise man tied together with the thread of destiny of
His old deeds; a wanderer through all the countries of the Earth.[2]

[1] A. Csoma de Kőrös, *Analysis of a Tibetan Medical Work: JASB* 1835. pp. 1–20.

[2] J. Terjék, *Collection of Tibetan MSS and Xylographs of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, Budapest 1976, pp. 35–36. The Tibetan text:

e-ma mkhas dań grub-pa'i go-'phań-la |
'jegs-pa'i skyes-čhen du-mas gso-rig gžuń |
šiń-rta čhen-po'i srol-čhen [p. 3] *'bum gtod phyir |*
bdag-lta byis-pa'i spyi-rtol či-ste 'chal |
'on-kyań sńon byas-las-kyi srad-bu-yis |
sbrel-ba'i mkhas-pa 'Jam-gliń yul-gyi gru |
Rgya-gar-rum-du skyes-pa'i mja-bo de'i |
g-yań-ńo bsab-phyir čuń-zad 'dir brjod-bya |

This syllabus may have been sufficient for Csoma to gain a general view of Tibetan medicine, but it is surely unsatisfactory for a student of the subject. To make study easier and more perceptible to the senses, some charts were introduced, e.g. anatomical figures and representations.

Each student had a copy of the chart. The pupil obtained a copy made by a painter in Lhasa, and was allowed to take the original from the monastery [that is Lčags-po-ri] for the purpose. Preliminary instruction was also given from another chart.[3]

Let me present a chart.

The tań-ka was painted on BOTH SIDES of a piece of silk (87 × 32 cm) without the usual textile trimming. There are signs of adhesion on the edge that do not belong to the original frame.

The picture has a defect in the form of two spots, which appear–to me–to be caused by some unknown black or dark brownish liquid matter and from their position it can clearly be defined that the silk was folded in recent years.

On one side there are six human figures, two large and four small ones depicted either from the rear or the front.

This side can simply be described as an anatomical chart, as E.H.C. Walsh did in his article.[4]

I am giving a detailed description and enumeration of the figures, as well as a proposed translation of the terms and anatomical names.

1. Figure No. 1. upper left; front, arms outstretched, standing astride, only the main bones are depicted schematically.

Text (beneath the figure):

Details from the first chapter; bones, muscles and the main organs, / parts of the body in front view.

(le'u daṅ-por ša, rus, don, snod-kyi gnad-lugs mdun |)

Medical terms:

sgrog-rus [right and left] — collarbone

bya-rus [= *braṅ-rus*] — breastbone

bžag-ša dkar-po — lat. serratus magnus muscle

bltas-pa'i pho-ba — stomach

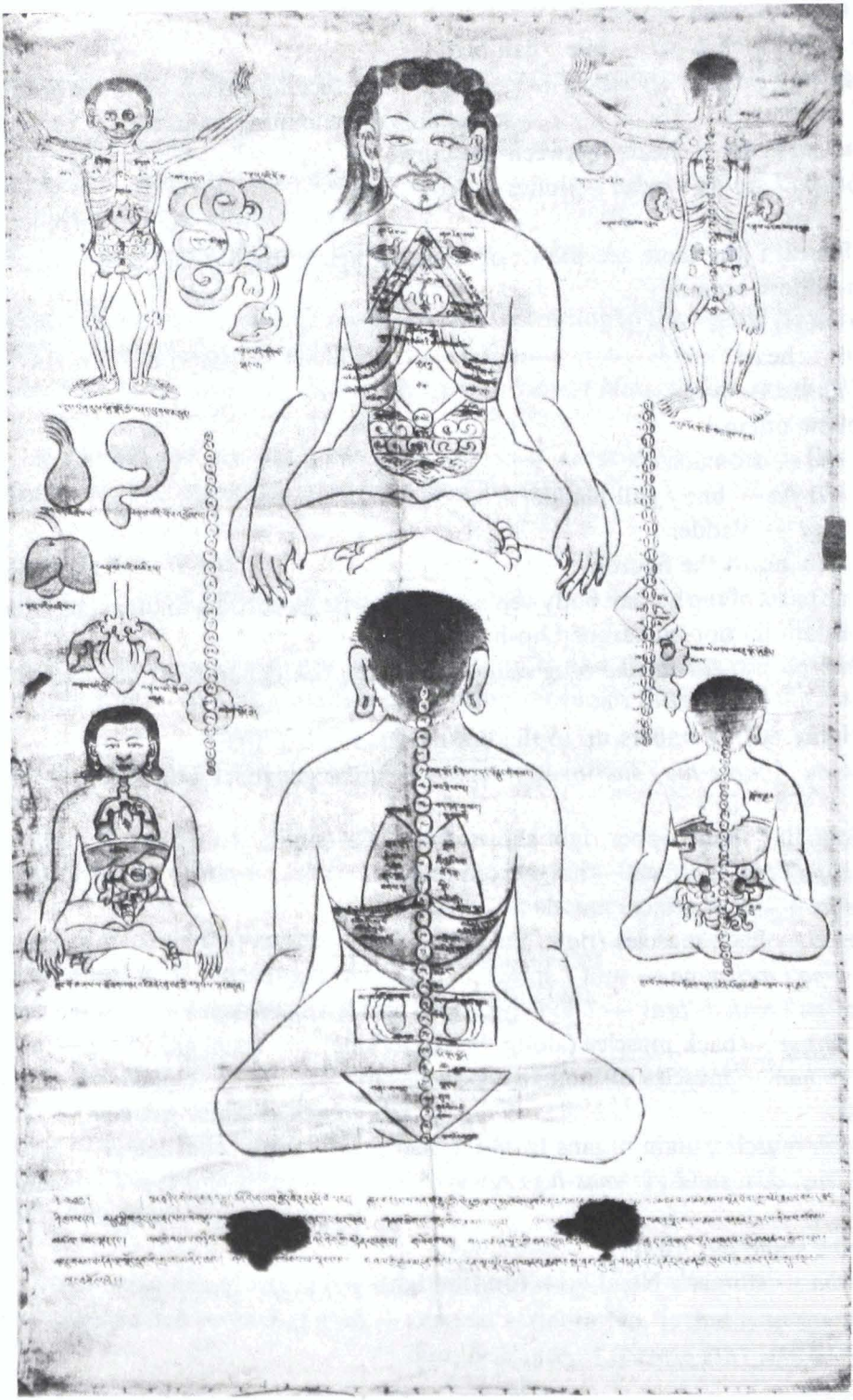
bltas-pa'i rgyu-ma — intestines, esp. the small intestines[5]

bltas-pa'i sñiṅ-po lgaṅ-pa — heart and bladder

[3] E. H. C. Walsh, *The Tibetan Anatomical System*: *JRAS* 1910, pp. 1215-1245, on p. 1217

[4] E. H. C. Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 1215.

[5] Jäschke, *TED*, p. 111.



2. Beneath, each separately
bltas-pa'i mkhris-pa — bile / gall-bladder
bltas-pa'i pho-ba 'gyoṅs-pa — stomach; the second cavity of the stomach or reticulum of ruminating animals[6]
bltas-pa'i sñiṅ — heart (between the lungs)
bltas-pa'i glo-ba'i mdun — lungs in front view

3. Beneath [the same are shown on a sitting figure front-wise]
[un-hollow organs]
glo-ba — lungs
sñiṅ — heart
mčhin-pa — liver
[hollow organs]
pho-ba — stomach
mkhris-pa — bile / gall-bladder
lgaṅ-pa — bladder
Text (beneath the figure):
Some parts of the human body depicted front-wise, according to the representation of Bstan-'jin nor-bu-čan of Lho-brag.
(phuṅ-po kha-šas-la Lho-brag Bstan-'jin nor-bu čan-gyi bltas-pa ltar-mdun)

4. Spine, with numbers up to the bottom: 1–5, 1–20, 1–3.
mñe-ma [=gñe-ma] ston-byed — colon or great gut (back-bones No. 17–20)

5. Standing figure upper right shown from rear (similar to that of No. 1)
bltas-pa'i glo-ba rgyab — lungs from rear
gña-ša — back cervical muscle
'dar-ša — back muscles (right and left)
bltas-pa'i mčher-pa — milt / spleen
bltas-pa'i mkhal-'bras — ? kidneys (right and left) / the reins
šul-ša gyi — back muscles (along the back-bone)
šul-ša haṅ — muscles of lumbar region or hip
Text:
Bones, muscles, main organs from the rear
(ša, rus, don, snod-gyi gnas-lugs rgyab)

6. The spine No. 10–14.
pho-ba — stomach No. 12–14. (on the right)

[6] Jäschke, *TED*, p. 345.

bsam-se — seminal vesicle No. 15–16.
khrag — blood
bsam-se mṅal-lam bu-snod don-byed — seminal vesicle, main part of the womb

7. Sitting figure from rear
glo-ba rgyab — lungs in rear-view
mčher-pa zur — edge of milt / spleen
mkhal-'bras [in the intestine-area] — ?the reins / kidneys
Text:
Some parts of the human body from a rear-view, according to the representation of Bstan-'jin nor-bu-čan of Lho-brag.
(phuṅ-po kha-šas-la Lho-brag Bstan-'jin nor-bu-čan-gyi bltas-pa ltar-rgyab |)

In the middle of the thaṅ-ka there are two cross-legged seated figures superimposed. The upper contains the following terms:

8. Figure in front-view,
phug-ron gsaṅ — (on both sides) bronchial (tubes)
mjo-sna — ?
bya-khab — (on both sides) joint of bronchial tubes and the lobes of lung
glo-ma'i tha-lčags — (along a triangle symbolising the lungs, three times) the entire measure of the lungs
thugs-khab — (on both sides)? the place of the soul / breath
rta-mig — ?
dgra-lče — ?
'phrul-gyi lde-mig mčhin-dri 'dogs mchams — (between the lungs) key of «vis vitalis»; diaphragm in the wished position
mčhin-dri dkar-po — diaphragm, white
mčhin-dri khra-bo — diaphragm, piebald
mčhin-dri nag-po — diaphragm, black
} ?stratums of diaphragm
lhen-sna — pit of the heart
pho-ba — stomach
rca-loṅ — the main vein / artery by the colon
rgyu-stod — upper intestines
rgyu-smad — lower intestines
lgaṅ-pa — bladder

9. The lower cross-legged figure contains the following terms,
'aṅ-stoṅ chigs-pa daṅ-po rluṅ-gi gsaṅ — cervical vertebra No. 1, that is to say the disappearance of the wind

mkhris-pa — bile / gall-bladder
bad-kan gsaṅ — disappearance of mucus / phlegm
ltag-mgo — (on both sides) ? shoulder-blade / spade-bone
sgaṅ-stod — upper lobe of the lung
glo-ma — anterior / front lobe of the lung
glo-bu — posterior / back lobe of the lung[7]
rcibs — costa / rib
sgaṅ-smad — lower lobe of the lung
srog-rca — the main artery
sñiṅ — heart
zags-sna — (on both sides) air-cell / pulmonary vesicle
mčhin-dri — diaphragm
'phrul-gyi lde-mig 'dogs mchams — key of «vis vitalis»; diaphragm in the wished position
mčhin-dri dkar-po — diaphragm, white
mčhin-dri khra-bo — diaphragm, piebald
mčhin-dri nag-po — diaphragm, black
} ? stratums of diaphragm
mkhris-pa — bile / gall-bladder
mčher-pa — milt / spleen
pho-ba — stomach
mkhal-ma'i yul-skal — (on both sides) areas of kidneys
bsaṁ-se — seminal vesicle
mkhal-ma — (on both sides) kidneys
don snod spyi'i loṅ — *?*
rgyu-ma — intestines
gžaṅ-gsaṅ — anus
lgaṅ-pa — bladder
khu-ba — semen virile
thur-sel-gyi gsaṅ — ? ureter
va gdoṅ-gsum — «three-faced fox», ? sacrum and coccyx

The above [terms] was taken from the commentary — entitled *Vaidurya sṅon-po* — on the Four Tantras, from the third book *(man-ṅag-gi rgyud)* illustrating the 85th chapter entitled «The Chapter about curing the upper and lower part of trunk».

The drawing of the figures was made with the help of a system of lines and measures, according to the traditional medical chart, in order to represent the inner and outer parts of the trunk, and the painting on the model was carried out by Lho-brag sku-skye Bstan-'jin nor-bu-čan.

[7] Although Walch *op. cit.*, p. 1242 says that *glo-bu* = the anterior lobes of the lungs

The text of the «colophon» in Tibetan is as follows:

Sman-bla'i dgoṅs-rgyan Rgyud-bži'i gsal-'byed Vaidur sṅon-po-las | rgyud gsum-pa Man-ṅag-rgyud-kyi le'u gya-lṅa-pa, Byaṅ-khog; yul-thig rgyab-mdun khram-thig ča sman-thaṅ mthun-par mchon-rnams sṅon-po bar-gyi sor-rnams gser-thig-gi graṅs daṅ | mdun skyil-khruṅ dus rkaṅ-pas thig čuṅ-zad ma zi... [?dpyad]-daṅ mthun-par mar phab | gnam-thig daṅ gžuṅ-thig-rnams dṅul | dṅos-su ... mṅal-lam bu-snod mñe-ma-rnams phan-chun-du zur-pa bris-pa-sogs | mchal 'aṅ-ltar daṅ | yas-kyi laṅs-pa gñis ... le'u 'di-ñid-kyi brten-pa rus-pa | g-yogs-pa ša | gñan-pa don snod-kyi gnad-lugs ston-phyir ... |

Rgyud-'brel daṅ ṅo-sprod mthun-par khyon mchal-gyi ka brda'[?i] | naṅ-du gnas-pa don-lṅa snod-drug-gi graṅs mthiṅ 'aṅ | ša'i ...-sogs-la sṅag-'aṅ | gšam-gyi rgyab-mdun gñis daṅ don-lṅa snod-drug yan-pa-rnams Lho-brag sku-skye Bstan-'jin nor-bu-čan-gyi phuṅ-po kha-šas dṅos-su bltas-pa-ltar bkod-pa'o ||

I think those who have classical European medical training — when analyzing the chart — could explain more about the things. I am neither a doctor nor an expert on Tibetan medicine, so the only thing I can do is offer the chart to specialists for further investigation and consultation.

NATURE PROTECTING TABOOS OF THE MONGOLS

BY

MAGDALENA TATÁR (Oslo)

It is a great honour for me as for every Hungarian orientalist to write in the book dedicated to the anniversary of the great Hungarian orientalist, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. He was an inspiring ideal for many of us, whose personality we learnt to respect before his scientific work. Actually, he did not write about customs like these in this paper, but on the basis of his interests in Central Asia and religion-historical texts I allow myself to take this subject here.

I collected this material about the popular beliefs of the Mongols on my stay with Khalkhas, Dörbeds, Baits Khotons and Darkhats in 1970–1971, 1974 and 1976. Taboos protecting greater objects, such as holy mountains, rivers, graves of shamans have been treated several times in literature about the Mongols. I do not intend to write about these taboos at the present time, but about taboos which need to be taken a closer look at because they are often latently included in folk customs, and were regarded only as such i.a. by Potanin and Vjatkina. Not even the informants had any knowledge of the religious content of the customs of daily life. Such taboos protecting certain plants and animals are classified by the general science of religion in two groups:

1. In religions oriented towards a personal God, a part of the agricultural products is set apart for the God, or given to the poor, like e.g. the tithe of the Jews, or the part left in the field for the poor such as in the story of Boas and Ruth;

2. In religions more nature-oriented, taboos can protect certain plants and animals, either permanently or for certain periods; or the people must give some compensation for their usage. (We can also often find a mixture of motivations, e.g. in Hungary peasants leave ears of grain in the stubble-field for the poor; for heaven's birds; for the mother earth, etc.) (2. II. 28).

The Mongolian customs which I want to write about here, belong to the second group, and I have classified them in three categories:

I. Taboos which protect the purity of nature. Not only "cultivated" places, like the ground of the yurt, the ground of the pound of the cattle, and roads, but rivers and other places, too, are protected against contamination by urine. People, who urinate in a rat's hole, will go blind (Khalkha). It is forbidden to leave marks on the earth (e.g. drawing, writing). Such marks must be wiped out with the foot before leaving (Khalkha, Western Mongolian). The circle of soot left on the ground by a kettle has to be wiped out. If this is not done, it means ill-luck for those who step into

them (Khoton). Cut hair, hair that has fallen out, nail clippings and spittle has to be dug into the ground, or put into a hole and then covered with earth, altough they would vanish in nature without digging in the ground. But they must always be left covered up. Khalkhas in Tòv ajmag told me, that a cow's udder would be sick if she ate nails. While they bury the nail the Khalkhas say:

Bi čamajg ùxert xelexgùj
Či namajg čòtgòrt bitgī xelērej
Texīn evrig tengert tùrč
Temēn sŭl gazart xùrč
Tūlajd ever urgač
Tugald sojō urgasan cagt garārā̆!
Cagān caxir xad bolōd bajž bajgārā̆!
"I do not tell you to a cow,
Don't tell me to the devil.
When the horn of a goat pushes the sky,
When the tail of a camel reaches the ground,
When the horn would grow on a hare,
When a tusk would grow in the mouth of a calf,
Come out in that time!
Be a white flint, a rock!"

Otherwise the Khalkhas leave the grey hair of old women on the *obos*. It is cut after the menopause, when the women are *čavganc*. This hair is too venerable to be dug into the ground, and the wind carries it away.

The Buddhistic funeral prescription for setting out of the corpse the Khalkhas explain by saying that the corpse must vanish without any trace in nature.

II. Thoroughly examining some customs we can find the idea that nature has its own circulation what people must not unduly interfere with. It certainly is a very old tradition. Already Plano Carpini (chapter III, article 7) mentioned that it is forbidden to kill or to catch nestlings. Grass must not be torn out by the roots, only withered grass can be collected if it is needed for the cattle (Khoton). In a Buryat story about Altan šagaj a man warns a horse that, if he rips out the tender grass, he will remain for ever without food. (10. 1–29.) Torguts said that to rip out grass is like to rip out one's hair of a man's beard. (5. II. 98.) According to Khalkhas it is permitted only for a lamb to graze in a rich field. Likewise it is forbidden to fell a tree in spring or to gather fresh leaves. If they need to cover up something with them, dry wood, bushes or dung have to be used for that purpose (5. II. 97.)

In lack of protecting periods or other customs concerning the hunting of flying squirrels (Sciuropterus russicus) the Mongols justify this with stories about the sins

of these animals, which they now must pay the penalty for (5. II. 160). We can find parallels to these myths in all Eurasia, e.g., the Shors say to the killed bear while drawing out his long fangs: «This is eating up every wild animal» (6.47). According to the Dörbeds on the holy days, the 8th, 15th and 30th of every month, people are playing and feasting, these are therefore lucky days to die on for wild animals and the hunter does right by killing them (9. 171).

Cattle and agricultural products are not to be misused, too. Already the *Secret History of the Mongols* (paragraph 232) contained a prohibition on wasting the food. Rubruk (chapter III, article 2) informs us about the taboo to pour out milk or some other drink or food to the ground. Remains of food were carefully put away and consumed later. By Torguts and Khalkhas it is forbidden to eat the meat of a healthy horse, they eat beef, mutton and the meat of dying or dead horses. Torgut people must not hit a horse on the head (5. II. 97). The Sartuls must not eat blood, otherwise their noses will bleed (5. IV. 26).

To keep the circulation of nature undisturbed, people must give back a part of the killed animal to it. The Khalkhas, e.g., take the skull of the killed horse, fill in stones and set it on a high place. The high place expresses a higher respect like in the cases of venerable persons. The Khalkhas set the skull of other male cattles on a higher place, while the Dörbeds set it on the lowest place. It is considered a good omen if in the next year rich grass grew in that place (9. 240–241, 243). Often skin or foot were given back as *pars pro toto* from the animal to nature. Therefore the Mongols bind together the hoofs of killed animals and hang them on a tree (9. 171). After that the Khalkhas eat the marrow, they replace it with ashes before they throw away the bones. The Torguts give the bones with ashes to the dog. If the fibula and tibia are not broken, the Khalkhas press grass between them and hang them on the door. They believed that it helps against cattle-thieves (5. II. 1198–99). This custom refers to an other one: if the Mongols sell or give away some of their property, e.g. cattle, cereals, food, they keep back a part of it, e.g. some wool or hair from the cattle, some cereals, food, etc. Otherwise their «luck» that means prosperity could come to an end. They give leaven and ferment only to their married children, exchanging it for some milk (9. 201, 207). Likewise if you take away all the grass and the whole animal from nature, prosperity could come to an end.

They handle also cereals carefully. There is a legend about a Buryat woman, who wiped out her child's bottom with some bread. Therefore God took away the ear of the corn as punishment, which earlier was as long as the wheat-stalk and left only the top of the ear for the dog. That is why people must not let the dog starve (7. 84–85, 4. III. 28). This legend is known by many other peoples. Let me just mention a variant which I observed in Eastern Hungary in 1967: Here a woman used *lángos*, «fried dough». Therefore people said, that God made cereals for the animals, and on Easter Monday morning peasants give from

their own food first to the cattle in the stable, before they have their breakfast themselves (3. 779. XXIII, 8. 2723. 2).

Therefore the Mongols show respect for bread, they gather it up (and other kinds of food as well) if it has fallen on the ground and eat it. (9. 207). The Torguts call bread «God's white gift» (5. II. 96). If there remains some tea or milk, it must be poured out on stones, fences, rocks, or other high places, where nobody can step on it. It is forbidden to pour it out where people can step on it, according to Torguts.

Likewise the Mongols eat all parts of animals except hoofs, horn and ruminant stomach. I was once taken to task by a Khalkha, who saw me preparing some meat, when I wanted to throw away some leathery part of it. «It is very bad to do so», he said.

III. Here I want to write about customs which are meant to avert a calamity. An animal is nature's property, and its life must sometimes be bought in a more or less magical way. As stated above, it is forbidden to leave any marks behind on the ground. But it is necessary to draw an animal if the drawing is to be given back to the nature in exchange for the animal. If an animal is sick and lying on the ground, the Khalkhas draw its contour with a stick, then drive away the animal, and say: «Take your horse (or sheep, ox, camel), I take my horse.» They believe that the demons are then satisfied with the drawing, and spare the animal's life (9. 168). Likewise the Baits draw the contour of an animal on the ground, if many of the new-born livestock are dying apoplexy *(tòl sūder dăwirnā)* and then drive it away. The drawing must remain where it is. Or they make a small cut in the ears of the newborn animal until some blood comes out. If Khalkhas find dead animals, e.g. killed by a thunderbolt, they draw its contours. This custom is called *jum dajrsan* «going round». If they find a dead fox, they draw its contour and say:

Dùrs ñ činīx, «The drawing is yours,
Ùs ñ minīx. the fur is mine.»

After that they can remove the fur which it would be «ugly» to do otherwise.

In the same way a human being is a part of nature and also his life can be bought when in danger. After children have died in a Dörbed family, relatives will steal a newborn child and hide it away. They make a puppet of grass, and throw both the puppet and the child in the air. The presents pretend that the puppet has died and cry, and bury it. Similar customs are well known in many other places, e.g. in Tuva as well (5. II. 27, 28). The Khirgiz lay down an ailing child on a dead dog (1. 265). It is to be noticed that the dog is their totem. The custom of blessing the *setertej* cattle is used by the Mongols only for good luck and for the prosperity of the live-stock, and in case of a new birth in the family, but the Khirgiz and Tuvans do it in case of human illnesses as well. The sick person must also grasp the hind leg of a sheep

during this ceremony according to the Khirgiz. The Tuvans consecrate *setertej* animal also in the case if somebody is going to be a shaman (1. 305–307).

It was undoubtedly the poverty and the respect of the nature which, beside the superstitions, originated these nature-protecting taboos under hard circumstances. The medieval travellers, like Plano Carpini (e.g. chapter IV, articles 2, 7, 8) mentioned the shortage of food in detail. But these customs are deeply rooted in the Mongols like in many other peoples in Eurasia and America, and they are still alive in the countryside of Mongolia. Younger people living in the towns hardly know them. That is why country people call them *mongolguj amitan* «unmongolized creature», and say about them: *mongolō aldsan* «They lost their Mongolian way of life (Mongoldom)».

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NACHLESE ZUM MONGOLISCHEN TURFANFRAGMENT DES *BODHICARYĀVATĀRA*

VON

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Alexander Csoma de Kőrös war einer der ersten, die uns über den Inhalt des Tanjur informierten.[1] Daher seien ihm — anläßlich der 200. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages — diese Bemerkungen gewidmet, die einem der verbreitetsten Texte dieses großen lamaistischen Sammelwerks, dem *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, gelten.

Das Blockdruckfragment mit Teilen des von Čhos-kyi-'od-zer aus dem Tibetischen ins Mongolische übersetzten und kommentierten Werkes, das Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts von A. Grünwedel bei Turfan entdeckt wurde, befindet sich heute mit der Signatur TM 45 D 336 am Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Es wurde 1954 von E. Haenisch[2] und J. W. Cleaves[3] ediert und bearbeitet und war in den folgenden Jahren Gegenstand wissenschaftlicher Untersuchungen von F. Weller,[4] N. Poppe[5] und L. Ligeti.[6] Einige Stellen, die mir bis heute nicht geklärt zu sein scheinen, sollen hier nochmals näher betrachtet werden. Zugrunde liegt die letzte Edition des Turfantextes, die Ligeti 1972 publiziert hat.[7]

[1] A. Csoma de Körös, *Abstracts of the Contents of the Bstan-Hgyur: Asiatic Researches* XX (1839) II, No. 12, S. 553–585.

[2] E. Haenisch, *Mongolica der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung* 1. *Ein buddhistisches Druckfragment vom Jahre 1312: Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst* 1953, Nr. 3, Berlin 1954.

[3] F. W. Cleaves, *The Bodistw a cari awatar-un tayilbur by Čosgi Odsir: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954), S. 1–129.

[4] F. Weller, *Mongolica der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung* 1a. *Zum Blockdruckfragment des mongolischen Bodhicaryāvatāra der Berliner Turfansammlung: Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst* 1954, Nr. 2, Berlin 1955; ders., *Anfragen eines Nichtmongolisten an den Mongolisten: Central Asiatic Journal* III (1957/58), S. 23–61.

[5] N. Poppe, *Antworten auf Professor Fr. Wellers Fragen: Central Asiatic Journal* VII (1962), S. 42–59.

[6] L. Ligeti, *A propos de quelques textes mongols préclassiques: Acta Orientalia Hungarica* XXIII (1970), S. 251–284.

[7] L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques 1. XIIIe et XIVe siècles: Monumenta linguae mongolicae collecta* II, Budapest 1972, S. 115–134.

Turfantext 156v5ff. (zu Vers X 27)

Der erste Teil von Čhos-kyi-'od-zers Kommentar bezieht sich auf Vers X 27, der bei Vladimircov[8] so lautet:

qamuɣ čöle ügei-eče tonilju:
süsüg bilig nigülesküi sedkil-tü boluɣad:
tegüs aburi edege-tü bolju:
nasuda töröl-iyen duradqu boltuɣai::

Tibetisch:[9]

mi dal kun las thar pa daṅ |
dad daṅ šes rab brce ldan žiṅ ||
zas daṅ spyod pa phun chogs nas |
rtag tu che rabs dran gyur čig ||

Dies wäre etwa:
«Mögen sie von allen ungünstigen Umständen befreit werden,
mit Glauben, Einsicht und Mitleid versehen,
(mögen bei ihnen) Speisen und Benehmen vollkommen sein,
und mögen sie sich stets ihrer (früheren) Geburten erinnern!»

Cleaves 1954, 87, übersetzt Zeile 27c des mongolischen Textes so: «Being one[s] having perfect virtue and vigor»; das letzte Wort ist sicher nicht richtig. Im Sanskrittext lautet diese dritte Zeile: *ākārācārasaṃpannaḥ*, «von vollkommener Erscheinung und (vollkommenem) Benehmen»; der tibetische Übersetzer las offensichtlich *āhāra* («Nahrung») statt *ākāra* («Gestalt, Aussehen»; vgl. Weller 1955,[10] 450a), und dies wurde vom Mongolen übernommen.

Turfantext 156r1–2 (Vers X 28ab)

oɣtoryuy-yin sang meṭü bügüde[11]*:*
dayusqali ügei eḍ tabar-ḍan boltuɣai:

[8] B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Bodhicaryāvatāra. Çāntideva. Mongol'skij perevod Čhos-kyi ḥod-zera.* I. Tekst: *Bibliotheca Buddhica* 28, Leningrad 1929.

[9] Tibetischer Text hier und im folgenden nach F. Weller, *Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanjurtextes: Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Bd. 45, Heft 2, Berlin 1950, Anhang S. 1–114.

[10] F. Weller, *Tibetisch-sanskritischer Index zum Bodhicaryāvatāra.* 1/2: *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Bd. 46, Heft 1, und Bd. 47, Heft 3, Berlin 1952, 1955.

[11] Im Tanjur-Text ist am Ende von Vers X 28a, hinter *bügüde*, die Silbe D' zugefügt (Ms. Kovalevskij: *bügüden-ṭe*), von Poppe aufgefaßt als Personalpronomen 2. Person pluralis *(ta)*; die Silbe hat keine Entsprechung im tibetischen oder sanskritischen Texte.

Dies entspricht im tibetischen Texte den Zeilen

thams čad nam mkha'i mjod bžin du |
loṅs spyod chad pa med par šog ||

«Gleich dem Gaganagañca mögen sie alle
mit grenzenlosen Reichtümern versehen sein!»

Skr. *gaganagañca* (wörtlich «Schatzkammer des Himmels», tib. *nam mkha'i mjod*, mong. *oɣtoryuy-yin sang*) ist, wie bereits Weller 1955, 6, feststellte, belegt als 1. n. pr. eines Bodhisattva, 2. n. pr. eines *dhyāna*, 3. n. pr. eines Textes (pW[12] II 143b und VII 336d). Die indischen Kommentatoren greifen die erste Bedeutung auf (ebenso die europäischen Übersetzer, de la Vallée Poussin,[13] Finot,[14] Steinkellner[15] usw.), der mongolische Kommentator, Čhos-kyi-'od-zer, entschied sich für die zweite (siehe unten). Poppe (1962, 43) nimmt den Ausdruck wörtlich und übersetzt den Tanjur-Text so: «Ihr alle, der Himmelsschatzkammer Gleichkommenden, werdet mit unerschöpflichen Gütern!»; unter «Himmelsschatzkammer» seien, entsprechend dem Kommentar, Buddhas und Bodhisattvas zu verstehen. Wir fassen Čhos-kyi-'od-zers Erläuterungen anders auf.

Turfantext 156v9–12 (zu Vers X 28)

burqan bodistv-ṉar oɣtoryui saṉg kemekü ḏiyan-i oluɣsan-u tulada. yayun kereg-iyer baraš̱i ügei bütükü meṯü. amitan ber bolǰu kemekü buyu busud qilbar buyu

«Dadurch, daß die Buddhas und Bodhisattvas das Dhyāna namens Gaganagañca erlangt haben, sind sie an (allem,) was nötig ist, unerschöpflich vollkommen; (ihnen) gleich (mögen) auch die Lebewesen werden (. . .!) So sagt (Śāntideva). Die anderen (Teile des Textes) sind leicht verständlich.»

Poppe (1962, 43f.) übersetzt so: «Buddha [und] die Bodhisattvas werden das *oɣtoryui sang* (d. h. die Himmelsschatzkammer) genannt. Es sind jedoch *(ber)* die

[12] pW = O. Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung* I–VII, St. Petersburg 1879–1889. Zur Stelle vergleiche auch F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* II: *Dictionary*, New Haven 1953, S. 207a.

[13] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas, Poème de Çāntideva*, Paris 1907.

[14] L. Finot, *La Marche à la Lumière*, Paris 1920.

[15] E. Steinkellner, *Śāntideva. Eintritt in das Leben zur Erleuchtung (Bodhicaryāvatāra)*, Düsseldorf–Köln 1981.

Lebewesen, die unerschöpflich *(baraši ügei)* vollkommen sein werden *(bütükü metü)* an dem (wörtl. dadurch), was nötig, weil sie das Dhyāna erworben haben, ist gesagt *(kemekü)*.» Uns scheint folgendes gegen diese Übersetzung zu sprechen:

1) *gaganagañca* und die entsprechenden Ausdrücke der Übersetzungssprachen sind nirgends als Sammelbegriff für Buddha und Bodhisattvas belegt, wohl aber als Bezeichnung eines *dhyāna* (*oγtoryui sang kemekü diyan,* siehe oben die Bemerkungen zu 156r1–2). Da die Lebewesen einer Versenkung kaum gleichen können, betrachtet Čhos-kyi-'od-zer die Worte *oγtoryui sang* als eine Art *tatpuruṣa* («diejenigen, die das *dhyāna gaganagañca* erlangt haben») und schreibt dementsprechend in seinem Kommentar: «Die Buddhas und Bodhisattvas, die dadurch, daß sie das als 'Himmelsschatz' bezeichnete *dhyāna* erlangt haben, an allem Nötigen unerschöpflich vollkommen sind...». Ob Čhos-kyi-'od-zer damit das Richtige getroffen hat, ist nicht so sicher.

2) Zu *metü* schreibt Poppe (1962, 44): «Das Wort *metü* 'gleich, ähnlich' lassen wir unübersetzt, weil ein auf das Nomen futuri eines Zeitwortes folgendes *metü* nur als eine adjektivierende Formantie dient». Die Ausführungen zur Funktion von *metü* treffen natürlich zu (im mongolischen *Bodhicaryāvatāra* zum Beispiel auf Vers X 34c), aber im vorliegenden Kommentar greift Čhos-kyi-'od-zer das *metü* aus der Übersetzung von Śāntidevas Vers X 28a auf, und in diesem Vers steht kein Nomen futuri davor. Wir möchten dieses Wort daher doch in die Übersetzung aufnehmen: «Gleich den... (mögen auch die Lebewesen werden)».

3) Poppe (1962, 44f.) faßt *bolǰu* (156v12) als Fehler für *bolqu* oder *boluyu* auf. Uns scheinen Wellers Ausführungen (1958, besonders 26f.) eher zuzutreffen: *bolǰu* schließt den Kommentar zu Vers X 28a ab; das folgende, nach Čhos-kyi-'od-zers Aussage ohne Kommentar verständlich, ist zu ergänzen, also etwa: Indem die Lebewesen ihrerseits gleich den Buddhas und Bodhisattvas ... werden, (mögen sie mit grenzenlosen Reichtümern versehen sein!). Falls *bolǰu* ein Fehler sein sollte, müßte *boltuγai* an seiner Stelle stehen.

Turfantext 156r8 (Vers X 30ab)

yirṭinčü-ṭekin qaṭud bügüde:
boltuγai tede ere büged:

Die Parallelstellen im Sanskrit und im Tibetischen lauten:

yāḥ kāścana striyo loke puruṣatvaṃ vrajantu tāḥ |

'jig rten bud med ǰi sñed pa | de dag skyes pa ñid gyur čig |

Poppe (1962, 47f.) nimmt *büged*, das hier einem tibetischen *ñid* entspricht, im Sinne von «gerade, fürwahr, wahrhaftig» und übersetzt den mongolischen Text so: «Es sollen alle Frauen der Welt gerade zu jenen Männern werden». Ebenso dürfte wohl auch ein mongolischer Mönch diese Stelle verstehen. Damit dürfte die von Weller (1958, 30) aufgeworfene Frage, «wieweit der Mongole ... ein *ñid*, das *eva* entspricht, von einem solchen zu unterscheiden vermochte, welches *-tva* entspricht», beantwortet sein: Der Mongole kann es nicht unterscheiden. — Mongolisch *tede* ist hier nicht Attribut zu *ere*, sondern Subjekt zu *boltuγai*, welches im mongolischen Texte den nominalen Ausdruck von Vers 30a aufgreift (etwas anders im tibetischen und sanskritischen Texte).

Turfantext 157r7–11 (Vers X 34)

galbavaragš modud-un čečeg-lig-üd-tür:
burqad kiged bodistv-iyar dügürčü:
soṇosqu meṯü ṇom-i ṇomlaqui-bar:
bügüde ǰuġ-tür dügürkü boltuγai::

«Indem es in den Gärten der Kalpavṛkṣa-Bäume
voll ist von Buddhas und Bodhisattvas,
möge es in sämtlichen Richtungen voll sein
mit dem Darlegen der Lehre, welche gleichsam etwas ist, das
man hören sollte!»

Zu *metü* vergleiche Poppe 1962, 44 (siehe oben). — Die tibetische Vorlage Čhos-kyi-'od-zers ist, wie nicht zuletzt seine Übersetzung zeigt, nicht eindeutig. Der Sanskrittext lautet:

ramyāḥ kalpadrumodyānair diśaḥ sarvā bhavantu ca |
buddhabuddhātmajākīrṇā dharmadhvanimanoharaiḥ |

Dies ist im Deutschen:

«Anmutig durch Wunschbaumhaine,
die herzerfreuend sind durch den Klang der Lehre,
und von Buddhas und Buddhasöhnen gefüllt
mögen alle Gegenden sein!»

Die tibetischen Fassungen bieten dafür:

dpag bsam šiṅ gi skyed mos chal |
saṅs rgyas daṅ ni saṅs rgyas sras ||
čhos sñan (N: *ñan) sgrog* (D: *sgrogs) pas gaṅ ba yis |*[16]
phyogs rnams thams čad dga' (D: *gaṅ) bar šog ||*

Dies könnte man verdeutschen:

«Durch Wunschbaumhaine,
die von Buddhas und Buddhasöhnen,
welche die wohltönende Lehre verkünden, gefüllt sind,
mögen alle Gegenden sich freuen (D: gefüllt sein)!»

Erster und letzter (dieser nur in der Narthang-Edition) Vers des tibetischen Textes stimmen mit dem uns vorliegenden Sanskrittext überein, die beiden anderen Verse (entsprechend skr. X 34c und d) weichen etwas ab. Der tibetische Wortlaut ist jedoch nicht eindeutig. Ihm ist nicht anzusehen, wie die «Wunschbaumhaine» und «alle Gegenden» syntaktisch verbunden sind, und es ist auch nicht ohne weiteres ersichtlich, ob «Buddhas und Buddhasöhne» einerseits und «die ... Lehre Verkünden» andererseits in einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zueinander oder ob sie parallel nebeneinander stehen. Der Mongole, der offensichtlich keinen Sanskrittext vor sich hatte, faßte die tibetischen Verse so auf:

«Indem die Wunschbaumhaine
von Buddhas und Buddhasöhnen
und vom Verkünden der wohltönenden Lehre gefüllt sind,
mögen alle Gegenden gefüllt sein!»

Das heißt: Er wählte in beiden Fällen die falsche Möglichkeit. Und da ihm nur ein vielleicht verderbter Text (mit *gaṅ bar šog* [= D] statt *dga' bar šog*; oder las der Tibeter *pūrṇāḥ?* Vgl. Weller, *op. cit.*, 1952, 29b) vorlag, hat er das erste *gaṅ ba* von Zeile 34c auf Zeile 34b bezogen. Den späteren Bearbeitern sind diese Differenzen nicht aufgefallen.

[16] N = Narthang, D = Derge.

Turfantext 157r14–v2 (Vers X 36)

büküi ṉököd-ün kürügen-ṯür ber:
olan bodistv-ṉar bügüdeger:
öber-ün erdem-üd-iyer-iyen saḏkis-i (?)*:*
čimeǰü sayuqun boltuyai::

«Auch im Kreise aller Gefährten
mögen die vielen Bodhisattvas allesamt,
mit ihren eigenen Vorzügen den Erdboden
schmückend, sitzen!»

Bei dieser Strophe lag vermutlich bereits dem Tibeter ein anderer Sanskrittext vor als uns. Unabhängig davon hat der Mongole auch hier (wie bei Strophe X 34) den tibetischen Wortlaut anders verstanden als der Tibeter, der ihn ins Tibetische übertrug. Der sanskritische Text lautet:

bodhisattvamahāparṣanmaṇḍalāni samantataḥ |
niṣīdantu svaśobhābirmaṇḍayantu mahītalam ||

«Die großen Bodhisattva-Versammlungskreise (oder: Die Kreise der großen Versammlungen der Bodhisattvas) mögen sich ringsum (überall) niederlassen . . .!»

Die tibetische Fassung bietet statt dessen:

'khor gyi dkyil 'khor yod dgur yaṅ |
byaṅ čhub sems dpa' maṅ po dag |
raṅ gi legs pas sa steṅ dag |
brgyan par mjad pas bžugs gyur čig ||

«In den Versammlungskreisen überall nun (oder: In allen [wörtl. allen vorhandenen] Kreisen der Gefährten . . .)
mögen die vielen Bodhisattvas
. . . sitzen!»

Bereits im Tibetischen ist also die syntaktische Konstruktion geändert, indem die Bodhisattvas aus dem Kompositum herausgenommen und als Subjekt eingesetzt sind. Die Silben *yaṅ* und *maṅ po dag* haben keine Entsprechung im uns vorliegenden Sanskrittext. Tibetisches *yod dgur* ist wohl als Wiedergabe des skr. *samantatas* aufzufassen (anders Weller 1952, 42a; vgl. auch Weller 1958, 44, und Poppe 1962, 52). — Der Mongole hat das dem sanskritischen *parṣanmaṇḍala* («Versammlungskreis») entsprechende *'khor gyi dkyil 'khor* (1. «Versammlungskreis», 2. «Kreis der Gefährten») anders aufgefaßt als der tibetische Übersetzer (vgl. Weller 1955, 16, und 1958, 44; Poppe 1962, 52).

Poppes Ausführungen (1962, 52f.) zu *saḳkis* dürften kaum zutreffen, eher Ligetis (1970, 276 Anm. 5), der *saḳkis* als Schreib- oder Schnitzfehler für *saysis* Pl. < tibetisch *sa-gži* «Erdoberfläche» auffaßt. Es leuchtet allerdings nicht recht ein, warum der Mongole so ein Allerweltswort wie «Erdoberfläche» nicht übersetzt, sondern durch einen tibetischen Ausdruck wiedergibt (das Kovalevskijsche Manuskript und der Tanjur haben dafür *delekei*).

Turfantext 157v12–14 (Vers X 38cd)

qiǰaγalal ügei taqil-un egüled-iyer:
yabuγčin-u bayši-yi taqiqun boltuγai::

«Mit grenzenlosen Wolken von Verehrungen
mögen sie (= alle Lebewesen) den Lehrer der Welt ehren!»

Weller (1955, 26, und 1958, 44f.) möchte *taqil* als «Verehrung» (also nicht als «Opfer») auffassen, und *taqiqu* dementsprechend als «verehren»; beides nach den zugrundeliegenden tibetischen *(mčhod pa'i sprin, mčhod par šog)* und sanskritischen Ausdrücken *(pūjāmegha, pūjayantu)*; ebenso in Vers X 48b. Mongolisches *egülen*, «Wolke», versteht er demnach (ohne dies besonders auszuführen) in übertragener Bedeutung, etwa «eine große Menge an», wie zum Beispiel in Vers XX 20, wo sanskritischem *pūjāmegha* («Verehrungswolke») ein tibetisches *mčhod pa'i chogs* («Verehrungsmenge») gegenübersteht und wo von «Wolken von Musik und Chören» die Rede ist *(rol mo dbyaṅs sñan . . . sprin; tūryasaṃgīti . . . megha)*. Dies ist vermutlich richtig. Anders Cleaves (1954, 75: «clouds of sacrifices») und Poppe (1962, 53: «Wolken von Opfern [etwa Weihrauchgaben, Weihrauchwolken]»), die wahrscheinlich an Stellen wie Vers II 16 denken, wo es heißt (Übersetzung Steinkellner 1981, 29):

«Ich räuchere sie (wohl: die Bodhisattvas) mit Wolken von Rauch,
berückend mit ihrem schweren, durchdringenden Duft.
Und mit vielerlei weichen und festen Speisen und mit Getränken
bringe ich ihnen ein Opfer dar.»

Turfantext 158v11 (Vers X 42ab)

ǰrlɣ n̲om-ud-i sonosqui kiged.
amaɣar uriqui sayit̲ur delgeretügei::

«Das Anhören der (heiligen) Lehren und
(ihr) mündliches Rezitieren mögen sich trefflich ausbreiten!»

Mongolisches *ǰrlɣ nom* entspräche wörtlich tibetischem *bka' čhos (~ bčos)*. Der tibetische Text bietet, abweichend vom mongolischen, jedoch *gcug lag khaṅ rnams* (für skr. *vihāra*, «die Klöster»). Der Mongole hatte offenbar eine verderbte Vorlage, vielleicht beginnend mit *gcug lag rnams kyaṅ*. Dies ist nach Das[17] (1002a) «sciences, sacred literature, etc.; also seems = *sde snod, piṭaka*», und diese Auskunft stimmt genau überein mit Čhos-kyi-'od-zers Kommentar (Turfantext 159v13f.: *čiɣ̄š̲abd d̲iyan bilig kiged . ɣurban surtaɣun . . .*).

Turfantext 160r3 (zu Vers X 43b)

. . . ayaɣ-qa tegimlig-üd ǰoqist̲u aɣlaɣ oron saɣurin-i olqu boltuɣai.

«Die Mönche . . . mögen einen geeigneten einsamen Platz, (einen geeigneten) Aufenthaltsort erlangen!»

Wellers Zweifel (1958, 47), ob *oron saɣurin* ein *dvandva* sei (so Cleaves 1954, 78), ist berechtigt. Im Gegensatz zu Poppe (1962, 55) fassen wir die beiden Wörter nicht als Einheit, als Kompositum, auf: Die Wörter *aɣlaɣ oron* sind der Übersetzung von Śāntidevas Text entnommen (nicht ganz exakt: *oron* statt *orod*, aber das kommt auch sonst vor), und dieses im Mongolischen nicht ganz eindeutige *oron* («Sitz, Thron, Lager, Bett, Platz, Land, Reich» usw.) wird im Kommentar genauer festgelegt durch *saɣurin*, «Ort, an dem man sich niedergelassen hat», «Aufenthaltsort».

[17] S. Ch. Das, *A Tibetan–English Dictionary*, Calcutta 1903.

Turfantext 160r4–7 (zu Vers X 43cd)

öngge dayun terigüten . qamuγ višai-ṉuγud-tur alγasaqu sedkil aṉu tarqaγaǰu bürün . sedkil-iyen ḏiyan-ṯur ǰarubasu bolqu bolγaǰu . ḏiyan bišilγaqui boltuγai.

«Sie mögen, indem sie die durch äußere Formen, Töne und alle anderen Sinnesobjekte abgelenkten Gedanken vertreiben und indem sie ihre Gedanken zu solchen werden lassen, die sie für die Versenkung verwenden können, in der Versenkung meditieren!»

Mongolisch *öngge*, entsprechend tibetischem *gzugs* (skr. *rūpa*), ist mehr als nur «Farbe», nämlich «Äußeres, äußere Form, Gestalt, Körper».

Poppe (1962, 56) übersetzt den dieser Kommentarstelle zugrundeliegenden Vers 43c *(qamuγ alγasaqu-yi tarqaγaǰu)* mit «alle Unaufmerksamkeit zerstreuend» (Subjekt: [die Mönche]), den Kommentar dagegen: «Dadurch, daß ... ihre *(anu)* Ablenkung ... zerstreut wird, ...». Abgesehen von dieser unterschiedlichen Übersetzung erscheint mir auch die Wiedergabe von *tarqaγa-* auf Blatt 159r3 als Causativ, auf Blatt 160r6 als Passiv bedenklich. Ich möchte daher, mit Weller 1958, 49, doch das Subjekt (*ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd*, 160r2) sowohl für *tarqaγaǰu bürün* als auch für *bišilγaqui boltuγai* einsetzen. Das *anu* hinter *sedkil* (160r6) würde ich auf *alγasaqu* beziehen («der Unaufmerksamkeit ihre Gedanken»); verweisen könnte man auf vergleichbare Stellen, zum Beispiel 163r7 *mör bütügeküi duldui inu* («des Weg-Vollendens sein Stab», auch hier kein formaler Genitiv vor *duldui*) oder 165r4 *anaγuluγči γayčaqan em anu* («des Heilens seine einzige Medizin», auch hier kein formaler Genitiv pluralis vor *em anu*).

Turfantext 159r4f. (Vers X 44ab)

šimṉaṉč-ṉar olǰaṯu boluγad:
kereldüküi küṉügegdeküy-eče toṉilqui boltuγai::

«Die Nonnen, indem sie Erwerbungen haben,
mögen von Zank und vom Gequält-Werden befreit werden!»

Der Sanskrittext lautet:

lābhinyaḥ santu bhikṣunyaḥ kalahāyāsavarjitāḥ |

Sehr wörtlich übersetzt:

«Erwerbend (erlangend) mögen die Nonnen sein,
[als] (solche), die von Zank und Anstrengung frei sind!»

Und die tibetische Übertragung:

dge sloṅ ma rnams rñed ldan žiṅ |
'thab daṅ rcod (D: *gnod*) *pa spaṅ bar šog* ||

Dies ist im Deutschen:

«Die Nonnen, indem sie mit Erwerbungen versehen sind,
mögen Streit und Zank (D: Schaden, Verletzung) aufgeben!»

Auch hier stimmen die uns überlieferten tibetischen Fassungen mit dem uns bekannten Sanskrittext nicht überein: *āyāsa*, «Anstrengung, Mühe», entspräche tibetischem *rcol ba* (so Das 1015a), aber nicht *rcod pa* (das an anderer Stelle neben sanskritischem *kalaha* steht). — Die mongolische Übersetzung gehört (wie bei den Versen X 34d und 35c) mit der tibetischen Derge-Edition zusammen: *künüge-* (Kowalewski[18] III 256b: «faire du mal, faire tort, nuire», Ramstedt[19] 246a: «peinigen, martern») gibt tibetisches *gnod* wieder, aber nicht *rcod* (oder *rcol*).

Turfantext 160v10 (Vers X 46b)

lab ber olqu boltuɣai::

«Sie mögen Almosen erlangen!»

Zu *lab* vergleiche jetzt Zieme, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 6, Berlin 1979, 275–277.

[18] J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*. I–III, Kasan 1844–1849.
[19] G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch: Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae* III, Helsinki 1935.

Turfantext 162r1–3 (Vers X 49ab)

qamuɣ bodistv-ṉar amitan-a:
sedkigsen-ü tus-a iṉu bütüküi boltuɣai::

«Der Nutzen, an den alle Bodhisattvas
für die Lebewesen denken, möge zustandekommen!»

Sanskrittext:

sidhyantu bodhisattvānām jagadarthaṃ manoratāḥ|

Tibetische Übersetzung:

*byaṅ čhub sems dpa' rnams kyi (*D: *kyis) ni |*
'gro don thugs la dgoṅs 'grub šog ||

«Es mögen sich erfüllen der Bodhisattvas
Wünsche zugunsten der Welt!»

Der Mongole hat — auch hier wieder nach dem Vorbild der tibetischen Derge-Ausgabe, deren Instrumental sicher sekundär ist — nicht «die Wünsche» *(manoratāḥ, thugs la dgoṅs)*, sondern das im sanskritischen und im Narthanger Text adverbial verwendete *jagadartham ('gro don)* als Subjekt für *bütüküi boltuɣai (sidhyantu, 'grub šog)* aufgefaßt.

Turfantext 164r14–v2 (zu Vers X 55cd)

bi ber teǰiy-e kü aǰu bürün : amitan-u sansar kiged . ɣurban maɣui ǰayaɣan-ṯaqi ǰobolang-ud-i arilɣaqui boltuɣai

«Solange (nämlich: wie lange der Himmel existiert) möge auch ich existieren und der Lebewesen Leiden, die zum Saṃsāra und zu den drei schlechten Wiedergeburten gehören, beseitigen!»

Weller (1958, 59f., bestätigt von Poppe 1962, 58) stellt *sansar* und *ǰobolang-ud-i* parallel und verweist dazu auf Blatt 165r2–4:

qamuγ amitan-u saṇsar kiged γurban mayui jayaγan-ṯaqi : ebečin meṯü ǰobolang-ud-i aṇaγuluγči γaγčaqan em aṇu boluγad . . . burqan-u ṣas-in kemekü bolai.

«Das, was die einzige Medizin wurde, welche die einer Krankheit gleichen Leiden aller Lebewesen heilt, (Leiden,) die zum Saṃsāra und zu den drei schlechten Wiedergeburten gehören, . . . bezeichnet man als «Religion des Buddha» ».

Daß man die Leiden heilt, die einer Krankheit gleichen, leuchtet ein. Ebenso wäre es denkbar, daß das Saṃsāra mit einer Krankheit verglichen wird — aber eben dies tut Čhos-kyi-'od-zer nicht. Ich glaube daher, daß im vorliegenden Texte doch *sansar* und *γurban mayui jayaγan* parallel stehen. Wellers Einwand (1958, 60), daß «die Leiden der 3 *durgati* einen Teil der Leiden des Saṃsāra ausmachen, beide Wunschgebete dabei zum Teil zusammenfallen», ist richtig. Aber die Schwierigkeit wird nicht beseitigt, wenn wir *saṃsāra* und *duḥkha* parallel stellen: Denn das «Leid» ist ebenso ein Teil des Saṃsāra wie die «3 schlechten Schicksale», und wenn der Text bedeutete, die Wesen zunächst einer menschlichen Existenz zuzuführen und dann zu bewirken, daß sie (auf diese Weise) die Buddhaschaft erlangen, dann sollte man zumindest die umgekehrte Reihenfolge erwarten.

Aber auch Čhos-kyi-'od-zers Kommentierungsart (letztlich auf sanskritische Kommentare zurückgehend) würde Wellers Annahme widersprechen. Die zugehörigen Strophen des *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (X 55c und 57a) lauten:

amitan-u ǰobolang-i arilγaqui

und

amitan-u ǰobolang-un γaγčaqan em inu

Čhos-kyi-'od-zer wiederholt in seinem Kommentar zu diesen Versen beide Male das im Genitiv stehende, von *ǰobolang* abhängige *amitan* (beim zweiten Male erweitert durch *qamuγ*) und erläutert es anschließend erstens mit dem Wort *sansar (. . . taqi)*, «(das heißt: die Leiden,) welche zum Saṃsāra, zum Kreislauf der Wiedergeburten, gehören», und zweitens durch die Worte *γurban mayui jayaγan-taqi*, «und (speziell) (die Leiden,) die zu den 3 schlechten Schicksalen gehören». Stünden *sansar* und *ǰobolang* parallel nebeneinander, dann wäre das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen *amitan-u* und *ǰobolang* anders als in der Übersetzung von Śāntidevas Text. Außerdem diente das Wort *sansar* nicht (als Attribut oder als nachgestellte Apposition) der genaueren Definition des Ausdrucks *ǰobolang*, sondern der zu erklärende Ausdruck *(ǰobolang)* würde statt dessen um einen neuen Begriff *(sansar)* erweitert. Beides kommt in Čhos-kyi-'od-zers Kommentar an vergleichbaren Stellen nicht vor.

THE EARLIEST EVIDENCE OF THE USE OF THE CHINESE SEXAGENARY CYCLE IN TIBETAN

BY

GÉZA URAY (Budapest)

1. In his famous Tibetan grammar in «Appendix, I, Tibetan Modes of Reckoning Time», Alexander Csoma de Kőrös described the pattern of the three most generally used methods of counting the years in the Tibetan texts of the Middle and the Modern Ages: (1) the East Asian — or Central Asian — duodenary animal cycle; (2) the sexagenary cycle of Chinese origin; (3) the sexagenary cycle of Indian origin, the so-called *rab-byuṅ* cycle.[1] «Appendix, I» has certain generally known faults, since Csoma put the first year of the first *rab-byuṅ* cycle as 1026 A. D. instead of 1027 A. D.[2] In addition he cited several Sanskrit terms in rather corrupted forms.[3] But in the fundamental facts — notably in the description and analysis of the structure, use and concordance of the three cycles — his work has proved faultless even after 150 years.

Csoma did not only describe the counting methods mentioned above, but also raised the problem of their history by the conclusion that «probably that [the Chinese] cycle was in general use when they [the Tibetans] adopted the calendar and computations of India».[4] The value of this hypothesis had already been proven by Pelliot;[5] then Schuh succeeded in clearing the questions of the time and the historical circumstances of the adaptation of the Indian-originated *rab-byuṅ* cycle.[6]

[1] Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language, in English*, Calcutta 1834, pp. 147–157, §§ 227–235.

[2] Cf. P. Pelliot, *Le cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie tibétaine: JA* XIe série, I (1913), pp. 639–645; B. Laufer, *The Application of the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle: TP* XIV (1913), pp. 569–574; A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatura: Bibliotheca Buddhica* XXXII, Moscow 1962, pp. 242–243 etc.

[3] Cf. A. von Staël-Holstein, *On the Sexagenary Cycle of the Tibetans: Monumenta Serica* I (1935–1936), p. 313, n. 3.

[4] Csoma, *op. cit.*, p. 148, § 230. The full text of the paragraph is as follows. «In order to preserve a correspondence between the years of the Chinese cycle and that of India, the Tibetans give the designation of first to the fourth year of the Chinese cycle; probably that cycle was in general use when they adopted the calendar and computations of India.» As Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 640, has already shown, in fact there is no causal connection between the two parts of the paragraph, but here we confront two independent ideas, only the interpunction is incorrect.

[5] Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 660–662.

[6] D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung: Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Suppl.-Bd. 16, Wiesbaden 1973, pp. 142–143; id., *Grundzüge der Entwicklung der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, in *XVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag: ZDMG*, Suppl. II 1974, pp. 558–559.

I intend to supplement these data by analyzing the occurrences of the use of the sexagenary cycle in 9th and 10th century Tibetan inscriptions and manuscripts.

I am duly indebted to Professor Louis Bazin for his inspiration to my researches. In 1979, while discussing my lecture on the Tibetan documents of Tun-huang, of the epoch after the collapse of the Tibetan rule,[7] Professor Bazin suggested that in interpreting the problematic dating in Pelliot tibétain 1188, verso, text XV, I take into consideration — in addition to the «regular» version of associating the sexagenary cycle and the elements, used in Tibet, — that less known «special» version of them, which was used for chronological purposes in the Uighur documents originating between the end of the 9th century and the end of the 17th century, and also in China up to the latest modern times. As will be seen, the «special» version of associating the cycle and the elements, indeed made possible the satisfactory interpretation of the dating in question, and this result started me to investigate in all the cases of the use of the sexagenary cycle known from 9th–10th century Tibetan texts.

I wish to express my special gratitude to Dr. Ildikó Ecsedy for her systematic guidance in the intricate details of the Chinese calendar, and to Professor B. Csongor and Dr. M. Ferenczy for their occasional enlightment in sinological problems and for translating Chinese texts. Nevertheless, I emphasize that the responsibility for any possible errors solely rests on myself.

2. Before getting to the point, it seems necessary to summarize some facts of the Chinese sexagenary cycle and its Turkic and Tibetan adaptations.

The Chinese sexagenary cycle, as is well known, is a combination of the series of the two cycles: the 10 «Heavenly Stems» and the 12 «Earthly Branches». In this combination, repeating the series several times, the names of the stems are described in their traditionally defined sequence and the names of the branches are also in their traditionally defined sequence. Since in this way the odd branches are always attached to odd stems and even branches always to even stems, the series of the 10 stems is repeated six times and that of the 12 branches five times until we reach the 10th stem plus 12th branch, after which the starting 1st stem plus 1st branch combination follows again.

The use of the sexagenary cycle can already be dated to the oracle inscriptions of the Shang-Yin period, 16th to 11th centuries B.C., but it was then used to denominate the days only. The cycle of the 12 branches was originally used for counting years and months. It began — very likely — from the 8th-9th centuries B.C. that the names of the branches marked the 12 phases of the minor Jovian cycle

[7] G. Uray, *L'emploi du tibétain dans les chancelleries des États du Kan-sou et de Khotan postérieurs à la domination tibétaine*, in *Actes du Colloque international (Paris, 2–4 octobre 1979) Manuscrits et inscriptions de Haute Asie du Ve au XIe siècle*: *JA* CCLXIX (1981), 81–90.

and the corresponding Jovian years (one Jovian year is equal to 11 and a half lunar months), but later on the names of the branches were reinterpreted partly as the denominations of solar years, partly as the names of the twelve zodiac solar positions and the corresponding lunar months. In 104 B.C. with the comprehensive Chinese calendar reform the names of the 12 branches were extended to denominate the so-called double hours (one-twelfth day).From that time, the years were counted and marked by the sexagenary cycle, at least in learned and official time reckoning, while in vulgar usage and in the peripheries the reckoning and denomination of the years according to the 12 branches survived up to the present. This duality, however, does not cause any difficulty, because after all we can consider the sexagenary cycle as the combination of five duodenary cycles.[8]

In astrology and divination, the stems and the branches were associated with the five elements, the directions corresponding to the elements, the planets, and colours, etc., as well as with the animals corresponding to the signs of the zodiac. Thus from the first century of the Christian era, the connection of animals with the branches is demonstrable. From the same period, the form of the association of the stems and the elements is also clear, in which each element is connected to two stems, notably in the aspect 陽 *yang* «bright, male, positive» to odd stems and in the aspect 陰 *yin* «shady, female, negative» to even ones. In addition the 12 branches were connected to the five elements, etc. These associations hardly have any significance in Chinese (or at least in the official Chinese) time reckoning, but they are more important in the foreign adaptations of the Chinese calendar, when to translate the names of the branches and stems, the local names of the corresponding animals and elements were applied.[9]

At the beginning, China's neighbours did not in the main use the complicated sexagenary cycle of the official Chinese time reckoning, but adapted only the vulgar duodenary cycle, substituting animal names for the names of branches as follows:

i. Rat	iv. Hare	vii. Horse	x. Bird
ii. Ox	v. Dragon	viii. Sheep	xi. Dog
iii. Tiger	vi. Snake	ix. Monkey	xii. Pig

This is the so-called duodenary animal cycle, widespread in the larger part of East, South-east and Central Asia.

[8] P. Hoang, *De calendario Sinico variae notiones; Calendarii Sinici et Europaei concordantia*, Zi-ka-wei 1885, pp. V–XIV, XIX–XXIV; I. Ecsedy, *A kínai időszámítás* [= The Chinese chronology], in P. Hajdú, Gy. Kristó, A. Róna-Tas (eds), *Bevezetés a magyar őstörténet kutatásának forrásaiba* [= Introduction into studies of the sources on Hungarian prehistory] III, Budapest 1980, pp. 238–239, 242–244, and Dr. Ecsedy's further verbal supplementary communications.

[9] Hoang, *op. cit.*, pp. VI–VII; Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 633–636; Ecsedy *op. cit.*, pp. 238–239.

There are reports — though indirect, but definite — on the existence of the animal cycle among the Eastern Turks from 584 A.D. The 8th century Turk and Uighur inscriptions of Mongolia show an increasing use of the cycle, and among the Uighurs the cycle remained the means of the everyday year counting even after the Uighurs, who fled from Mongolia to the Qočo (Turfan) region and to Kan-su, in their state and monasterial life converted to the use of the Chinese calendar and astrology, as well as to the use of the sexagenary cycle from the end of the 9th century A.D. At the latest, in the 11th century the calendar based on the duodenary animal cycle was widespread among different Turkic tribes and in 1201 Činggis Qan's Mongols also adopted it from the Uighurs and then made it general in the whole Mongol Empire.[10]

In the Tibetan Empire, the animal cycle seems to have been adopted in the 650s A.D. *The Royal Annals of Tibet* that had their beginnings probably between 652/53 and 655/56, registered the events of the life of the Empire from the Dog year of 650/51, yearly and always under the name corresponding to the animal cycle according to the respective year. Later on, during the existence of the Empire and during the next two centuries, the duodenary animal cycle was almost exclusively used for year reckoning in the Tibetan records. Meanwhile, as will be seen, the application of the sexagenary cycle was reduced to only some exceptional cases. But even after the 11th century, when initially the year counting by the sexagenary Chinese cycle, then that by the *rab-byuṅ* cycle, became dominant in the ecclesiastical and state life and, nonetheless, in the learned literature, the duodenary animal cycle remained general in everyday life.[11]

After the 11th century that «normal» form of the adaptation of the Chinese sexagenary cycle was general, which was based on the association or rather substitution of the stems with elements and the branches with animals, more or less mechanically. The connection of branches and animals is fully consistent with that of the duodenary cycle, while the stem is associated with the male and female aspects of the five elements as follows.

[10] P. Pelliot, *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale; II. Le plus ancien example du cycle des douze animaux chez les Turcs: T'oung Pao* XXVI (1929), pp. 204–212; L. Bazin, *Les calendriers turcs anciens et médiévaux*. Lille 1974, pp. 147–156, 174–185, 243–244, 250–284, 294–296, 298, 303–308, 312–313, 527–530, 550–554, 561–564, 568–575, 588–595, 604–618, 770–777, 785–786.

[11] A. H. Francke, *Notes on Sir Aurel Stein's Collection of Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkestan: JRAS* 1914, pp. 47–48; G. Uray, *L'annalistique et la pratique bureaucratique au Tibet ancien: JA* CCLXIII (1975), pp. 158–162; D. Schuh, *A tibeti időszámítás* [= The Tibetan chronology], in Hajdú, Kristó, Róna-Tas, *Bevezetés* . . . III, pp. 221–222. — As for the year definitions by the animal cycle in the India Office Library fragment, Tun-huang, Vol. 69, fol. 84, F. W. Thomas and Z. Yamaguchi set the date in the 630s–640s, while L. Petech and I set date in the 700s–710s A. D., cf. G. Uray, *The Annals of the 'A-ža Principality*, in L. Ligeti (ed.), *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium: BOH* XXIII, Budapest 1978, pp. 541–578.

I. male Wood	VI. female Earth
II. female Wood	VII. male Metal (Iron)
III. male Fire	VIII. female Metal (Iron)
IV. female Fire	IX. male Water
V. male Earth	X. female Water

But since the male aspects of all elements are always odd and the female ones always even numbers, the connection of the elements with the respective animals is redundant and therefore the elements are often lost. The «normal» form of the cycle is shown in its full entirety in the upper part of the Table. The (male) Wood-Rat year starting the cycle corresponds with the years ...604/05, 664/65, 724/25, 784/85, 844/45, 904/05, 964/65, 1024/25, 1084/85... A.D.[12]

When the calendar of the *Kālacakratantra* and with it the Indian sexagenary, i.e. *rab-byuṅ* cycle, correlating with the major Jovian cycle, became the rule in Tibet in the second half of the 13th century, the denominations of the *rab-byuṅ* cycle (in fact the names of Indian origin, of the sixty movements of the Jupiter) were not accepted. Beside or rather instead of them, the year names of the «regular» version of the Chinese sexagenary cycle were and remained in general use. Consequently, the *rab-byuṅ* cycle in that time dominating in year reckoning, and the Chinese cycle, that further on was applied in astrology and divination, named the years in the same way. Only the *rab-byuṅ* cycle happens to begin three years after the start of the Chinese cycle, that is, by the (female) Fire-Hare year instead of the (male) Wood-Rat year. Besides, the calendar of the *Kālacakratantra* generally gives the serial of the respective *rab-byuṅ* cycle before naming a year. Of course the first *rab-byuṅ* begins with the Fire-Hare year corresponding to 1027 A.D. and the second one with the year corresponding to 1087 A.D., and so on.[13]

In addition to the above-mentioned «regular» form of the association of the sexagenary cycle and the elements, there is a «special» version of it, namely the association of the five elements with the individual items of the cycle according to a complex order, instead of associating them mechanically with the stems. This «special», «complex» version has already been demonstrated in three different schemes,[14] but lacked the aim to try to illustrate the regularity in the association of

[12] Csoma, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149, § 231, and esp. pp. 153–154, § 234; Pelliot, *Le cycle sexagénaire* ..., pp. 633–637, 646–648 and esp. 659–667; Schuh, *Untersuchungen* ..., pp. 142–143.

[13] Csoma, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–148, §§ 228–230; pp. 150–152, §§ 232–233; Pelliot, *Le cycle sexagénaire* ..., pp. 639–642, 646–648, 659–662; Staël-Holstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 277–311; Schuh, *Untersuchungen* ..., pp. 9–10, 142–145.

[14] Hoang, *op. cit.*, pp. VIII–IX; Chao Wei-pang, *The Chinese Science of Fate-Calculation: Folklore Studies* V (Peking 1946), pp. 293–294; Bazin, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

the elements and the items of the cycle, and I do not know about any definition of this regularity. This is what I intend to compensate here.

The fundament of the associative order of the elements and the items of the cycle is the series Metal (Gold), Fire, Wood, Water, and Earth of the elements, and they again and always appear twice, namely in their male and female aspects. Yet the five elements are not connected in a continuous sequence to the cycle, but after every three elements the fourth one is consistently skipped. This procedure concludes in the arrangement of the elements as follows:

1., 31. male Metal	9., 39. male Metal	17., 47. male Metal	— —
2., 32. female Metal	10., 40. female Metal	18., 48. female Metal	— —
3., 33. male Fire	11., 41. male Fire	— —	25., 55. male Fire
4., 34. female Fire	12., 42. female Fire	— —	26., 56. female Fire
5., 35. male Wood	— —	19., 49. male Wood	27., 57. male Wood
6., 36. female Wood	— —	20., 50. female Wood	28., 58. female Wood
— —	13., 43. male Water	21., 51. male Water	29., 59. male Water
— —	14., 44. female Water	22., 52. female Water	30., 60. female Water
7., 37. male Earth	15., 45. male Earth	23., 53. male Earth	— —
8., 38. female Earth	16., 46. female Earth	24., 54. female Earth	— —

The complete sexagenary cycle is shown in the Table by contrasting the «regular» and «special» versions. The Table clearly shows that the initial Rat year is associated with the Metal element in the «special» version and not with the Wood as in the «regular» version. Nevertheless, this difference in the elements by no means changes the fact that the Chinese sexagenary cycle always begins with the *chia-tzŭ* year and that corresponds to the years... 604/05, 664/65, 724/25, 784/85, 844/45, 904/05, 964/65, 1024/25, 1084/85... A.D. The denomination of the years, however, is the same sixteen times in both the «regular» and the «special» versions; in the Table these cases are marked with circles around the serials of the years.

The «special» version of the association of the sexagenary cycle and the elements was known for a long time in the Western scholarly cognition from the Chinese calendar of the 19th–20th centuries.[15] It happened only recently that L. Bazin discovered the fact — of major importance also from the aspect of the Chinese chronology — that the years (and even the days) were already named by the «special» version in the Uighur manuscripts of Qočo (Turfan) and Kan-chou. The denomination of years is rather multifarous, but the different forms can be reduced to two basic patterns. The more complete type offers the Turkic transcription of the Chinese name of a stem and the Turkic denominations of the element and the

[15] Hoang, *op. cit.*, pp. VIII–IX; Pelliot, *Le cycle sexagénaire*..., p. 635, n. 1.

animal, while the considerably shorter type that is rare is restricted to the names of the animal and the element.[16]

3. According to our present knowledge, the oldest Tibetan text containing the first occurrence of datings by the sexagenary cycle is the inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 821–822 A.D. at Lha-sa. The datings are on the east face of the pillar, in the preamble of the contract, where the historical preliminaries and the course of the peace-making is described. At the end of the inscription the days of the oaths of the treaty, taken at Ch'ang-an and Lha-sa, and the day of the engraving of the inscription of the contract in Lha-sa are settled. The inscription of Ch'ang-an is mentioned without dating. The texts of the datings are as follows:

(1) The dating of the Ch'ang-an oath: (57) . . . || *Bod čhen-* (58) *lpJo'i lo'i myiṅ ni Skyid-rtag-lo bdun* || *Rgya čhen-po'i lo'i myiṅ ni* || (59) *lČJaṅ-keṅ-lo daṅ-po lčags-mo-gllaṅ-gJi lo'liJ dgun-sla ra-ba ches bču-la* || (60) . . . «on the tenth day (of) the first winter month of the female Iron-Ox year, the name of the year in Great Tibet (being) the seventh *Skyid-rtag* year (and) the name of the year in Great China (being) the first *Čaṅ-keṅ* year.»

(2) The dating of the Lha-sa oath: (61) . . . || *Bod čhen-po'i* (62) *lo'i myiṅ lSkyJild-rJtag-lo brgyad* || *Rgya čhen-po'i lo'i myiṅ Čaṅ-keṅ-lo* (63) *[g]ñis* || *čhu-[pho-s]tag-gi lo'i dbyar-sla 'briṅ-po ches drug-la* || . . . «on the sixth day (of) the middle summer month of the male Water-Tiger year, the name of the year in Great Tibet (being) the eighth *Skyid-rtag* year (and) the name of the year in Great China (being) the second *Čaṅ-keṅ* year».

(3) The date of the engraving of the Lha-sa inscription: (65) . . . || *Bod čhen-po'i lo'i myiṅ Skyild-rJtalg-J* (66) *l-lJo dgu* | *[| Rgya] čhleJn-ploJ'i lloJ'liJ myiṅ [Č]aṅ-keṅ-lo gsum* || *čhu-mo-yos-* (67) *-bu-lo'liJ d[py]liJ[d-]sla 'briṅ-po ches bču-bži-la* || . . . «on the fourteenth day (of) the middle spring month of the female Water-Hare year, the name of the year in Great Tibet (being) the ninth *Skyid-rtag* year (and) the name of the year in Great China (being) the third *Čaṅ-keṅ* year.»[17]

In the cited datings each year is defined by a Tibetan ruling period, a Chinese ruling period and the sexagenary cycle, and in addition the months and the days are also named. Each way of dating needs more or less comment.

[16] Bazin, *op. cit.*, pp. 298–302, 318–339, 352–354, 473–474, 486–489, 525–526; §§ 11–14, 28–45, 56–57, 149, 160–162, 198.

[17] H. E. Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa and the Mu Tsung/Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan Treaty of A. D. 821–822 from the Inscription at Lhasa*, London 1952, pp. 57–58, cf. also p. 62; Fang-Kuei Li, *The Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821–822: T'oung Pao* XLIV (1956), pp. 33, 49–50, cf. also p. 65; Satō H., *Kodai Chibetto shi kenkyū* II, Kyōto 1959, pp. 920–921; H. E. Richardson, *The Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription of A. D. 821/823 at Lhasa: JRAS* 1978, pp. 142–143, cf. also p. 146. With the exception of one unimportant case, the quotations here follow the readings of the last edition.

Among the known Tibetan texts, this inscription is unique from the aspect of using a Tibetan ruling period, though the Chinese sources knew quite well the name of the Tibetan period in the form 彝泰 *I-t'ai* «Continuous Prosperity» which is a rather exact translation of Tibetan *Skyid-rtag* «Continuous Happiness». So the Chinese sources give an account about the fact that «the 7th year of I-t'ai» was written in that text of the treaty that was read by the commander-in-chief of the Tibetan Empire to the generals of the eastern military district, in the presence of the Chinese envoy. They even mention the Tibetan ruler Khri Gcug-lde-brcan alias Ral-pa-čan who died in 838 as *I-t'ai*.[18] From all these circumstances it can be derived that the Tibetans used the name of the ruling period in the Chinese–Tibetan diplomatic contacts only, in order to emphasize the equal rank of the two states that was for the first time acknowledged by China precisely in the 821–822 treaty.[19]

The appearance of the dating by the Chinese name of the ruling period was justified not simply by the fact that the inscription was to commemorate the conclusion of an international agreement, and its basic orders, between Tibet and China, but rather by the circumstance that making the inscription was a closing ceremony for the settling of the treaty, therefore, the text was supervised by a Chinese envoy. By the way, *Čaṅ-keṅ* appearing as the name of a Chinese period transcribes Chinese 長慶 *Ch'ang-ch'ing* (AC *d'i̯ang-k'i̯ang*[20]), i.e. the dates given in the inscription correspond to the data of the Chinese historians who put the Ch'ang-an ceremony in the 1st, while the Lha-sa ceremony in the 2nd year of Ch'ang-ch'ing.[21] Since Ch'ang-ch'ing was the only ruling period of the reign of the Emperor Mu-tsung who was enthroned in 821 A.D., it is not and has never been doubted that the three years mentioned in the inscription correspond to 821/22, 822/23 and 823/24 A.D.

In this way there is no doubt which version of associating the elements and the cycle was used in the inscription to name the years according to the sexagenary cycle. In the «complex», «special» version the «female Iron-Ox», the «male Water-Tiger» and the «female Water-Hare» years correspond to the 2nd, 51st and 52nd members of the cycle, thus they correspond — in the case of a beginning year 784/85 A.D. — to the years 785/86, 834/35 and 835/36 A.D. Nevertheless, these years

[18] S. W. Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet. From Chinese Sources: JRAS* n.s. XII (1880), p. 521; p. 535, n. 84; p. 536; B. Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 596; Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts...*, p. 47; P. Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa* I, Paris 1952, p. 26, n.; p. 232, n. 1.; Li, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 70, 80; P. Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, Paris 1961, p. 131.

[19] F. A. Bischoff, *Recherches sur les principes légaux des traités internationaux des T'ang*, in D. Sinor (ed), *Studies in South, East, and Central Asia presented as a Memorial Volume to the late Professor Raghu Vira*, New Delhi 1968, pp. 11–35, esp. pp. 34–35.

[20] B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica recensa*, Stockholm 1957, repr. 1972, nos. 721/a–e + 753/a–b.

[21] Bushell, *op. cit.*, pp. 516, 519; Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne...*, pp. 72, 74–75, 128–131.

cannot be relevant in the first place, because both the Tibetan and the Chinese ruling periods define three successive years in the inscription. In the «mechanic», «regular» version, the picture is exactly the opposite, because the «female Iron-Ox», the «male Water-Tiger» and the «female Water-Hare» years stand for the 38th, 39th and 40th numbers of the cycle, consequently they correspond to the years 821/22, 822/23 and 823/24 A.D. which are referred to by year definitions according to the Chinese ruling periods, as well as by the Chinese records.

The use of the sexagenary cycle in the dating can be explained from apparently direct Chinese models as surmised by Richardson.[22] Since the sexagenary cycle anyway contains the duodenary animal cycle, the only actually used Tibetan year reckoning system, the latter might have been neglected here, and thus the sexagenary cycle could have functioned in the datings of the inscription as a sort of common Sino-Tibetan year reckoning system, beside the independent counting of the ruling periods of the two states.

Finally, as far as the months and days are concerned, in the inscription these are designated by season names and numerals. In ancient Tibet this was the only customary form,[23] though it was not quite unknown either in China (the more so, as the Tibetans possibly borrowed it from there), but in China the numerals were used for the designation of official months and the sexagenary cycle for the denomination of days. From among the months and days marked in the inscription, two items can be found with exact equivalents in the *Chiu T'ang-shu*, as was already pointed out by Fang-kuei Li. Thus the taking of the oath of 821 in Ch'ang-an happened «on the 10th day of the first winter month», and by the Chinese source on the 10th day of the 10th month (= 8 November), while the Lha-sa ceremony of 822 «on the 6th day of the middle summer month», that is on the 6th day of the 5th month (= 1 June).[24] The apparent concordances prove that at the time of the peace treaty the Tibetan reckoning of months and days was in accordance with the Chinese one[25] and was probably adjusted to the Chinese calendar on the occasion of the treaty.

[22] Richardson, *The Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription*..., p. 148, n. 14.

[23] Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Schuh, *A tibeti időszámítás*, pp. 224–226.

[24] Bushell, *op. cit.*, pp. 516, 519; Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne*..., pp. 72, 75; Li, *op. cit.*, p. 10. — It is worth noting that at another place of the *Chiu T'ang-shu*, with a partly corrupted dating of a different type, «the 癸酉 *kuei-yu* [day] of the 10th month, winter, of the 癸 *kuei-* (recte: 辛 *hsin-*) 丑 *ch'ou* year» is given as the date of the ceremony at Ch'ang-an; see Bushell, *op. cit.*, p. 517; p. 534, n. 68 (the thorough reasoning of the emendation of the corrupted cyclic character); Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 73 and n. *e*.

[25] Cf. the paragraph on month names in the Tibetan-Chinese vocabulary Pelliot tibétain 1263 (prov. 2762), L1. 3–12; facs. A. Spanien, Y. Imaeda, *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* II, Paris 1979, pl. 525; ed. Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne* ..., p. 143, Nos 10–21.

4. Another Tibetan text, that was also written during the age of the Tibetan Empire and contained datings according to the sexagenary cycle, was published by Huang Wen-huan only some years ago.[26]

The text in question is the Tibetan section of the bilingual inscription of the cave No. 365 of Tun-huang.[27] The Indian ink inscription is arranged in a T form; at the top, in three horizontal lines the Tibetan text on a 1.0 × 0.6 m yellow surface, under this the Chinese text in vertical lines on a red base. The inscription was coated by a painting during the age of the Hsi-hsia domination (1037–1227 A.D.), but then damage of the later painting made the inscription beyond partly visible again. Regrettably very little of the Chinese text is discernible, but about two-thirds of the Tibetan inscription is readable.

According to the inscription, the cave was made as the personal shrine of Hoṅ-pen, i.e. 洪辯 Hung-pien[28] (AC *γung-b'iän*[29]). Hung-pien is frequently mentioned both in the Tibetan and the Chinese documents of Tun-huang. During the Tibetan rule, he was the preceptor of the Buddhists of Sha-chou (Tun-huang), then, after the collapse of Tibetan domination in 848 A.D., he became the head of the entire Buddhist church of the 歸義軍 Kuei-i-chün, i.e. the Chinese military district — *de facto* independent state — that was founded in the territory of the Kan-su corridor.[30]

The inscription begins with the phrase *'prul.gyi.lha.rcan.pho || khri.gcug.lde.-brcan.gyi.sku.rliṅ.la* «in the time of the God of supernatural forces, the Mighty One Khri Gcug-lde-brcan». And below a statement that the shrine was founded *čhu.lphJo.lbyJi.lbaJ[']i.[lo']i.dpyliJd.na.* «in the spring of the male Water-Rat year». Then there is a year denomination in a context not quite intelligible: *šiṅ.pho.stag.gi.lloJ[. . .]* «male Wood-Tiger year». As the final act of the foundation of the shrine the inscription commemorates the consecration of it.[31]

Since Khri Gcug-lde-brcan alias Ral-pa-čan ruled between 815/16 and 838 the years mentioned can be sought in the inscription exclusively in the cycle lasting from 784/85 to 843/44. In the «complex», «special» version of the element-cycle

[26] 黃文煥 Huang Wên-huan, 敦煌 365 窟藏文題記 *Pa Tun-huang 365 k'u tsang-wên t'i chi: Wen Wu* 1980: 7, pp. 47–49.

[27] This number is apparently set according to the classification elaborated by the 敦煌文物研究所 Tun-huang wên-wu yen-chiu suo, «the Tun-huang Art Institute»; it is in general use in China today. For the number of the cave according to other systems of classification cf. Chen Tsu-lung, *Table de concordance des numérotages des grottes de Touen-houang: JA* CCL (1962), p. 271.

[28] Huang Wên-huan, *op. cit.*, p. 47; according to him the name is deficient in the Chinese inscription, but is full in the Tibetan text.

[29] Karlgren, *op. cit.*, Nos 1182/o + 219/e; cf. Demiéville, *op. cit.*, p. 250. n. 1.

[30] Demiéville, *op. cit.*, p. 250 and n. 2; pp. 364–365.

[31] Huang Wên-huan, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48.

association, the male Water-Rat and the male Wood-Tiger years are the 13th and 27th members of the cycle and correspond to the years 796/97 and 810/11 A.D., but these years precede in a considerable measure the year of the installation of Khri Gcug-lde-brcan. In the «mechanic», «regular» version, the male Water-Rat and the male Wood-Tiger years are the 49th and 51st members of the cycle corresponding to the years 832/33 and 834/35 A.D. and these years indeed fall into the time of rule of Khri Gcug-lde-brcan.[32] Undoubtedly, the Tun-huang inscription of cave No. 365 — as well as the treaty inscription at Lha-sa — shows the application of the «mechanic», «regular» version in year reckoning.

Since the inscription refers to the completion of the shrine of a distinguished Chinese personality, obviously the Chinese cultural background determined the use of the sexagenary cycle. Perhaps the date of the damaged Chinese inscription itself was an example of Tibetan dating.

It would, however, be a mistake to presume that if in a bilingual inscription the Chinese section was dated according to the sexagenary cycle, the same cycle was also necessarily used in the Tibetan part. An example of this fact can be found in the inscriptions of an Avalokiteśvara painting, British Museum, Stein Collection No. 32. Though these inscriptions are considerably faded, Mrs. Heather Karmay was able to read them from an infra-red photograph and then publish them in transcription. Regrettably, only very little of the Chinese text is decipherable even from the infra-red picture, but the time the painting was made is clear: «the year 丙辰 *ping-ch'ên*... 9th month... the 15th, the day of the full moon...» (=28 October, 836 A.D.). In the almost complete Tibetan text, among others, this can be read: *'brug-kyi lo-la dge-sloṅ bdag Dpal-dbyaṅs... bris-so* «in the year of the Dragon, I, the monk Dpal-dbyaṅs painted...».[33] Thus in this case, the Chinese dating by the sexagenary cycle goes together with a Tibetan date according to the duodenary aminal cycle.

The differences between the ways of dating cave No. 365 and the Stein painting No. 32 are, according to my opinion, possible to interpret in this way: the high ranking and well educated Chinese monk who had the cave shrine made, wished to use a dating formula appropriate to his education even in the Tibetan section of the inscription. But since the painter of No. 32 certainly was a Tibetan, he dated the Tibetan inscription according to the customary Tibetan method of his age and used the sexagenary cycle in the Chinese text only.

5. The two discussed inscriptions are much earlier than the writing exercises and/or rough drafts of the Pelliot tibétain 1188, verso. On the recto of the

[32] Huang Wên-huan in his *op. cit.*, p. 48 correctly identified the years named in the inscription with the years 832 and 834 A. D.

[33] H. Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Warminster 1975, pp. 11–13.

manuscript there are two columns of a roll of an unidentified Buddhist text, while on the verso there are short fragments of different Buddhist texts, isolated words, letters and rough drafts of passages of various official documents, especially their initial formulae.[34] As I have already demonstrated elsewhere, the drafts of the documents undoubtedly date from the 10th century. The text IX (L. 7) is the initial formula of a document issued in the 930–940s by the office of the governor of the Kuei-i-chün. The texts XII and XIV (L1. 12 and 14–18) are sections of documents issued by Uighurs of Kan-chou, and the text XV is an initial formula containing an exact date (L1. 19–20). I correctly settled the 10th century origin of this formula on the basis of the Chinese ruling period appearing in it, though I was not then able to interpret the date adequately.[35]

The full text XV is as follows: (19) || *then.phug.lo.bdun.* || *lčags.mo.yos.bu'i.-lo'i.dpyid.sla.ra.ba.ches.bčo.* (20) *lṅa.la.* || *pho.braṅ.gser.*[36] *sgo.nas* || *bka'.-rtags.kyi.phyag.rgya.phog.nas* || «On the fifteenth day (of) the first spring month of the seventh *Then-phug* year, a female Iron-Hare year, from the Golden Door of the (Imperial) Residence, the seal of the sign of decree having been attached...»

The initial *Then-phug* can be either the transcription of the Chinese name of period 天復 *T'ien-fu* (AC *t'ien-b'i̯uk*[37]) or that of 天福 *T'ien-fu* (AC *t'ien-pi̯uk*[38]). And, since the 天復 period began in 901 A.D. and the 天福 in 936 A.D., the equivalent of the 7th *Then-phug* year should be 907/08 or 942/43 A.D. Both years fall in the sexagenary cycle that begins with the year 904/05 A.D. In the «mechanic», «regular» version of the association of the cycle and the elements the female Iron-Hare corresponds to 831/32 A.D. as the 28th year of the cycle, but this year can never be correlated with the year denomination by the ruling period. If, nevertheless, the basis of our calculation is the «complex», «special» version of the association of the elements and the cycle, the female Iron-Hare year, then the 40th member of the cycle corresponds to 943/44 A.D. and this year occurred only one year later than the 7th year of 天福. Of course this one-year difference is of small importance, since the Chinese documents of Tun-huang provide many examples of one-year disparities between the cyclic dating and the dates of the ruling periods, and in these cases the cyclic dates are, as a rule, taken to be correct.[39]

[34] See the facsimile, only of the verso, in Spanien, Imaeda, *op. cit.*, pl. 476.

[35] Uray, *L'emploi du tibétain...*, p. 83, Nos 8–11; pp. 85–88.

[36] The facsimile shows *s* damaged, but it is still intact on the photograph in my possession, that is earlier than the facsimile.

[37] Karlgren, *op. cit.*, Nos 361/a–c + 1034/d–f.

[38] Karlgren, *op. cit.*, Nos 361/a–c + 933/d–h.

[39] Cf. e.g. the inscription on the painting Ch. 00167, mss. in the British Library, Stein Collection, No. 518 (= Giles 7344), 1907 (= Giles 5324), 4300 (= Giles 6483), 5572 (= Giles 6997) and printed document No. 11 (= Giles 8084); s. Éd. Chavannes, *Chinese Inscriptions and Records V, Annotated Translations of*

TABLE OF CONCORDANCES

between the two time reckoning versions of the Chinese Sexagenary cycle

THE "MECHANICAL" ASSOCIATION OF THE ELEMENTS TO THE STEMS

十天干 Shih t'ien kan — The Ten Heavenly Stems / 十二地支 Shih-êrh ti chih — The Twelve Earthly Branches		Elements / Animals	I. 甲 Chia	II. 乙 I	III. 丙 Ping	IV. 丁 Ting	V. 戊 Wu	VI. 己 Chi	VII. 庚 Kêng	VIII. 辛 Hsin	IX. 壬 Jên	X. 癸 Kuei
			Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water	
			male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
I	子 Tzŭ	Rat	1									
II	丑 Ch'ou	Ox		2								
III	寅 Yin	Tiger			(3)							
IV	卯 Mao	Hare				(4)						
V	辰 Ch'ên	Dragon					5					
VI	巳 Szŭ	Snake						6				
VII	午 Wu	Horse							7			
VIII	未 Wei	Sheep								8		
IX	申 Shên	Monkey									9	
X	酉 Yu	Bird										10
XI	戌 Hsu	Dog										
XII	亥 Hai	Pig										

Branches		Animals	I. Chia	II. I	III. Ping	IV. Ting	V. Wu	VI. Chi	VII. Kêng	VIII. Hsin	IX. Jên	X. Kuei
			Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water	
			male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
I	子 Tzŭ	Rat			13							
II	丑 Ch'ou	Ox				14						
III	寅 Yin	Tiger					(15)					
IV	卯 Mao	Hare						(16)				
V	辰 Ch'ên	Dragon							(17)			
VI	巳 Szŭ	Snake								(18)		
VII	午 Wu	Horse									19	
VIII	未 Wei	Sheep										20
IX	申 Shên	Monkey										
X	酉 Yu	Bird										
XI	戌 Hsu	Dog	11									
XII	亥 Hai	Pig		12								

Branches		Animals	I. Chia	II. I	III. Ping	IV. Ting	V. Wu	VI. Chi	VII. Kêng	VIII. Hsin	IX. Jên	X. Kuei
			Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water	
			male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
I	子 Tzŭ	Rat					25					
II	丑 Ch'ou	Ox						26				
III	寅 Yin	Tiger							27			
IV	卯 Mao	Hare								28		
V	辰 Ch'ên	Dragon									(29)	
VI	巳 Szŭ	Snake										(30)
VII	午 Wu	Horse										
VIII	未 Wei	Sheep										
IX	申 Shên	Monkey	21									
X	酉 Yu	Bird		22								
XI	戌 Hsu	Dog			23							
XII	亥 Hai	Pig				24						

Branches		Animals	I. Chia	II. I	III. Ping	IV. Ting	V. Wu	VI. Chi	VII. Kêng	VIII. Hsin	IX. Jên	X. Kuei
			Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water	
			male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
I	子 Tzŭ	Rat							37			
II	丑 Ch'ou	Ox								38		
III	寅 Yin	Tiger									39	
IV	卯 Mao	Hare										40
V	辰 Ch'ên	Dragon										
VI	巳 Szŭ	Snake										
VII	午 Wu	Horse	31									
VIII	未 Wei	Sheep		32								
IX	申 Shên	Monkey			(33)							
X	酉 Yu	Bird				(34)						
XI	戌 Hsu	Dog					35					
XII	亥 Hai	Pig						36				

THE "MECHANICAL" ASSOCIATION OF THE EL

Branches		Animals	I. Chia	II. I	III. Ping	IV. Ting	V. Wu	VI. Chi	K
			Wood		Fire		Earth		
			male	female	male	female	male	female	m
I	子 Tzŭ	Rat							
II	丑 Ch'ou	Ox							
III	寅 Yin	Tiger							
IV	卯 Mao	Hare							
V	辰 Ch'ên	Dragon	41						
VI	巳 Szŭ	Snake		42					
VII	午 Wu	Horse			43				
VIII	未 Wei	Sheep				44			
IX	申 Shên	Monkey					(45)		
X	酉 Yu	Bird						(46)	
XI	戌 Hsu	Dog							(4
XII	亥 Hai	Pig							

THE "COMPLEX" ASSOCIATION OF THE ELEMENTS TO THE CYCLE

The Twelve Earthly Branches		Elements / Animals	Earth	Metal		Fire		Wood		Water		Earth		Metal		Fire	
			female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
I	Tzŭ	Rat	→	1													
II	Ch'ou	Ox			2												
III	Yin	Tiger				(3)											
IV	Mao	Hare					(4)										
V	Ch'ên	Dragon						5									
VI	Szŭ	Snake							6	→	→						
VII	Wu	Horse								→	→	7					
VIII	Wei	Sheep											8				
IX	Shên	Monkey												9			
X	Yu	Bird													10		
XI	Hsu	Dog														11	
XII	Hai	Pig															12

Branches		Animals	Wood		Water		Earth		Metal		Fire		Wood		Water		Earth	
			male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
I	Tzŭ	Rat	→	→	13													
II	Ch'ou	Ox				14												
III	Yin	Tiger					(15)											
IV	Mao	Hare						(16)										
V	Ch'ên	Dragon							(17)									
VI	Szŭ	Snake								(18)	→	→						
VII	Wu	Horse									→	→	19					
VIII	Wei	Sheep												20				
IX	Shên	Monkey													21			
X	Yu	Bird														22		
XI	Hsu	Dog															23	
XII	Hai	Pig	→	→														24

Branches		Animals	Metal		Fire		Wood		Water		Earth		Metal		Fire		Wood	
			male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
I	Tzŭ	Rat	→	→	25													
II	Ch'ou	Ox				26												
III	Yin	Tiger					27											
IV	Mao	Hare						28										
V	Ch'ên	Dragon							(29)									
VI	Szŭ	Snake								(30)	→	→						
VII	Wu	Horse									→	→	31					
VIII	Wei	Sheep												32				
IX	Shên	Monkey													(33)			
X	Yu	Bird														(34)		
XI	Hsu	Dog															35	
XII	Hai	Pig	→	→														36

THE "COMPLEX" ASSOCIATION OF THE EL

Branches		Animals	Water		Earth		Metal		Fire		Wood		Water		Earth		M
			male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male
I	Tzŭ	Rat	→	→	37												
II	Ch'ou	Ox				38											
III	Yin	Tiger					39										
IV	Mao	Hare						40									
V	Ch'ên	Dragon							41								
VI	Szŭ	Snake								42	→	→					
VII	Wu	Horse									→	→	43				
VIII	Wei	Sheep												44			
IX	Shên	Monkey													(45)		
X	Yu	Bird														(46)	
XI	Hsu	Dog															(47)
XII	Hai	Pig	→	→													

TABLE OF CONCORDANCES

between the two time reckoning versions of the Chinese Sexagenary cycle

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.
hia	I	Ping	Ting	Wu	Chi	Kêng	Hsin	Jên	Kuei	Chia	I	Ping	Ting	Wu	Chi	Kêng	Hsin	Jên	Kuei	Chia	I	Ping	Ting	Wu	Chi	Kêng	Hsin	Jên	Kuei	Chia	I	Ping	Ting	Wu	Chi	Kêng	Hsin	Jên	Kuei	Chia	I	Ping	Ting	Wu	Chi	Kêng	Hsin	Jên	Kuei	Chia	I	Ping	Ting	Wu	Chi	Kêng	Hsin	Jên	Kuei	Chia	I	Ping	Ting	Wu	Chi	Kêng	Hsin	Jên	Kuei

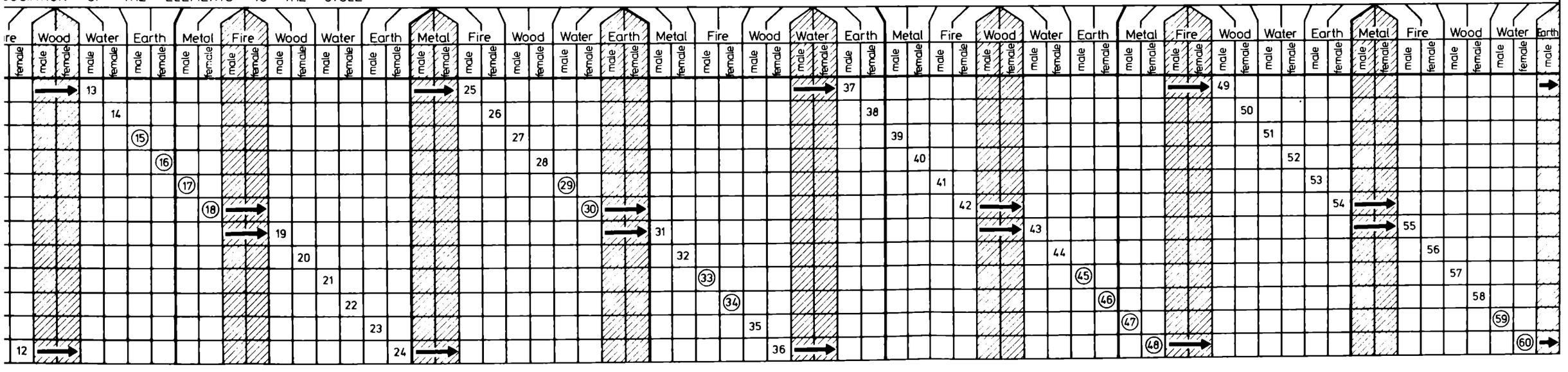
TION OF THE ELEMENTS TO THE STEMS

THE "MECHANICAL" ASSOCIATION OF THE ELEMENTS TO THE STEMS

Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water		Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water		Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water		Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water		Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water		Wood		Fire		Earth		Metal		Water	
ale	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
		13												25												37												49																																			
			14												26												38												50																																			
				⑮												27												39												51																																			
					⑯												28												40												52																																			
						⑰												㉙												41												53																																			
							⑱												㉚												42												54																																			
								19												31												43												55																																			
									20												32												44												56																																			
										21											33											45											57																																			
											22											34											46											58																																			
11												23											35											47											59																																			
	12												24											36											48											60																																			

SOCIATION OF THE ELEMENTS TO THE CYCLE

THE "COMPLEX" ASSOCIATION OF THE ELEMENTS TO THE CYCLE



As for the place of issue, the interpretation of the phrase *pho-brañ gser-sgo*, «the Golden Door of the Residence» or rather «the Residence, the Golden Door», has been disputed. In my quoted lecture, Paris 1979, I interpreted this phrase as referring to the Chinese imperial court, considering *gser-sgo* as a translation of Chinese 金門 *chin men*.[40] However, discussing my lecture, my colleague T. Moriyasu's opinion was that *pho-brañ gser-sgo* corresponds to the phrase 金帳 *chin chang* «Golden Tent» which marked the residence of the Uighur Khagan of Kan-chou in Ms. Pelliot chinois 3633, a letter to the Khagan from the Chinese population of Sha-chou (Tun-huang), 911 A.D.[41] This identification is unacceptable from a semantic point of view, because neither Chinese *chang* has a meaning «door, aperture, entrance» nor Tibetan *sgo* means «tent». At the same time, it is common knowledge that the Chinese phrase *chin men* «Golden Door» is a metaphoric name for the prevailing Chinese capital. Therefore, I maintain my view that text XV represents the initial formula of a Tibetan translation or rather adaptation of a Chinese imperial edict.

In my opinion, the dating of text XV is closely connected with certain events of relations between the states of the Kan-su corridor and China. It is well known that in the 11th month of the 3rd year of *T'ien-fu* (November/December of 938 A.D.) a mission started to Khotan from K'ai-fêng, then the capital of the Posterior Chin Dynasty, and it arrived back at the imperial court on the *ping-tzŭ* day of the 12th month of the 7th year of *T'ien-fu* (February 4, 943 A.D.) accompanied by the envoys of Khotan, Sha-chou, Kua-chou, and the Uighurs, etc. The main task of the Sha-chou envoy was to procure the investiture to the office 節度使 *chieh-tu-shih* «military governor» for 曹元深 Ts'ao Yüan-shên who succeeded his brother in ruling over the Kuei-i-chün, in about 939 A.D. This investiture took place on the *kêng-yin* day of the 1st month of the 8th year of *T'ien-fu* (February 18, 943 A.D.), and on the *i-szŭ* day of the same month (March 5, 943 A.D.) the emperor installed Chinese titles on the Khotanese, and Uighur, etc., envoys too.[42] The New Year of

Chinese Inscriptions on Paintings from Ch'ien-fo-tung, in A. Stein, *Serindia* III, Oxford 1921, p. 1336; L. Giles, *Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection, VI. Tenth Century (A. D. 947–995): BSOAS* XI (1943–46), pp. 151–154; id., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, London 1957, pp. 158, 205, 226, 246, 279.

[40] Uray, *L'emploi du tibétain* . . ., pp. 83, 89.

[41] The ed. of the letter in 王重民 Wang Chung-min, 金山國陰事零拾 *Chin-shan-kuo chui-shih ling-shih*, in *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping* IX: 6 (Nov.–Dec. 1935), is inaccessible for me. — According to the Chinese and Arab–Persian sources, also the Khagan of the Uighur Empire of Mongolia as well as the ruler of the Tibetan Empire had «golden tents»; cf. Demiéville, *op. cit.*, pp. 202–203, n.; C. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories*, Canberra 1972, pp. 182–183, n. 296 and the passages quoted there.

[42] J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties d'après les documents chinois*, Paris 1955, p. 54, n. 1; p. 82, n. 1; p. 84, n. 4; p. 126, n. 1; pp. 134, 136.

the 8th year of *T'ien-fu* was on the *kêng-ch'ên* day (February 8, 943 A.D.),[43] therefore, the *kêng-yin* day had to be the 11th and the *i-szŭ* day the 26th of the first month. In this way, the 15th day of the first spring month of the female Iron-Hare year, mentioned in the Tibetan initial formula, falls exactly in the period when the envoys of Khotan, the Kuei-i-chün of Sha-chou, and the Uighurs of Kan-chou, etc., resided in the imperial court and took the appointments for themselves and for their overlords. Consequently, the Pelliot tibétain 1188, verso, text XV is the initial formula of a Tibetan adaptation of an imperial edict taken by the envoys, probably a letter of appointment.

It is now clear that in the dating of text XV, the 7th year of *Then-phug* should be corrected to the 8th year of *Then-phug*: in the cyclic date, the element is connected with the animal according to the «complex», «special» version, and thus the date of issue may be settled as February 22, 943 A.D.

6. The full list of the sexagenary cycle in the scroll Pelliot tibétain 127, text IIIA (verso, L1. 1–9) is one of the most interesting early Tibetan applications of the cycle.

This list was discovered by Mme Ariane Macdonald (Spanien) and she characterized it as follows: «. . . a full list of the years of the sexagenary cycle that associates the cycle of the twelve animals beginning with the rat, *byi-ba*, with the doubled five elements; but the element Metal that in the later system became iron, *lčags*, is here represented by gold, *gser*, and the non constant sequence of the elements does not correspond to that settled in Medieval times.»[44]

This account by Mme Macdonald should be completed by the fact that the list does not apparently or especially present the sexagenary cycle as a means of chronology, but as an instrument of divination or/and astrology. From among the Tibetan texts of the scroll[45] one is a medical tract on cauterization (text II, recto, L1. 78–184)[46] the others (texts I, III, IV) are all texts on divination and astrology.[47]

[43] P. Hoang, *Concordance des chronologies néoméniques chinoise et européenne: Variétés Sinologiques* 29, Shanghai 1910, p. 225.

[44] «. . . la liste des années d'un cycle de soixante ans complet associant le cycle des douze animaux, à commencer par le rat, *byi-ba*, aux cinq éléments dédoublés; mais l'élément métal, qui est devenu fer, *lčags*, dans le système tardif, est représenté ici par l'or, *gser*, et l'ordre des éléments, qui n'est pas constant, ne correspond pas à celui qui a été fixé à l'époque médiéval»; Ariane Macdonald, *Une lecture des Pelliot tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047, et 1290: Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Paris 1971, p. 284, n. 360.

[45] Beside the Tibetan texts, the scroll also contains Chinese and Uighur texts (Pelliot chinois 5541 = Pelliot ouïgour 15); cf. M.-R. Séguy, *Introduction*, in A. Macdonald, Y. Imaeda, *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, tome Ier, Paris 1978, p. 13.

[46] Cf. A.-M. Blondeau, *Matériaux pour l'étude de l'hippologie et de l'hippiatrie tibétaines (à partir des manuscrits de Touen-houang)*, Genève–Paris 1972, p. 7.

[47] From among these texts only the text I (recto, L1. 1–77) has so far been quite briefly reviewed, cf. Macdonald, *Une lecture* . . ., p. 284.

Thus the two paragraphs of the verso following the list of the sexagenary cycle and written by the same hand are also definitely texts of divination and astrology. Text IIIB (L1. 10–14) registers the concordant and non-concordant elements, text IIIC (L1. 15–28) lists the distribution of the Chinese clan names according to the five elements.

Below I publish the text of the list of the sexagenary cycle in the manuscript in full, in a tabulation-like arrangement, completed with the serial numbers of the items of the cycle. It is noticeable that the list describes the «complex», «special» version of the association of the elements and the cycle.

1. (1) || *gser.pho.byi.ba'* ||
2. *gser.mo.glaṅ* ||
3. *mye.pho.stag* ||
4. *mye.mo.yos.bu* ||
5. *šiṅ.pho.'brug* |
6. *šiṅ.mo.{lug}* | *sbrul* | (2)
7. *sa.pho.rta* ||
8. *sa.mo.lug* ||
9. *gser.pho.spre'u* ||
10. *gser.mo.bya.gag* ||
11. *mye.pho.khyi* ||
12. *mye.mo.phag* || {—}
13. *čhu.pho.byi.ba* ||
14. *čhu.mo.* (3) *lgllaṅ* ||
15. *sa.pho.stag* ||
16. *sa.mo.yos.bu* ||
17. *gser.pho.'brug* ||
18. *gser.mo.sbrul* ||
19. *šiṅ.pho.rta.* ||
20. *šiṅ mo.lug* (4)
21. *čhu.pho.spre'u* ||
22. *čhu.mo.bya.gag* ||
23. *sa.pho.khyi* ||
24. *sa.mo.phag* ||
25. *mye.pho.byi.ba'* ||
26. *mye.mo.glaṅ* ||
27. *šiṅ.pho.stag* |
28. *šiṅ.mo.yos.bu.* (5)
29. *čhu.pho.'brug* ||
30. *čhu.mo.sbrul* ||
31. *gser.pho.rta* ||
32. *gser.mo.lug* ||
33. *mye.pho.spre'u* ||
34. *mye.mo.bya.gag* ||
35. *šiṅ.pho.khyi.* ||
36. *šiṅ.{my}mo.phalgl* | (6)
37. *sa.pho.byi.ba* ||
38. *sa.mo.glaṅ* ||
39. *gser.pho.stag* ||
40. *gser.mo.yos.bu* ||
41. *mye.pho.'brug* |
42. *mye.mo.sbrul* ||
43. *čhu.pho.rta* |
44. *čhu.mo.* (7) *lug* ||
45. *sa.pho.spre'u* |
46. *sa.mo.bya.gag* ||
47. *gser.pho.khyi* ||
48. *gser.mo.phag* ||
49. *šiṅ.pho.byi.ba* ||
50. *šiṅ.mo.glaṅ* ||
51. *čhu.pho.stag.* (8)
52. *čhu.mo.yos.bu* ||
53. *sa.pho.'brug* |
54. *sa.mo.sbrul* |
55. *mye.pho.rta* ||
56. *mye.m{y}o.lug* ||
57. *šiṅ.pho.spre'u* ||
58. *šiṅ.mo.bya.gag* ||
59. *čhu.pho.khyi* || (9)
60. *čhu.lmo.phlag* ||

7. Finally, it is necessary to examine the Tibetan text considered as year denomination, of the rock at Drangtse in Ladakh. The Drangtse rock is notable because of its petroglyphs and petrographs, first of all of the Nestorian crosses engraved on the south and west side, and of the Sogdian inscription on the southern side.

The Tibetan inscription showing archaic paleographical and orthographical traits is to be found on the eastern side. We know of two photographs of this side, one of them made by the medical missionary Sebastian Schmitt in 1911 and published by A. H. Francke in 1925, the other photograph taken by G. E. Hutchinson in 1932 and published by E. Benveniste in 1938.[48] Regrettably the Tibetan text is on the part of the eastern side that slants upwards and towards the north; consequently it is not visible on Hutchinson's photograph, and even on Schmitt's photograph the reading of the inscription is uncertain.

Francke reads «li-stag-lo» and interprets it as «Erz-tiger-jahr» (sic!), i.e. «Metal-Tiger year»,[49] but I am not convinced of his reading or his interpretation. On the published photograph, in my opinion, only *liṣtag.ll]* is clearly visible, while above, below and after the *l* there are uncertain spots, from among which, this or that perhaps represents a character. But I think the main handicap of Francke's interpretation lies in the circumstance that no data are known where *li* would definitely signify the metal element.

I myself am rather inclined to suggest the reading *liṣtag. llod]* and to interpret it as a short form of a personal name containing a clan name *(rus)* and a second individual name *(myiṅ)*. The interpretation of *Stag-lod* as *myiṅ* is supported by the full name for *Ža-sṅa Gčan Stag-lod* in the enumeration of high-ranking officials taking oath in the closure of the Dkar-čhuṅ Edict.[50] As for *Li*, the Old Tibetan records show two different uses of *Li* as a clan name. The documents found in the Khotan area, namely Mazār Tāġ and Domoko, frequently use the ethnic name *Li* «Khotanese» as *rus* in the names of the local population, but in this case the *myiṅ* is never Tibetan,[51] consequently this «clan name» *Li* of Khotan cannot be taken into

[48] A. H. Francke, *Felseninschriften in Ladakh: SPAW* 1925, pl. II, cf. also pp. 367, 369–370; E. Benveniste, *Notes sogdiennes* [IV]: *BSOS* IX (1937–39), pl. V, cf. pp. 502–504.

[49] Francke, *Felseninschriften* . . ., p. 367. This interpretation was also accepted by J. Dauvillier who suggested the identification of the Metal-Tiger year with A. D. 774 or 834; cf. *Les provinces chaldéennes «de l'extérieur» au Moyen Age: Mélanges offerts au R. P. Ferdinand Cavallera*, Toulouse 1948, p. 294.

[50] Dpa'-bo sprul-sku Gcug-lag-'phreṅ-ba 'jin-pa, *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, Lho-brag-Gnas-kyi-gžis-kha edition, vol. ja, 130a6; cf. the facsimile edition by Lokesh Chandra, *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston of Dpaḥ-bo-gtsug-lag*, pt. 4, New Delhi 1962, p. 65; cf. also the translation and transliteration of the edict in G. Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Roma 1950, pp. 55, 103 (in both passages Tucci reads *Gcan* instead of *Gčan*).

[51] F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, London 1935–1963, pt. IV. *Indices*, p. 77.

consideration from our point of view. At the same time, in the Tun-huang documents several local inhabitants are mentioned who have the clan name *Li* and their individual names are either Chinese or Tibetan.[52] I do not exclude the possibility that a member of a partly Tibetanized Chinese clan of Kan-su commemorated his name on the Drangtse rock, exactly like those Central Asian and Chinese merchants who engraved the Sogdian and Kuchean inscriptions and Chinese characters in the surface of the rock.[53]

Nevertheless, I offer here a hypothesis only, with the sole aim of showing that it is sufficiently convincing to accept the probability of an interpretation of the Tibetan text of the Drangtse rock as not exclusively a year definition.

8. After the respective analyses of these texts, they can be scrutinized in their totality, and here I have to point out the differences in the specification of the element Metal. In the dates of one of the four texts, the inscription of the Tun-huang cave No. 365, there is no mention of the element Metal. The dates in the Treaty Inscription (east side, L. 59) and of the Pelliot tibétain 1188, verso, text XV (L. 19) use *lčags* «iron», in the same way as the texts of the Middle and Modern Ages. In the Pelliot tibétain 127, verso, *gser* «gold» is the name of the element, namely not only in the text IIIA, the list of the sexagenary cycle (LI. 1–3, 5–7), but also in the texts IIIB and C, of divination, written by the same hand (LI. 10, 12–13, 19, 21).

The use of *gser* «gold» as a name of an element may in fact be interpreted in two different ways. It could be an Uighur influence, since in the Uighur texts the element Metal is usually designated by the word *āltun/altun/aldun* «gold».[54] It may, however, be a translation of the Chinese name of element *chin*, because in everyday life *chin* is most frequently used in the meaning «gold», and the meanings «metals (generally)» and «weapons» are considerably rarer. Here we have to take into account that Tibetan *gser* as an element name is only known from the three successive texts, written by the same hand, on one single scroll, and also that the third text contains many Chinese names with spellings that indisputably indicate that the text was translated directly from Chinese. Therefore, I consider the designation of the element Metal by *gser* as an *ad hoc* translation from Chinese.

On the other hand, the Tibetan *lčags* «iron» is by no means a self-evident equivalent of the Chinese element name *chin*. Thus it must be presumed that the use

[52] F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts* . . ., pt. II. *Documents*, p. 115. In the list to be found there, the ratio of the Chinese and Tibetan individual names among the people with clan name *Li* is 12 : 3.

[53] Cf. G. Uray, *Tibet's Connections with Nestorianism and Manicheism in the 8th–10th Centuries*, in E. Steinkellner, H. Tauscher (eds), *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture: Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium held at Velm–Vienna, Austria, 13–19 September 1981*, vol. I: *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde* 10, Wien 1983, pp. 405–407, and the literature quoted there.

[54] Bazin, *op. cit.*, pp. 421–423, 489–491.

of *lčags* as a name of element in the dates of the Treaty Inscription and the Pelliot tibétain 1188, verso, text XV and in the medieval and modern texts, represents a common terminological tradition.[55]

However, it remains a problem, how it is possible to explain from the same tradition the version of the sexagénary cycle based on the «mechanic», «regular» association of the elements and the stems as used in the Treaty Inscription and in the later texts, and the version based on the «complex», «special» association of the elements and the cycle that was used in the dating of the Pelliot tibétain 1188, verso, text XV. A conversion without a break from one version to the other in year reckoning is rather inconceivable.

Nevertheless, the problem only stands until we view the sexagenary as a mere calendar system, because, at the same time, the cycle in fact is the means of the Sino-Tibetan calculations of divination, the so-called *nag-rcis*. In the course of the calculations, the cycle goes through different transformations that create altogether four diverse versions of the cycle, according to the aim whether it is intended to determine the elements of *srog* «life», *lus* «body», *dbaṅ-thaṅ* «prosperity, wealth» or *kluṅ-rta* «favourable circumstances» — concerning every

[55] The naming of the element Metal by *tämir* «iron» in an Uighur astronomical manuscript of the late Yüan times showing undoubtedly Tibetan influences originates from the same Tibetan tradition; Bazin, *op. cit.*, p. 491; cf. pp. 492–493.

[56] The ideas of the elements of Life, Body, Prosperity and Favourable Circumstances are certainly of Chinese origin. Schuh correctly pointed out that *srog* is the translation of the Chinese term of divination 命 *ming* «life, fate, destiny», *lus* that of the Chinese 身 *shên* «body», *dbaṅ-thaṅ* that of the Chinese 財 *ts'ai* «wealth» (*Der chinesische Steinkreis; Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der sino-tibetischen Divinationskalkulationen: ZAS* VII (1973), pp. 396–397, n. 35). Nevertheless, in the case of *kluṅ-rta/rluṅ-rta* he was mistaken when, on the one hand, he identified the technical term of divination with the name *rluṅ-rta* of a type of prayer flags, and, on the other hand, as for the name of the prayer flag he missed the evident explanation *rluṅ* «wind» + *rta* «horse» and, instead, he accepted the etymology suggested by L. A. Waddel and adopted by B. Laufer. According to this etymology the *rluṅ-rta* should be half a borrowing, half a translation of the name 龍馬 *lung-ma* «dragon-horse» of one of the great mythic animals of the Chinese (cf. L. A. Waddel, *Buddhism & Lamaism of Tibet*, London 1895, repr. New Delhi 1974, pp. 410–412; B. Laufer, *Loanwords in Tibetan: T'oung Pao*, Vol. XVII (1916), pp. 524 ff; Schuh, *op. cit.*, p. 396, n. 34). The fact escaped Schuh's attention that in the Chinese tradition of divination, beside the *ming*, *shên* and *ts'ai* elements a fourth one occurs, the 驛馬 *i-ma*, i.e. «post-horse», literally «stage-horse». The Chinese explain this element by an example: «The element wood is sick at *ssŭ* [i.e. branch vi = Snake]; *ssŭ* belongs to fire, which is produced by wood and is considered to be the son of wood. The son can help the father. Hence, when the harmonious branches of wood meet with *ssŭ*, it signifies that they meet with a helper, while they are sick. It is just like when one comes to a posthouse and finds a horse when one is tired. Therefore, the branch ssŭ is said to be the post horse of the 3 harmonious branches of wood... The post horse is considered very important by the fate-calculators. It is a good sign.» (Chao Wei-pang, *op. cit.*, pp. 306–307.) Thus the *i-ma* refers to favourable circumstances. Therefore the idea is self-evident that the Tibetan *kluṅ-rta/rluṅ-rta* is the translation of the Chinese *i-ma*. Consequently the

one year of the cycle.[56] A tabulation introducing these four versions was drawn up by D. Schuh.[57]

If the version of the sexagenary cycle in Schuh's tabulation is compared to the two versions used in the chronology, this leads to some conclusions, which are as follows: *a)* That version of the cycle which was used in the dates in the text of the Treaty Inscription, the Tun-huang cave shrine No. 365 and furthermore in the medieval and modern Tibetan year reckoning, and which was characterized above as the «mechanic», «regular» version of the association of the elements and the stems, is merely the composition of the sexagenary cycle by the elements of Prosperity.[58] *b)* The other version of the sexagenary cycle, occurring in the dating of the Pelliot tibétain 1188, verso, text XV (furthermore in the list of the Pelliot tibétain 127, IIIA, in the Uighur texts from the end of the 9th century to the end of the 17th century, and in the 19th–20th century Chinese usage), called above the «complex», «special» version of the association of the elements and the cycle, is the composition of the sexagenary cycle by the elements of the Body.

In other words, the use of the sexagenary cycle of both versions for year reckoning originates in the use of the cycle in calculations of divination. Therefore, it is comprehensible that in the datings of the Treaty Inscription and the Pelliot tibétain 1188, verso, text XV an identical terminological tradition occurs in spite of the fact that different versions of the cycle are used in them.

9. In summarizing this argumentation the following points may be ascertained: (1) It is probable that the Tibetans first adopted the sexagenary cycle as a means of the Chinese calculations of divination, and in the course of this adaptation — in a peculiar way — they chose the word *lčags* «iron» as the name of the element Metal. (2) The earliest known Tibetan evidence of the calendric use of the sexagenary cycle originates from the last half century of the Tibetan Empire: these namely are the dates in the Lha-sa inscription of the 821–822 A. D. Sino-Tibetan Treaty and the inscription of consecration of the Tun-huang cave shrine No. 365 in 834/35. In both cases the datings are also by the sexagenary cycle in the Tibetan, directly after the Chinese pattern, for reasons of diplomacy or cultural prestige; and for these datings the usual denominations of the Sino-Tibetan calculations of divination, as

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first syllables *kluń* «walley, river» and *rluń* «wind» both are spellings of folk etymology and they in fact substitute for Old Tibetan *sluńs*, which nowadays is not used independently, and means «stage» or rather «postmaster» according to Mme A. Macdonald's interpretation (*Une lecture*..., p. 325).

[57] Schuh, *Der chinesische Steinkreis*..., pp. 369–371.

[58] This observation coincides with the word usage of the Tibetan astrological texts, namely, they really call the elements *dbań-thań* «prosperity» when they speak about the use of the sexagenary cycle for calendar purposes; cf. Schuh, *Untersuchungen*... p. 142; id., *Der chinesische Steinkreis*..., pp. 367–368; id., *A tibeti időszámítás*, p. 222.

well as a version of the sexagenary cycle composed by the elements of Prosperity were used. In Tibet itself this latter form of the cycle took hold and has lived on till today with the well known single change: with the conversion to the *rab-byuṅ* cycle of Indian origin, the starting year of the cycle was removed to a three years later date in calendric use.

(3) According to the Pelliot tibétain 1188, verso, text XV of 943 A. D., in Sha-chou (Tun-huang), then already independent of Tibet, a version of the cycle composed by the elements of Body also emerged in the datings of the texts in Tibetan, as an impact of the Sino-Uighur culture of Kan-su and East-Turkestan after the middle of the 9th century, though the customary denominations of the Sino-Tibetan calculations of divination were maintained.

(4) The list showing a full sexagenary cycle in the series of divination texts Pelliot tibétain 127, IIIA–C is practically independent of the mentioned Sino-Tibetan tradition of divination and calendar. The text series is a translation from Chinese and, as the designation by *gser* «gold», of the element Metal indicates, it does not even in terminology always follow the Tibetan traditions.

(5) The short inscription on the east side of the Drangtse rock is hardly a year name by the sexagenary cycle, as it was interpreted by Francke, but it may be an individual personal name.

I especially analyzed the Tibetan use of the Chinese sexagenary cycle from the point of view of the calendar and finally concluded that the calendric use of the cycle originated from the Sino-Tibetan calculations of divination. Thus we will get a full picture of the Tibetan history of the Chinese cycle only if and when the history of the Sino-Tibetan calculations of divination and in this connection the relationship of the Sino-Tibetan calculations and those used in China itself undergo thorough examination.[59]

These present examinations certainly prove that in the course of his pioneer life-work Csoma raised such questions that are still living problems of Tibetan studies. And the answers to these questions may bring new results, not only for Tibetan studies, but also to related ones such as sinology, and furthermore, they can lead us to formulate new questions that inspire further research.

[59] Undoubtedly between the known traditions of the Sino-Tibetan and Chinese calculations of divination there are considerable differences in spite of the indisputable identity of their fundaments; cf. Schuh, *Der chinesische Steinkreis*..., pp. 357–359; pp. 396–397, n. 35.

STUDY ON THE NAMES AND THE LOCATION OF THE *SKYA RING* AND THE *SNGO RING* TWO BIG LAKES AT THE SOURCE OF THE YELLOW RIVER

BY

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Zhaling (扎陵) and *Ehling* (鄂陵), the major sources of the Yellow River, are like a pair of bright pearls shining on the long, floating Yellow River. The Chinese documents on history have these to say about the two lakes:

«...they headed south, climbed up the Hanku mountain (漢哭山), walked through thousand miles of desert, lived in the Xing Su Valley (星宿川) at night. When they reached Bai Hai (柏海, 白海), there was the Jishi Mountain (積石山) from where the River Source could be seen.» (History of Tu Yu Hun County, The New Tang Book «新唐書吐谷渾傳»).

«In the 15th year of Zhen Guan (貞觀), Princess Wen Cheng married to Nong Zan, a Tibetan king (Srong-btsan). The King went to Bai Hai (柏海) to welcome the Princess.» (History of Tibet, the New Tang Book «新唐書, 吐蕃傳»)

«... the king went to Bai Hai (柏海) to welcome the Princess at the River Source.» (Collections of Important Affairs of the Tang «唐會要»)

The River Source mentioned in the above three books refers to the source of the Yellow River. And *Bai Hai* refers to the *Skya ring mtsho* (*Zhaling* Lake), meaning «white and long» in Tibetan, which is of the same meaning with *Bai Hai*, the White Sea.

In the Yuan Dynasty, special investigation was made to the river source and the region of the two lakes. There were records of the investigation:

«...The river source is west to Tibet with more than a hundred of springs that spread all over; further more, the place is so muddy that no people can stand by it or even look at it from a place nearby. Climbing up the mountain beside the marshland and looking down, the springs are like stars; therefore the place is called *Hodungnor*, translated as *Xing Su* (星宿), meaning stars' home. The springs flow down for miles and form two big lakes which are named *Alagnor*.» *River Source* by Pan Ang Xiao, 1315 («河源志») (潘昂霄)

The two big lakes mentioned above refer to *Zhaling* and *Ehling*. Pan Ang Xiao gave *alagnor* as the name for both lakes. *Alagnor* is a Mongolian word in which *alag* means colorful and *nor*, sea. So the combination turns out to be «a colorful river». The account given by Pan was based on the informations provided by Kuo Kuo Chu (闊闊出), whose source came from the on-the-spot investigation at the source region by his brother Du Shi (都實). Du Shi, Nu Zhen (女眞) nationality, came to source region for an investigation in 1280 as the Commander of the Imperial Troop

sent to Tibet. He spent about four months there, getting first hand materials. When he went back to Da Du (大都, present day Peking) the same winter, he drew the map of the source region, which later became well known. The emperor was pleased by his achievements.

Evidently, Du Shi used the Mongolian translation as the lakes' name to fulfil the mission given by the central government of the Yuan. This is where *alagnor* comes from. He set off from *He Zhou* (河州) heading toward the west, and only got to *Ehling*. Therefore gave he one name for the two big lakes' region.

Geography, Yuan History («元史, 地理志») has an appendix on the river source, which is basically the same as records in *River Source* by Pan. It seems to have been copied down from records made by Pan Ang Xiao, or Kuo Kuo Chu and Du Shi. It also mentions, in the end, that its author studied a book by Zhu Siben (朱思本) called *Illustrated Collection of the River Source*, «河源圖錄» a key book of some special qualities, for it was translated into Chinese from Sanskrit (in fact Tibetan books; they were called Sanskrit because of the lack of knowledge of language) books kept by Di Shi (帝師), advisors of the emperors.

Di Shi, actually the supreme advisors of the emperors, was a rank set up by the Yuan Central Government and were especially occupied by the Tibetans. There were altogether 14 such advisors. When Zhu Siben and Pan Ang Xiao finished their books during the years of Yan You (延祐, special name for the period of time under the rule of Ren Zong 仁宗 Emperor of the Yuan), the advisors were Sangs-rgyas-dpal and Kun-dgav-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po; therefore, the book Zhu Siben based on should come from one of these two advisors. Zhu had so keen an eye that he turned to Tibetan books for reference. The usage of the book proves that the Yuan scholars knew that names of places are given by the local inhabitants, so they searched for documents other than the Han language to substantiate their works.

At the beginning of the era of the Ming Dynasty, General Deng Yu (鄧愈) occupied He Ahou. Local officials of the Yuan surrendered and began to pay their tax to the newly established Ming. In the new political situation, the Tibetan area was expecting to get in touch with the new central government. Soon after the Ming was established, the Ming government sent a delegation headed by Zong Le (宗泐), a monk, to visit Tibet, under the name of «asking for the Buddhist books of classics (Sūtra)». In fact the purpose of the visit was to make the new Ming policies known publicly and to strengthen the political relations with the Tibetan area. After Zong Le, some officials were sent to Tibet during the Yong Le (永樂) period and their visits all have records.

The knowledge of the river source and the area of the two lakes was further developed up to the Ching Dynasty. After the investigation made by the group headed by La Xi (拉錫) and Shu Zang (舒藏) in 1704, they wrote *Record*

of the River Source («河源記») by Shu Zang and *The Map of the River Source* (星宿海河源圖) which were special reports to the emperor. In 1782, another group headed by Ah Mida (阿彌達) was sent out for further investigation around the river source and in the region of the two lakes. Based on the rich materials gained by these investigations, there appeared quite a few important works and collections of maps. Among them are the *Unified Record of the Ching* («大清一統志», 1743), *Outlines of Water Routes* («水道提綱», 1761), *A Brief Record of River Source* («河源記略», 1782), *Map of the River Source Around Xing Su* («星宿海河源圖», 1708), *Unified Map on qhing Hai Area* («一統志青海圖», 1717), *Imperial Map of the Country* («皇輿全覽圖», 1718) and *the Map for the Inner Imperial Court* («乾隆內府輿圖», 1760).

In *An Outline of Water Route*, there is the following description:

«The Yellow River has its source from Ying Su (星宿) at the eastern foot of the *Bayankla*; two springs join each other after several miles' flow and form the River *Artan*, which runs southward, then east, and is joined by the springs from southwest. The *Artan* goes further east, then turns to the north, back to the east and the southeast . . . till it reaches *Eduntala — Hodungnor* recorded in the *History of the Yuan*. Surrounded by the mountains, *Zing Su* looks like stars because of the water springing out. The spring waters join the *Artan* and goes southeast into the *Zhaling*. From *Zhaling* the water goes southeast and then turns northeast where it joins the River *Kla*. The two form the *Ehling* Lake, 50 li or so east the *Zhaling*. *Zhaling* and *Ehling* are the two big lakes called *Alagnor* in the *History of the Yuan*.» («元史»)

In the above description, what we should pay attention to is that the *Zhaling* is in the west and the *Ehling*, east. In the *Imperial Map*, there is the following words: «The *Xing Su* goes southeast into the *Zhaling*, eastward from which is the *Ehling*. («欽定輿圖»)

In the *Imperial Outlines of River Sources*, there is another detailed description in Vol. XII. («欽定河源記略»)

«The water runs southeast for about a hundred miles and there is the *Zhaling* Lake which in Tibetan means dawn. . . . . The lake's water goes southeast and then turns south, there is the *Ehling* Lake. . . . . »

To sum up the above documents, the following points can be drawn:

1. *Zhaling* Lake, translated from Tibetan *Skya ring* meaning the long white lake, is located in the west.
2. *Ehling*, also a translation from Tibetan, which means long blue lake, is located in the east.
3. A lake in Tibetan is called *mtsho* and in Mongolian, *nor*. So *mtsho* and *nor* are the same.

We can also find some Tibetan documents which record the locations of the two lakes. The following books can be referred to:

1. «如意寶樹史» («A History of the Magic Tree») by Sum-pa-mkham-po-ye-shes-dpal-vbyor. The book was finished in 1748. On page 347, there is a special study on the temples and the history of the leading Monks of the *mdo khams* region. The author wrote:

«From the west to the east, from the upper to the lower, there are huge rivers like *gser-chu, klu-chu-tsong-chu, nag-chu and rma-chu* . . . . . The lakes at the foot of the *ma-chen-spom-ra*, there are *Zhaling, Ehling* and *Sog* three lakes.»

2. «南贍部洲廣說» (*Vdzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* by Smin-grol-gling-bla-ma-btsan-pa) The book was finished in 1820. It is a book specially for recording mountains, valleys, lakes and rivers. On page 59, there is the following: *gzhan yang ma-pham-g.yu-yi-mtsho-mo dang | gnam-mtsho-phyug-mo-dang | tsha-mtsho dang | yar-Vbrog-g.yu-mtsho dang | phag-mtsho dang | mtsho-skya-rengs sngo-yengs dang | khri-gshog-rgyal-mo sogs bsil dwangs rnyog pa med-pavi mtsho chen-po du ma savi cha shas shin tu vkhyil |*

3. «*mdo-smad-chos-vbyung*» This book was finished in 1865. On page 27, (new edition in Lanzhou, National Publ. House, 1981) there is the following: *(rma-chu) . . . . . stod-du mtsho skya rengs Sam tsha gen nor dang | a lag nor ram sngo rengs gnyis | bevu dug mtsho | stong ru mtsho nag | tho-su nor te | mtsho sman phyug mo lngar grags pa . . . . . .*

Besides, there are records from the prominent monks' biography or autobiography which recorded their deeds. The names and the locations were all written down while they went from the Tibetan region to the innerland. From what we read in the Tibetan documents, the only differences are in the spelling. This is because of the local dialects. See the following diagram:

Name of the lakes	Tibetan	Local dialect
Zhaling	*skya ring*	*skya reng; skya rang*
Ehling	*sngo ring*	*sngo reng; sngo rang*

What inspired us the most is the order how the Tibetans record the geographic locations. It is according to the direction of the water from the upper to the lower. As for the Yellow River and its lakes, it is the same order. Therefore, we know that the *Zhaling* is in the upper part, that is to say in the west and the *Ehling* in the lower part, i.e. in the east.

Historical documents both in the Han language and the Tibetan language as well as old maps all recorded that the locations of the two lakes are *Zhaling* in the west and *Ehling* in the east. But our country's present maps have just the opposite locations of the lakes.

This confusion was caused in January 1953, when two scholars published their article, *Investigations at the River Source of the Yellow River*. Attached to the article was a sketch map. Both the article and the map showed that the *Ehling* was in the west and the *Zhaling* in the east. Later in 1953, the Provincial Maps of the People's Republic of China reprinted by Shanghai Ya Guang (亞光地圖出版社) publisher adopted the two scholars' opinion and changed the locations of the two lakes into *Ehling* west and *Zhaling* east.

In July the same year, one of the two scholars realized that their opinion was not correct. He wrote another article in which he corrected himself and he claimed in *Science* (科學通報) of August 1953 that the wrong locations should be changed. Yet his correction was not paid enough attention to. Maps published later still used the wrong locations. These maps caused great confusion both at home and abroad.

We should now correct the errors we committed in our past works and maps according to the historical documents and the will of the Tibetan people. The actual location of the two lakes are:

The *Zhaling* is in the west and the *Ehling* is in the east.

THE INTERLINEARY-TYPE COMMENTARY IN TIBETAN

BY

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The interlineary type of commentary is called in Tibetan *mchan 'grel* or *mchan bu*. The term is equivalent to Sanskrit *ṭippanī*, but the Tibetan form of such a commentary enables glosses to be entered between words due to the syllabic character of Tibetan orthography, which is hardly possible in the *devanāgarī* script used for writing Sanskrit because of the long compounds and orthographical unions subject to rules of *saṃdhi*. The glosses between lines or words of the Tibetan script are in smaller size letters to afford visual contrast. The gloss may be connected to the right place by some dots.

Here I shall present four samples of such commentary: from Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra* in the Tibetan Tanjur; from the native commentaries, Bu-ston's on the *Kalācakra-tantra*, Tsoṅ-kha-pa's on the *Pradīpoddyotana* commentary of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, and the gloss on Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo*. These are compared in the concluding considerations.

1. Sample from the *Munimatālaṃkāra* gloss

Abhayākaragupta, who writes in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, supervised the translation of his *Munimatālaṃkāra* with a Tibetan called Gsal-ba-grags (the catalogs mention a number of other Tibetans for the later «revision»). Presumably the Indian author Abhayākaragupta was responsible for the annotation gloss, which contains many quotations from such works as the *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra* and *Madhyamakāvatāra*, since we may presume that the rather extensive glosses on this work were added at the time of the translation of the basic work into Tibetan, or shortly thereafter.[1] My sample employs two editions, the Narthang and the photographic Peking Tanjur versions.[2] There are some

[1] The catalog entry for this work, the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Tanjur, Mdo-'grel, XXIX, 10, in P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de La Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1909, 1915, pp. 314–315, does not mention the *mchan*, so it must be taken as inseparable from the basic text, i.e. by Abhayākaragupta himself.

[2] I use the Narthang edition preserved at Columbia University. For the Peking Kanjur-Tanjur in the Japanese photographic edition (*PTT*), I use machine copies from the sets at The University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, and at The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, Stony Brook, New York.

orthographic difficulties, because my available Narthang edition is often smudged, while the Peking version resorted to every possible orthographic abbreviation and crowded the glosses, so both versions of the glosses compounded the problems of reading the smaller letters, in the case of the Peking with photographic reduction. Hence, for an extended reading of this interlineary commentary, it would be necessary to employ a further edition such as the Derge one; but for this brief extract the two I used do suffice. In the following transcription the basic text will be presented in full capital letters, with the annotation glosses in small letters:[3]

DE NAS SEMS BSKYED PA DGU PA BSAM GTAN GYI PHA ROL TU PHYIN PA DAṄ LDAN PA'I RI BO LTA BU STE | DMIGS PA'I RNAM PAR GYEṄ BAS MI BSKYOD PA'I mi g'yo ba PHYIR RO | SA SBYAṄ DKA' BA'AṄ bden bźi sgom pa na 'khor ba la mi phyogs pa daṅ mya ṅan las 'das pa la phyogs pa'i sems bzlog ste thabs kyis zin pa'i byaṅ chub kyi phyogs sgom nus nas bzuṅ nas sa drug pa thob kyi bar du ste | der chos dbyiṅs rgyud rnams tha dad med don daṅ | źes par rtog śiṅ 'khor las phyir phyogs pa daṅ mṅon du phyogs pa yid la byed pa'i śin tu rmoṅs pa daṅ | de dag gi gnas ran yin spoṅ ṅo | STE GAṄ GI PHYIR 'DI LA 'JIG RTEN PA DAN 'JIG RTEN LAS 'DAS PA DAG GI RIG PA DAṄ BDEN PAR ŚES PA DAG PHAN TSHUN 'GAL BA LAS YOṄS SU SBYAṄ BA BYA BA DKA' BA DE'I PHYIR chos dbyiṅs bstod par | rigs daṅ rgyu rtsal bzo rnams kun | bsam gtan rnam pa sna tshogs ñid | ñon moṅs śin tu sbyaṅ dka' las | rnam par rgyal bas sbyaṅ dka'o | źes so ŚIN TU SBYAṄ DKA' BA'O |

In the translation I shall maintain the same contrast by presenting the basic text in full capital letters, the annotation gloss as far as possible in small letters within parentheses:

THEN HE IS POSSESSED OF THE NINTH MIND-GENERATION, THE PERFECTION OF MEDITATION LIKE A MOUNTAIN[4], BECAUSE HE IS NOT PUSHED (not swayed) BY SHIFTING OF MEDITATIVE OBJECT. ALSO IT IS DIFFICULT TO PURIFY THE STAGE (i.e. Having contemplated the Four Truths, should one adopt the method of reversing the mind so that it turns away from *saṃsāra* and turns toward *nirvāṇa*, positing that he is able to contemplate in the direction of enlightenment, up to attaining the Sixth Stage; then, given that the Dharmadhātu there means no separation of consciousness-streams, should he imagine that way, he is very confused as to whether his mental orientation is averted from *saṃsāra* and is facing [*nirvāṇa*] or whether his mental

[3] Narthang, Tanjur, Dbu-ma, Vol. Ha, beginning at f. 308b–1; *PTT*, Vol. 101, p. 249–2–8 to –3–4.

[4] Cf. A. Wayman, *The Samādhi Lists of the Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra and the Mahāvyutpatti: Acta Orient. Hung.*, Tomus XXXIV, Fasc. 1–3, 1980, p. 306, IX. like a mountain–*akṣaya* 9. «meditation».

orientation is averted from *nirvāṇa* and is facing [*saṃsāra*], and he abandons their time and place). SINCE IN THIS CASE, AWARENESS OF, AND KNOWING THE TRUTH OF, MUNDANE AND SUPRAMUNDANE, ARE MUTUALLY OPPOSED, IT IS DIFFICULT TO PURIFY [THEM]. SO (as in the *Dharmadhātu-stotra:* «It is difficult to purify defilements by principles and motives, with all skillful contrivances, and by the various kinds of meditation. But You the Victor have purified what is even more difficult [to purify]») IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO PURIFY.

In further explanation of the foregoing, there are twenty-two «generations of mind» among which the passage treats the ninth. The author allows that this can reach the Sixth Stage among the ten Bodhisattva Stages (*bhūmi*), the Stage called «Facing». The interlinear gloss brings out the meaning of this «Facing» stage in that the mind might be facing *nirvāṇa* or might be facing *saṃsāra,* and it is difficult for the meditator to know which is the fact, since in that state the Dharmadhātu means no separation of consciousness-streams, hence the *samādhi* called «seal of the ocean that gathers all the dharmas.»[5] If the meditator thinks that this «Facing» amounts to enlightenment, he deludes himself and falls back from his accomplishment — which further clarifies the tenet of this system that the Bodhisattva becomes «irreversible» only when he attains the Eighth Stage. A verse of the *Dharmadhātu-stotra* — attributed to Nāgārjuna[6] — expresses the difficulty in terms of eliminating defilement, the prevalent defilement being «delusion» (*moha*). Thus, the interlinear gloss contains a wealth of clarifying material.

Other sources recommend that in this Stage one should look upon all the natures *(dharma)* as illusions or void,[7] and apparently this is the way of «purifying» them.

2. Sample from the *Kālacakra* annotation

Recently I have had reason to consult Bu-ston's interlinear commentary on the āgama *Kālacakratantra* and on its large commentary *Vimalaprabhā.*[8] Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364), an encyclopedic author and editor of the Tibetan canons

[5] Wayman, *The Samādhi lists,* p. 315, «VI. like the ocean—Sixth Bhūmi called Facing (*mṅon du gyur pa*),» and *samādhis* under this heading.

[6] For this treatise, see D. Seyfort Ruegg, *Le Dharmadhātustava de Nāgārjuna: Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou,* Paris 1971, pp. 448–471, but he does not mention this particular verse.

[7] Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature,* London 1932, p. 289, for the Sixth Stage of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra.*

[8] In connection with my translation and study of the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* in a work entitled *Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī,* scheduled for publication by Shambala Publications in Fall, 1984.

Kanjur-Tanjur, founded a great school of the *Kālacakra*, and fundamental to this is his edition and annotation of the āgama called «*Śrī-Ādibuddha*»[9] and on the greatly honored *Vimalaprabhā* in their Tibetan translations. Now, I notice that Bu-ston's glosses on these two works are rather sporadic, more plentiful on the «Ādibuddha āgama,» and much less on the *Vimalaprabhā*, here especially on verses as cited and on *mantras* when they occur.[10] Hovewer, it should be observed that the *Vimalaprabhā* is itself a lucid commentary on the āgama *Kālacakra*, reducing the need for Bu-ston's annotation. Bu-ston may well have been the one who inserted numbers in the *Vimalaprabhā* chapters to correlate with the verse numbers in the chapters of the «Ādibuddha āgama». Thus, his annotation edition is enormously helpful.

I have chosen the last verse of Chap. Two, the *adhyātma* chapter, from the āgama *Kālacakra*. The Sanskrit text as edited by Ragha Vira and Lokesh Chandra agrees for the most part with the Tibetan.[11] I shall first present the verse (no. 180) and my translation:[12]

| *khyod ni ma daṅ khyod ni pha ste khyod ni 'gro ba'i bla ma khyod ni gñen daṅ grogs bzaṅ yaṅ* |
| *khyod ni mgon po khyod ni byed po phan daṅ sdig 'phrog khyod ni phun sum tshogs pa yaṅ* |
| *khyod ni 'ba' źig gnas daṅ khyod ni yon tan mchog gi gnas te skyon rnams bcom pa khyod ñid do* |
| *khyod ni dman pa rnams kyi mgon daṅ yid bźin nor bu rgyal ba'i dbaṅ po khyod la bdag skyabs mchi* ||

You are the mother. You are the father. You are the guru of the world. You are the friend and good companion. You are the (protective) lord (*nātha*). You are the disposer, benefactor, dispeller of sin. You are endowed with the high rank. You have the isolated state, and have the best state of powers. The destroyer of faults is you, indeed. You are the (protective) lord of lowest persons, and the wish-granting gem. In You, powerful one of Victors, I take refuge.

Here I shall present Bu-ston's annotation within parentheses together with my translation:

[9] So it is called in Nāro-pā's commentary on the *Hevajratantra*, as I point out in the work of Note 8, above.

[10] I employ the Collected Works of Bu-ston, reprinted by Lokesh Chandra. The interlinear commentary on the two works is in the first three volumes.

[11] *Kālacakra-tantra and other Texts*, Part 1, New Delhi, 1966, p. 348.

[12] *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, Ka, f. 44b, or No. 88.

You (Mañjuśrī, teacher of the condensed tantra; *bsdus rgyud ston pa po 'jam dpal*) are the mother (because generating the world, or beneficial; *'gro skyed pa'am phan 'dogs pas*). You are the father (because generating the sons of the Buddhas, or protecting the sentient beings; *sańs rgyas kyi sras skyed pa'am sems can skyoń bas*). You are the guru of the world (because revealing the path to liberation of the world, or heavy with the burden of good qualities; *thar pa'i lam ston pa'am yon tan gyi khur gyis lci ba*). You are the friend (because the spiritual guide, *kalyāṇamitra; dge ba'i bśes par gyur pas*) and good companion (while practising the path of the Buddhas; *sańs rgyas kyi lam sgrub pa'i*). You are the (protective) lord (because protecting against harm and suffering; *gnod pa dań sdug bsńal las skyob pas*). You are the disposer (installing in virtue or for all felicity; *dge ba la 'jug pa'am bde legs thams cad gyi*), benefactor, dispeller of sin. You are endowed with (the good qualities, *guṇa; yon tan*) of the high rank (of the Buddha; *sańs rgyas kyi*). You have the isolated state (unmixed with any faults; *ñes skyon gań yań ma 'dres*) and the best state of powers (i.e. the ten powers, the confidences, and so on; *stobs bcu mi 'jigs pa la sogs pa*). The destroyer of (all; *thams cad*) faults (of habit-energy of *saṃsāra*, i.e. of body, speech, mind and knowledge; *lus ńag yid ye śes 'khor ba'i bag chags kyi*) is you, indeed. You are the (protective) lord of lowest persons (because their refuge; *skyabs su gyur pas*), and the wish-granting gem (because the automatic-working source of the aims of sentient beings in a manner without constructive thought; *rtog pa med bźin du sems can gyi don lhun grub tu 'byuń bas*). In You (Mañjuśrī; *'jam dpal*), powerful one of Victors, I take refuge (by means of all the concrete vehicles of the sun; *ñi ma'i śiń rta dńos po thams cad kyis*).

Bu-ston appears not to have derived his comments from teachings elsewhere in the *Kālacakra* scripture. Since there are many praising type verses in Buddhism, praise of the Buddha, etc., and some commentaries on these are available, Bu-ston may well have drawn upon his memory for these to furnish certain comments. The final comment with «vehicles of the sun» is probably a reference to Śākyamuni, who belongs to the «solar lineage» (*sūryavaṃśa*). The one clear reference to *Kālacakra-tantra* tenets is the mention of «body, speech, mind, and knowledge», because it is characteristic of this tantric lineage to add «knowledge» to make a fourth to body, speech, and mind. Thus the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary employs this set of four to treat the twelve members of the zodiac with its peculiar correspondence to the twelve members of Buddhist dependent origination.[13] The first two comments (on «mother» and «father») are consistent with Tsoń-kha-pa's later emphasis on the role of Prajñāpāramitā as «mother of the Buddhas» and the «means» (*upāya*) as

[13] *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, Ga, f. 102b–3, or No. 204. 3.

«father». Bu-ston's comment on «mother» as «generating the world, or beneficial» shows «mother» as the same for all; and the comment on «father» as « generating the sons of the Buddhas, or protecting the sentient beings» shows «father» as the cause of diverse lineages and as protecting the diverse classes of sentient beings.[14]

3. Sample from the *Pradīpoddyotana* glosses

Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357–1419), founder of the Gelugpa sect of Tibetan Buddhism, has a profuse and thorough annotation of the *Pradīpoddyotana* commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*. This treatment was indicated because the *Pradīpoddyotana* leaves many obscure expressions of the basic tantra unexplained, and itself needs much explanation. Before giving the commentary and gloss thereon, it is necessary to present the spot of the basic tantra, namely Chap. XV, verses 110–113 (in Matsunaga's edition, verses 112–115), headed by the *mantras* Jinajik, Ārolik, Vajradhṛk.[15] The first of these verses needs correction of the Sanskrit version. I made the corrections to better fit the Tibetan rendition by using Sanskrit variants in the footnotes of the Sanskrit edition and by consulting Celu-pā's commentary on the *Guhyasamāja*, which is closer to the basic text in a literal sense than is the *Pradīpoddyotana* on which Tsoṅ-kha-pa has his *Mchan 'grel*. Given this corrected verse,[16] I now translate the four verses together with some parenthetical expansion from the Celu-pā commentary:[17]

110. Whatever the wished-for syllable-phrase (i.e. whether Jinajik, Ārolik, or Vajradhṛk) it achieves the merit-quality (*guṇa*) (i.e. the expected results) by devotion. One should contemplate a comparable image (*bimba*) (of Vairocana, etc., going with the chosen syllable-phrase) by calling forth the diamond of illness (*vyādhivajra*).
111. One should imagine issuing from the places of one's own body, speech, and mind, a compact (*samaya*) image of a monkey, or else of a dog.
112. Remaining in the rank of diamond (i.e. identification with the deity of the chosen syllable-phrase), one imagines a discus (*cakra*) or a thunderbolt (*vajra*) (in

[14] This discussion of «mother» and «father» is based on the opening folios of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's Bodhisattva section in the *Lam rim chen mo;* I have made a draft translation of this section.

[15] For the *Guhyasamājatantra*, Sanskrit, there is the edition by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Oriental Institute, Baroda, reprinted 1967; S. Bagchi, Darbhanga 1965; Yūkei Matsunaga, *Journal of Koyosan University*, No. 10, further corrected edition, Osaka 1978.

[16] Verse XV, 110 as corrected reads: *yad evākṣarapadam iṣṭaṃ bhaved bhaktiguṇāvaham | bhāvayet tādṛśaṃ bimbaṃ vyādhivajrapracodanaiḥ ||*

[17] Celu-pā's commentary, *Ratnavṛkṣa-nāma-rahasya-samāja-vṛtti*, *PTT*, Vol. 63, p. 215–5.

hand), and contemplates that it smashes to bits the symbol (*samaya*) of body, speech, or mind.

113. Starting from then, the Complete Buddhas, the Boddhisattvas of great fame, their eyes ecstatic, confer the joyful rank of empowering (*adhisthānapada*).

The idea is that under meditative circumstances — not spelled out in the *Guhyasamāja* — the performer is supposed to imagine that a deep-seated, intractable illness, accordingly called «diamond of illness,» is objectified in front in the form of a monkey or a dog. Celu-pā says the dog is three-legged, and he adds a «naked hungry-ghost (*preta*)» (*yi dvags gcer bu*).[18] So does Vitapāda[19] who, like Celu-pā, writes *Guhyasamājatantra* commentary in the lineage of Buddhajñānapāda.[20]. Then the performer, identified with one or other of the three Buddhas (Vairocana, Amitābha, or Akṣobhya) going with those *mantras*, Jinajik, etc. imagines that with a circular weapon called *cakra*[21] or with a thunderbolt (*vajra*) he smashes the image to bits; and supposedly that ends the deep-seated illness. The onlooking Buddhas take notice of the remarkable success and adopt this performer for empowerment.

Apparently the commentators are supposed to distinguish between «inner» and «outer» illness, since both the *Pradīpoddyotana* and Celu-pā so distinguish and do so at variance with one another.[22] Then the discussion turns to the cure. It is here that I shall use a part of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Mchan 'grel* in the Tashilunpo edition of the Collected Works. In the sample the *Pradīpoddyotana* portion is in full capital letters, while the gloss is given in lower-case letters.[23]

| sṅags DE DAṄ RJES SU MTHUN PA'I GZUGS NI LHA'I SKU BSGOM ŹIṄ BSAM PAR BYA'O | rdo rje gsum gaṅ ruṅ gi tiṅ ṅe 'dsin gñis sṅon du bya ba la | las

[18] Celu-pā, *PTT*, Vol. 63, p. 215–5–5.

[19] Vitapāda's commentary, *Śrī-guhyasamāja-sādhana-siddhi-saṃbhava-nidhi-nāma*, *PTT*, Vol. 65, p. 243–4–8 to –5–1.

[20] There are two lineages of *Guhyasamāja*, called «Ārya»–the tantric works by Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti (who are not the Mādhyamika authors), and «Jñānapāda» — the works of Buddhajñānapāda, Celu-pā, and others.

[21] For the *cakra* as a weapon, see W. E. Begley, *Viṣṇu's Flaming Wheel: the Iconography of the Sudarśana-Cakra*, New York 1973, chap. I, *The Cakra as a Fabled Weapon*, pp. 7–22.

[22] In Candrakīrti's *Pradīpoddyotana* (Mchan 'grel edition), *PTT* (extra volumes), Vol. 158, commentary on Chap. XV, p. 130-2-4, 5, the outer kind seems to be accidental or adventitious, due to external agencies; the inner seems to be due to the three *doṣa* (humors) of Indian medicine, food that does not agree with one, etc. According to Celu-pā, *PTT*, Vol. 63, p. 215-5-2, the outer illness arises from the (four) elements, the inner from *karma* (one's past and present acts).

[23] Tsoṅ-kha-pa, *Mchan 'grel* on the *Pradīpoddyotana* (Tibetan version), Collected Works (Tashilunpo edition), Vol. Nga, f. 409b–2, ff.

sbyor gyi dus su JI LTAR bya ŹE NA | raṅ gi thugs ka'i tiṅ ṅe 'dsin sems dpa'i mtha' daṅ | bsgrub bya'i lte bar sṅags gsum gaṅ ruṅ 'od zer 'bar ba daṅ bcas pa bsams la | DAM TSHIG SPRE'U DAṄ 'DRA BA'AM ŹES

dam tshig gi skad dod sa-ma-ya'i sgra la ṅes tshig gis bśad na bde 'das te nad do | BYA BA STE | NAD SPRE'U DAṄ 'DRA BA'AM | YAṄ NA KHYI LAS BYUṄ BA'AṄ RUṄ | ŹES BYA BA STE | KHYI DAṄ 'DRA BA'O | DE LTA BU'I GZUGS CAN GYI NAD de | nad pa | RAṄ GI LUS DAṄ ṄAG SEMS LA GNAS LAS ŹES PA STE | LUS DAṄ ṄAG DAṄ SEMS LA KUN TU BRTEN NAS GNAS PA de sñiṅ gar yi ge kaṃ nag po'i rnam par bsdus par bsam mo | de nas lte ba'i sṅags kyi 'od zer gyis gyen du bdas pas sṅags sñiṅ gar phyin pa na | tshogs gñis rdsogs pa'i ye śes kyi me'i raṅ bźin śin tu dkar bar gyur te | de'i tshe yi ge kaṃ yaṅ sna'i rtse mor byuṅ ste sdig pa'i 'o bo kaṃ de gnag ciṅ mi sdug pa'i spre'u 'am | khyi daṅ 'dra ba'am | gnag ciṅ mi sdug pa'i yi dvags kyi gzugs su gyur nas STE | BYUṄ BA DAG TU RNAM PAR BSAM ŹES BYA BA NI BSGRUB PAR BYA BA'I LUS LAS BYUṄ BAR RNAM PAR BRTAG CIṄ BSGOM PAR BYA'O | DE NAS śin tu skrag ciṅ riṅ ba'i gzugs su mdun nas gnas pa la sṅags gsum po gaṅ ruṅ la | sdig pa thams cad choms śig hūṃ | źes pa'i spel tshig daṅ bcas pa brjod ciṅ 'KHOR LO 'AM RDO RJE KHA GYES PA RDO RJE'I GO 'PHAṄ STE | LAG PA G'YAS PAR GNAS PAR BSGOMS LA | DE 'PHAṄS PAS LUS DAṄ ṄAG SEMS DAM TSHIG RNAMS TE | LUS LA SOGS PA LA GNOD PAR BYED PA'I NAD PHYE MAR BRLAG CIṄ THAL BAR GYUR PAR BSGOM PAR BYA'O |

My translation will combine the *Pradīpoddyotana* and Tsoṅ-kha-pa's gloss to make a running account:

> One should creatively contemplate and then meditate upon a divine body whose form is consistent with that (*mantra*). Having preceded with the two *samādhis* going with the one of the three *vajras* [i.e. Buddhas] that is the case, at the time of exercising the *karma* [i.e. the third *samādhi*], how is it (to be done)? One imagines the Samādhisattva in one's own heart, and then that the *mantra* at the navel, accomplished among the possible three, is accompanied by light rays. As to the term «*dam tshig*» it renders the Sanskrit *samaya;*[24] and «illness» (*vyādhi*) is explained by etymology as «out of health». The text says, «like a compact monkey»; «the illness like a monkey, or else of a dog,» i.e. like a dog,

[24] Tsoṅ-kha-pa is forced to give the Sanskrit original of *dam tshig* because this Tibetan expression is the standard equivalent to *samaya* but in Tibetan means «pledge» which is not the usage of the word *samaya* in the present context. It here has a meaning close to the literal meaning of sam- i, i.e. «to come together,» in the present context, to coalesce, thus, to become compact—said of the monkey form, etc. imagined in front of the performer. The *samaya* is here the compact symbol of the illness.

that is, the illness in such-like form, [that illness] based on, dwelling in body, speech, or mind. One imagines it condensed in the image of a black syllable KAṂ in the heart. Then the light rays of the *mantra* of the navel impelling it upwards, the *mantra* reaches the heart. As the wisdom fire-nature of the complete two collections [i.e. of merit and knowledge], it is completely white. At that time, the syllable KAṂ is at the tip of the nose; and that KAṂ of polluted nature changes into the form of a black, ugly monkey or dog; or black, ugly hungry ghost. As to the text. «One imagines the appearances,» one should consider intently and contemplate the evocation which has exited from the body. Thereupon, given that the very fearful and durable form stays in front, and there is the particular one of the three *mantras* as appropriate, one pronounces it with the additional words, «Smash all the pollution, HŪṂ» one imagines being in the rank of *vajra*, whether with a discuss or with a thunderbolt of gaping mouth (*karālavajra*) held in the right hand. One imagines that hurling it one smashes to bits and destroys the harmful illness in body, and so on, i.e. the symbols (*samaya*) of body, speech, and mind.

The annotation requires further explanation. The remark about two *samādhis* refers to the preliminary rite (*prathama-prayoga*) and the «triumphant *maṇḍala*» (*vijaya-maṇḍala*), to which a third one called «ritual victory» (*karmavijaya*) is added to make the three *samādhis* of the «stage of generation» (*utpatti-krama*).[25] Then Tsoṅ-kha-pa shows this third *samādhi* phase and that two kinds of *mantras* have to be employed. The first kind is one of the three, Jinajik, Ārolik, Vajradhṛk, going with the three Buddhas. The yogin is affiliated for these purposes with one of the three and uses the corresponding one of the three *mantras*. The preceding *samādhis* resulted in establishing a so-called «*samādhisattva*» in the heart, while the present *samādhi* puts one of those three *mantras* at the navel. Besides, one imagines the illness is condensed into a black KAṂ-syllable in the heart, a second thing in the heart. One imagines that the white *mantra* at the navel has light rays, and while moving toward the heart pushes out the black KAṂ-syllable up to the tip of the nose. From there the KAṂ-syllable, still constituting the illness, moves in front of the performer in the form of a monkey or dog, so the *Guhyasamājatantra* repeated by *Pradīpoddyotana*, but Tsoṅ-kha-pa adds the similarly fiercesome or repulsive hungry ghost (*preta*) according to the alternate lineage of the *Guhyasamāja*.[26] Still

[25] For the three *samādhis*, cf. Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, *Mkhas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*, The Hague 1968, p. 223, Note 19.

[26] The third outer representation of the illness may have been added because the *Guhyasamājatantra*, XV, 111, 112, refers to body, speech, and mind. While not saying it explicity, there is the suggestion that the monkey goes with mind and the naked hungry ghost with body, leaving the three-legged dog to go with speech.

identified with one of the three Buddhas, one pronounces the particular *mantra* while imagining a destructive weapon held in the right hand and that this weapon smashes the image to bits and so also the illness. The syllable KAṂ possibly represents the Sanskrit word *kaṣāya* («degradation», «pollution»), since the Tibetan word *sdig pa* (usually «sin») sometimes renders *kaṣāya*,[27] so I translated it here by «pollution».

4. A gloss on the *Lam rim chen mo*

In a previous publication I have described the set of annotation commentaries on Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo*.[28] For the place here picked, a passage based on the *Vinaya* (disciplinary code), I shall mention some limitations of such commentary as well as the degree to which it was helpful. It is a story claiming to portray the original circumstances around the Wheel of Life—frequently depicted on Tibetan banners (*taṅka*). The *Lam rim chen mo* begins this passage by the words, *'dul ba luṅ las*, appearing to cite the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*. However, the passage is actually a reduction into more native Tibetan of the story in the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga* treatment of the 31st Pātayantikā, the minor sin called «continual eating» (*paraṃpara-bhojanam*), treating the abnormal craving for alms.[29] The *Lam rim chen mo* annotation on this story does not trace the source or warn that it is a paraphrase. There is not much gloss within the passage, but at the very end a rather lengthy gloss about the King who figures in the story. However, the glosses on two terms *lhan cig gnas pa* (Sanskrit: *sārdham-vihārika*) and *ñe gnas* (Skt.: *ante-vāsin*) disagree with the explanations in Franklin Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. He explains the first term as a «resident monk», meaning one undergoing training; and the second term as «pupil». However, the gloss on the first one is *khaṅ pa gcig tu* («in the same residence»), and on the second one, *khaṅ pa so sor ñe bar gnas pa'i* («dwelling in various near-by residences»). Thus, it is not a case of monks and pupils, but of monks in a single residence or in neighboring residences. There is also a gloss on the words *dran pa phyogs par* (seemingly, «directed to mindfulness») of the passage, clarifying that «direction» means «directed away from bad directions»

[27] So in the Buddhist Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti*, No. 2423 in the Sakaki edition.

[28] Alex Wayman, tr., *Calming the Mind and Discerning the Real; Buddhist Meditation and the Middle View*, from the *Lam rim chen mo* of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, New York 1978, p. 70.

[29] *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*, *PTT*, Vol. 43, pp. 72–4, 5 and 73–1, 2. The Chinese commentary on the Pāli Vinaya, published in translation by P. V. Bapat and A. Hirakawa, *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha*, Poona, 1970, omits (p. 467) a treatment for the 31st minor sin, called in Pāli, Pācittiya. However, the 32nd Pācittiya, beginning p. 467, is devoted to various minor sins of food, and there is no mention of the «Wheel of Life».

(*nag po'i phyogs thams cad las phyir phyogs śiṅ*) and that passage's words mean «mindfulness facing good natures» (*dran pa dkar po'i chos la mṅon par phyogs par*). Given these glosses, the account from the *Lam rim chen mo* is here given in transcription from the Tibetan followed by my translation:[30]

|*'dul ba luṅ las | mchog zuṅ gcig gi kun spyod ni dus dus su 'gro ba lṅar rgyu ba yin pas | de dag brgyus nas 'dsam bu'i gliṅ du gśegs te | 'khor bźi po la de dag gi sdug bsṅal rnams brjod par mdsad do | gaṅ la la'i lhan cig gnas pa daṅ ñe gnas tshaṅs spyod la mi dga' ba de dag des khrid de mchog zuṅ gcig 'doms su 'chol bar byed ciṅ | de gñis kyaṅ de dag la 'doms so | gdams pa na tshaṅs spyod la dga' ziṅ goṅ du khyad par yaṅ rtogs par byed do | de ston pas gzigs nas | kun dga' bo la dris pas rgyu mtshan rnams gsol ba daṅ | thams cad du mchog zuṅ gcig lta bu dag mi 'byuṅ pas sgo khaṅ du 'khor ba'i 'khor lo cha lṅa pa khor yug tu rten 'brel bcu gñis lugs 'byuṅ daṅ lugs ldog kyaṅ bris śig gsuṅ nas de nas srid pa'i 'khor lo bris pa daṅ | rgyal po u-tra-ya-na la bris sku bskur ba na | 'og tu rten 'brel bcu gñis lugs 'byuṅ daṅ lugs ldog bris nas bskur ba rgyal pos bzuṅ nas | nam laṅs pa'i tshe skyil mo kruṅ bcas te lus draṅ por dran pa phyogs par bźag ste | rten 'brel gyi tshul gñis la rnam par bltas pas 'phags pa'i go 'phaṅ thob par gsuṅs so |*

The Vinaya Scripture states that it was a habit of the best pair (i.e. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana) to wander in the five destinies time after time. They in the course of time arrived in Jambudvīpa (i.e. our continent) and communicated the sufferings of those (five destinies) to the four kinds of followers (i.e. male and female laymen, monks and nuns). Some of the monks in their same residence and in neighboring residences were taking no pleasure in the pure life. So the best pair guided them, entrusting the precepts, and thus the pair instructed them. Being counselled, those (monks) took pleasure in the pure life and understood the entrance into the stream and higher degrees. When the Teacher observed that, he questioned Ānanda, who asked him for the causes; (and said), «There will not always arise the like of the best pair. Therefore, you should draw in a square with gates, the wheel of *saṃsāra* with five sections and the twelve members of dependent origination, in the direct and the reverse order, within the border.» Accordingly, he drew the wheel of phenomenal life (*bhavacakra*); and to present (such a) pictorial representation to King Udrāyaṇa, he subsequently drew (again) the twelve-membered dependent origination in direct and reverse order and presented it. The King accepted it, and at daybreak sat crosslegged with his body straight and with mindfulness directed (to good natures). Observing the two rules of dependent origination, he attained the rank of the noble ones.

[30] *Lam rim chen mo* (Tashilunpo ed.), f. 154b–4 to 155a–3; *Mchan 'grel* edition of *Lam rim chen mo*, Vol. I, f. 231a–6, ff.

The annotation did not comment upon the «best pair» (*mchog zuṅ gcig*), which I know to mean the two chief disciples of the Buddha from the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga* in the Tibetan Kanjur.[31] The annotation does present a story at the end of this account, of when King Bimbisāra and King Udrāyaṇa used to exchange letters,[32] and when a certain exchange led to the circumstance of presenting a pictorial representation of the Wheel of Life to King Udrāyaṇa. Historically, King Bimbisāra had cordial relations with King Prasenajit (Pāli: Pasenadi), and the latter king had as a wife a sister of King Bimbisāra.[33] So perhaps this name Udrāyaṇa is an alternate one for Prasenajit.

Concluding considerations

The foregoing materials permit some comparison between these kinds of interlinear glosses. The work by Abhayākaragupta in the Mādhyamika section of the Tanjur bears some similarity to certain modern translations. I think especially of Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, his Vol. II (*Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature*), where the translation from the original German into English afforded an opportunity for the author to revise his work, mainly to add remarks to take account of new findings in these topics, even to add an appendix.[34] At the time Abhayākaragupta's work was put into the Tibetan language, such a learned survey of Buddhist theory was unique in the Tibetan scene. The author further brought out his Mahāyāna position by numerous citations of such passages and other annotations, demonstrating his enormous learning that is shown as well by certain other encyclopedic works from his hand.[35]

The purpose of the Bu-ston and Tsoṅ-kha-pa annotations was quite different. It was a kind of integration of oral with written literary traditions. Both of these savants had to know their respective systems, Bu-ston the whole *Kālacakra* and Tsoṅ-kha-pa the whole *Guhyasamāja*. Bu-ston then followed a style of supplement-

[31] The story was taken from the Vinaya and made into a narrative called *Sahasodgatāvadāna*, included as story 21 in the *Divyāvadāna*, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1939. However, this version drops Śāriputra and glorifies only Maudgalyāyana. This is reminiscent of the Mahāsānghika sect's *Mahāvastu*, which after the prologue starts with Maudgalyāyana in a leading role. See The *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, tr. by J. J. Jones, London 1949, pp. 6–52, where Maudgalyāyana is credited with visiting the various worlds and classes of beings, the gods as well as the hell-beings.

[32] Thus the *Mchan 'grel* of *Lam rim chen mo*, Vol. I, f. 231b–5, begins: | *rgyal po gzugs can sñiṅ po daṅ rgyal po u-tra-ya-na gñis 'phrin yig bskur res byed pa'i grogs po yin pa la* |.

[33] Cf. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. II, London 1960, p. 170, Note 14.

[34] Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, University of Calcutta 1933.

[35] In illustration, there is his *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, which was edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Baroda 1949; his huge commentary called *Āmnāya-mañjari* on the *Śrī-Saṃpuṭa-tantra*, and others.

ing, supplying more information at a given place than the *Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* themselves gave, without necessarily implicating in his annotation other places in the Tantra. Tsoṅ-kha-pa followed a style of bringing in data from elsewhere in the Tantra and commentarial exegesis, thus to elucidate the meaning or the practice in the light of the Tantra according to the *Pradīpoddyotana* and according to his own school.[36] This is why Tsoṅ-kha-pa tends to have more interlineary commentary than does Bu-ston. Both the Bu-ston and Tsoṅ-kha-pa works of *mchan 'grel* indicate a native maturity, a kind of claiming these practices in Tibet with places where disciples had resourceful guides, in short the transfer of the tantric lineages.

The annotations to Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo* are again of different nature, but are similar in a way to those on the Abhayākaragupta work. The latter, his own work, can give more information in a consistent and even manner. However, in the case of the *Lam rim chen mo*, which is a native Tibetan work studded with quotations or paraphrases from the canon, the annotations by later followers are meant to clarify this or that point. Therefore, the glosses may be absent for a stretch of the basic text, and then at some place, such as a difficult verse, there may be a flurry of annotation. The *Lam rim* annotation therefore reveals the kind of questions which followers of this Gelugpa school would have. That is presumably why frequently it does not clarify problems that a Westerner might have on these passages.

Also, when one observes the topics treated in the foregoing samples, whether it be a kind of Mādhyamika doctrine, the *Kālacakra-tantra*, the medical theory in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, or a Vinaya story, one should recall that Csoma de Kőrös long ago had ranged in all these and other topics of Tibetan lore. One had to be an adventurer in his day to utilize such works. Nowadays the Tibetan canons are widely distributed and accessible, and there are machines for duplicating texts. But one thing has not changed: the texts may be on hand, but that does not mean they are read and understood. So that spirit represented by Csoma de Kőrös is still essential in order to get withing the text. That must be the meaning of the annotation commentary, the *mchan 'grel*, as though to say, «Let us try once again to penetrate the text.»

[36] Since this conclusion involves considerations outside of the annotation sample itself, I should mention it is made pursuant to my findings when writing the book *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*, Delhi 1977, for which I much utilized Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Mchan 'grel* on the *Pradīpoddyotana*.

NOTES ON POPULAR ŚAIVISM AND TANTRA IN ELEVENTH CENTURY KASHMIR (A STUDY ON KṢEMENDRA'S *SAMAYAMĀTṚKĀ*)

BY

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Sammoha Tantra mentions Kashmir as one of the principal regions where *Tantras* had a strong school. The origins are not known, but we can follow the early development of the *Āgamas (Śiva Tantras)*. Two channels can be ascertained: one exoteric and one esoteric. The first was continued as pure *Śaivism* and included the worship of *Śiva-Paśupati*, the latter was continued as *Śaktism*. By the tenth century A. D., *Tantra* proper became *Śaktic* in character.[1] *Śaivism* and *Tantra* in eleventh century Kashmir present a delicate subject for research. *Śaivism* exercised a considerable impact on *Tantra* as well as Buddhism. From Tibetan sources it is learnt that some Kashmirian *Śaivite* texts were translated into Tibetan. These are philosophical works.[2] In other words, these texts bear on philosophy and *Śaivite* theology. But what about the popular religion, and everyday practice?

Dr. K. Mohan draws our attention to a peculiar phenomenon in medieval Kashmir. On account of Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā* she says that «the class of Tantric gurus who used religion as a cover for sin, spent the night with prostitutes and during the day posed before the world as high spiritual authorities.»[3] We shall see how far her statement goes. *Samayamātṛkā* (perhaps: *Mother by Convention*) is a satyrical poem with didactic intention.[4] As a verse of its epilogue

[1] K. Mohan, *Early Medieval History of Kashmir*, New Delhi 1981, p. 284; for a general study of the history of *Śaivism* in Kashmir see S. Ch. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, New Delhi 1970, pp. 168–174; a still valuable work on *Śaiva* philosophy is J. C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Śaivism*, Srinagar 1911.

[2] P. N. K. Bamzai, *Kashmir and Central Asia*, New Delhi–Jamnu–Trivandrum 1980, p. 183; about the literature on philosophy in Kashmir see S. Ch. Banerji, *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir*, Calcutta 1965, pp. 106–133.

[3] K. Mohan, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

[4] A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, New Delhi 1973, pp. 237–38; scholars sharply differ in translating the title. cf. J. J. Meyer, *Das Zauberbuch der Hetären*, Leipzig 1903, the only full translation of the text; Meyer's title was criticized by M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* Vol. II. Part. I., Delhi–Patna–Varanasi 1963, p. 196, Note 3; Moti Chandra, *The World of Courtesans*, New Delhi 1976², p. 247: *The Breviary of a Bawd;* less probable: И. Д. Серебряков, *Литературный процесс в Индии* VII—XIII. *века* Москва 1979 p. 108: *Таблица времени*. As to the didactic purpose, Kṣemendra himself says: *kṣemendreṇa subhāṣitaṁ kṛtamidaṁ satpakṣarakṣākṣamam* or: «Kṣemendra composed this poem that is able to protect the good party.» (*Upasaṁhāra* verse 4, line 4.) cf. L. Sternbach, *Unknown Verses Attributed to Kṣemendra*, Lucknow 1979, p. 7.

remarks it was composed by Kṣemendra in 1050 A. D.[5] *Samayamātṛkā* is an outstanding and very reliable source of information about the ancient topography and society of Kashmir.[6] Kṣemendra was a polymath writer and keen-witted person who utilized his deep knowledge and personal experience in religious affairs. He was born as a *Śaivite*, but later he turned to *Vaiṣṇavism*. He was also quite familiar with Buddhism and authored the *Avadānakalpalatā* an anthology of Buddhist legends.[7] Let us analyse the verses of *Samayamātṛkā* bearing on the questions under investigation.

I.2. *Kālī* is addressed in this invocation. She is the destroyer of the universe *(Viśvakṣayā)*, her hoary age is not known *(ajñātaviśālakālā)*.

II.19. The word *vaśīkaraṇacūrṇa* carries the implication of magic power to bewitch a person. *Vaśīkaraṇa* pertains to *Tantric* magic.[8]

II.3. The compound *Bhavabhairavī* is translatable as «*Bhairavī* of *Bhava*» that is «*Bhairavī* of *Śiva*» in other words *Śiva*'s wife *Pārvatī* or *Durgā* in her dreadful aspect. In the *Tantra Bhairavī* is one of the aspects of the Primal *Śakti* or kinetic aspect of the Ultimate Principle.[9]

II.19. The temple of *Gaurī* «The Bright One» shows the popularity of *Śaktism*. *Gaurī* is an outward form of the Primal *Śakti*. This aspect of the goddess *(Devī)* is connected with vegetation.[10] Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* pays devotion to Lord *Śiva* and *Gaurī* in the opening

[5] Kṣemendra himself dates his work in the *Upasaṁhāra* verse 2. cf. *Minor Works of Kṣemendra*. ed. by E. V. V. Raghavacharya and D. G. Padhye, Hyderabad 1961, p. 1. The text was originally printed in the *Kāvyāmālā* series by Durgā Prasād and K. P. Parab, Bombay 1888, and reprinted in: *Minor works of Kṣemendra* pp. 349–416; another useful edition: *Samayamātṛkā of Mahākavi Kṣemendra*. Ed. with the Prakāśa Hindi Commentary and Notes by R. S. Tripathi, Varanasi 1967; the only good translation is that of J. J. Meyer *op. cit.*; an English adaptation is based on Meyer's German version: *The Harlot's Breviary* by E. Powys Mathers (London 1927); an incomplete French version based on the German translation is: *Le brevière de la courtisane*, in: *Le livre des amours de l'Orient*, Paris 1920. The critical edition of the text and the complete English translation with notes would be very important.

[6] *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Transl. with introduction by M. A. Stein, Volume II, Westminster 1900, p. 375 and S. Ch. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[7] *Minor Works of Kṣemendra* pp. 2–3. and S. Ch. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[8] A. Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*, London 1975⁴, p. 156; a quite recent Hindi book which deals with magic contains a chapter on *vaśīkaraṇa*. cf. *Asālī Baṛā Indrajāl* Saṁpādak S. Simha, S. Santa, Dilli (date of publication is not mentioned), Hindi Pustak Bhaṇḍār. pp. 49–88.

[9] A. Mookerji–M. Khanna, *The Tantric Way*, Boston 1977, p. 190 and p. 199.

[10] S. Bhattacharji, *The Indian Theogony*, Calcutta 1978, p. 162.

verse of each chapter. Queen *Sūryamatī* a member of the *Lohara* dynasty (after 1003 A. D.) founded a temple consecrated to *Śiva Gaurīśvara* (the Lord of *Gaurī*).[11] *Nandisoma* as a proper name relates to a *Śaivite*.[12]

II.43. The word *śāktamaṭha* indicates a cloister of *Śāktas*. *Śāktas* compose a sect of *Śaivas*. They worship the female energy, *Śakti*. For practical purposes *Śākta* practice may be regarded as the worship of *Durgā* or *Kālī*, *Śiva*'s wife.[13] *Maṭhas* were the seats of learning and colleges for young *brāhmaṇas* in medieval times. *Maṭhas* usually have an endowment of land and are connected with a temple. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions the construction of a shrine of *Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva* along with a *maṭha* in the eleventh century A. D.[14] *Maṭhas* gave shelter to various people, even those who were persecuted by the king[15] or by society. Our heroine *Kaṅkālī* also hides in this *maṭha* of *Śāktas*. *Tantra* in Kashmir and other parts of India was absolutely democratic concerning the social background of the worshippers.[16]

II.58. *Śikhā* is a female ascetic, *Bhairavasoma* is a man practising asceticism. According to their names they seem to be *Śaivite* mendicants. The dreadful aspect of *Śiva (Śiva Bhairava)* is well-known from *Tantric* literature as well as from archaeological remains. *Tantric* texts entitled *Vijñāna Bhairava*, *Ānanda Bhairava* and others, and the figure of *Śiva Bhairava* at the temple of Payer fairly illustrate the strong prevalence of his worship and importance.[17] *Śikhā-Kaṅkālī* the female ascetic is also a prostitute: asceticism and eroticism do not conflict in her personality. These two extremes are complimentary in *Śiva* himself. *Pārvatī* gains *Śiva*'s love by asceticism.[18]

[11] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* VII, 180. cf. S. Ch. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 208 and p. 171.

[12] *Nandi* is *Śiva*'s bull. cf. J. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature*. Indian reprint, New Delhi 1978, p. 217.

[13] Cf. K. Mohan, *op. cit.*, p. 286 ff. and E. J. Thompson–A. M. Spencer, *Bengali Religious Lyrics, Śākta*, London 1923, pp. 12–13.

[14] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* VIII, 3354; As to donating fields to *maṭhas*, etc. cf. D. N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas. Two Lost Śaivite Sects*, New Delhi 1972, p. 117 ff.

[15] Cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* VIII, 2308.

[16] Cf. J. Woodroffe, *Principles of Tantra*, Part I., Madras 1978[5], p. 77.

[17] S. Ch. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[18] W. D. O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, First Indian Impression, Delhi 1975, especially p. 11, p. 26 and p. 219.

II.61. *Kṛtyāśramaka vihāra* «the settlement of witches» is recorded by other Sanskrit and foreign accounts on Kashmir. Sir Aurel Stein fixed the geographical position of the place in modern Kashmir.[19] *Kaṅkālī* bears the name *Vajraghaṇṭikā* this time. Her name means «One who has a bell with a thunderbolt».[20] This is a diminutive form of the compound *vajraghaṇṭā* a familiar term in *Mahāyāna*. *Vajraghaṇṭā* appears in the *maṇḍala* associated with *Vajratārā*,[21] *Vajragāndhārī*[22] and *Mahāmāyūrī*.[23] Consequently the monastery *(vihāra)* is of the *Tantric* rite, *Kaṅkālī-Vajraghaṇṭikā* is an adept of *Tantra*.

II.63–4. The terms *maṇḍalaśikṣā* (teaching *maṇḍala*) and *mantravāda* (the doctrine of the *mantras*) indicate *Tantric* practices.[24]

II.76. *Kaṅkālī* takes the name *Tārā* and lives from selling cakes in *Ujjayinī*. *Ujjayinī* (modern Ujjain in Central India) was one of the centres of the *Kāpālika* cult. *Śaṅkara* the great philosopher and incarnation of Lord *Śiva* defeated the head of the *Kāpālika* sect in *Ujjayinī*.[25]

II.85. The name *Bhāvasiddhi* also applies to *Tantra*. It means «One who possesses the desired success in the vision of Being».[26] The bearer of this name is the overseer of a temple.

II.86. «The under the pretext of being intoxicated, accompanied herself with dogs appeared naked, became famous under the name *Kumbhādevī* and

[19] M. A. Stein *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 26: «The name *Kṛtyāśrama*, lit. meaning 'the abode of the witch' *(kṛtyā)* survives in the present village of *Kiṣ*hōm*, situated near the left bank of the *Vitastā*, about five miles below *Varāhamūla (Bārāmūla)* and circ. 74° 20′ 30″ long. 38° 10′ 40″ lat. cf. also M. A. Stein, *Notes on Ou-k'ong's Account of Kaçmir*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie Philos.-Hist. Classe*, Bd. 135 (1896), p. 13 ff.

[20] M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Oxford 1960², p. 913 cols 1–2 *(vajra)* and *ibid.* p. 375 col. 3. *(ghaṇṭā)*.

[21] W. Kirfel, *Symbolik des Buddhismus*, Stuttgart 1959, pp. 102–103.

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

[23] *Op. cit.*, pp. 111–112.

[24] R. S. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, commentary on the verse, the word *maṇḍala* as *divya*; J. J. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 20 gives the meaning *Zauberkreis*; I would therefore translate it as «magical circle». *Mantravāda* is «magic art» according to M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 786 col. 2. There is another possibility, namely I would take it for «the doctrine of the *mantras*». An exhaustive study of *mantra* is given in: A. Bharati, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–163. with literature.

[25] D. N. Lorenzen, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[26] Cf. A. Bharati, *op. cit.*, p. 55 and p. 67.

received the worship of people.» R. S. Tripathi explains *Kaṅkālī*'s appearance for the behaviour of *Kāpālikas*.[27] The word *kumbhā* means «hell» in Buddhism.[28] Hell *(pātāla)* is mentioned by Kṣemendra.[29] People want to get the magic power called *bilasiddhi* in order to enter hell and meet the beautiful girls living there.[30] The dogs accompanying *Kumbhādevī-Kaṅkālī* remind us of the dogs of *Yama* the king of hell.[31] There is also a different interpretation. *Kumbhā* also means «harlot».[32] So *Kumbhādevī* means «the goddess of harlots». Without further evidence it is difficult to know whether Kṣemendra kept in mind this or the first implication.

II.89. The intoxicated ascetic *Kaṭigaṇṭha* by name is likely to be a follower of *Tantra*.[33]

II.96. *Kaṅkālī* promises that she will paralyse the army of the enemy by magic power. Chinese texts speak of the role of *Tantras* in the defence of the country.[34]

II.99 *Kaṅkālī* sells *rudrākṣa*. This berry-like fruit is sacred to *Śiva*.[35] *Śaivite* monks bear garlands made of it.

II.103. *Kaṅkālī* possesses secret powers arising from a knowledge of alchemy *(dhātuvāda)*. This knowledge is a common property of the *Kāpālikas*.[36]

[27] R. S. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, commentary on the verse.

[28] M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 293 col. 1.

[29] *Samayamātṛkā*, II. 100.

[30] Cf. J. Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[31] J. Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 282; W. Kirfel, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jinismus*, Stuttgart 1959, p. 56.

[32] M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 293 col. 1. A nude *Śaivite* woman saint appeared recently in south India, cf. *The Statesman*, 21st December 1982.

[33] J. J. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Note 2 cites W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk Lore in Northern India*, London 1896, I, 108; «The Patari priest of Mirzapur and many classes of ascetics throughout the country carry bells or rattles made of iron — a powerful demon fetish — to scare demons.» In the daily worship of *Smārtas ghaṇṭā* is used with a mantra which invites the gods and expels the demons. cf. W. Kirfel, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jinismus*, Stuttgart 1959, p. 110.

[34] Lokesh Chandra, *The Role of Tantras in the Defence Strategy of T'ang China*, Mimeo. p. 4.

[35] Cf. A. Bharati, *op. cit.*, . 256; for a botanical, etc., description cf. P. V. Sharma, *Fruits and Vegetables in Ancient India*, Varanasi-Delhi 1979, p. 5.

[36] Cf. D. N. Lorenzen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

II.104. There are some ethnic names. *Turuṣkāḥ* may have referred to the Turks or Muslims;[37] *Cīnāḥ* were the inhabitants of the territory of *Cīna*. The implication of this name changed in historical times and varies according to different sources.[38] In the light of the *Tantric* texts, A. Bharati says: «the name covers the entire region to the north of the Himālayas, Tibet, and at least parts of Mongolia and western China.»[39] *Aṅga, Vaṅga* and *Gauḍa* definitely indicate the different parts of modern *Bengal*. These names demark a region where *Tantra* flourished. These are the territories where the envoys of Kashmirian culture found their way.[40] People from these territories came to Kashmir and stayed there, even *Samayamātṛkā* III. 26 mentions a barbarian singer *(mlecchagāyana)* in Kashmir.[41] *Kaṅkālī* used to travel to different places and countries and mislead the customs officials. (*Samayamātṛkā* II, 102.)

IV.8. The word *khaṭvāṅga* purports a staff with a skull at the top. It is considered as the weapon of *Śiva* and was carried by ascetics and *yogins*. A story of the Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* contains a story about the wicked *Kāpālika* ascetic who used to carry his *khaṭvāṅga* on his shoulders and utilised the magic power of the staff to carry off the wife of a *brāhmaṇa*. When the husband threw the *khaṭvāṅga* into the Ganges, the magic power disappeared and the *Kāpālika* became powerless.[42] The *Pāśupata* ascetic in the *Samayamātṛkā* made his great vow *(mahāvrata)* to achieve vehement desire *(rāga)*. J. J. Meyer correctly states: «*das höchste Ziel der Askese wird spielend in der Liebesorgie erreicht.*»[43] Of course, the verse is itself a riddle and

[37] The name *Turuṣka* had different meanings in different ages. *Rājatarangiṇī* I, 168 calls the *Kuṣāna* kings *Huṣka, Juṣka* and *Kaniṣka Turuṣka*. In the eleventh century A. D., it refers to Muslim Turks. cf. S. Ch. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 69; cf. Y. Mishra, *The Hindu Sahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab. 865–1026, A. D.* Patna 1972, p. 187.

[38] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona 1973², pp. 395–396.

[39] A. Bharati, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[40] S. Ch. Banerji, *A Companion to Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi–Varanasi–Patna 1971, p. 477 *(Aṅga)*; B. C. Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 263–275 *(Vaṅga* and *Gauḍa)*; there was an expansion in the Himālaya region and the northern Indian territory during the *Karkoṭa* dynasty. *Lalitāditya*'s conquests must be looked at with criticism. cf. S. Ch. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 46 f.

[41] *Mlecchа* means «barbarian», in the eleventh century A. D. the term denotes the Muslims. S. Ch. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 71. K. Mohan, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[42] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XVIII, 5.

[43] J. J. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37; The term *mahāvratin* usually denotes *Kāpālikas*. cf. D. N. Lorenzen, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

therefore has another interpretation too: the *Pāśupatas* who long for *Kaṅkālī*'s daughter cannot get her, but use the magic power of the *khaṭvāṅga*. Or: the said ascetics have to spend all their property for the young courtesan and ultimately they become beggars carrying the *khaṭvāṅga*. However, this last meaning is much less plausible.

IV.11. *Bhairava-Śiva* is the dreadful aspect of the deity.[44]

IV.27. *Śiva* with ashes on his body *(bhasmāṅga)* is the archetype of ascetics.[45]

VI.9. *Līlāśiva*, the monk with matted hair, devotes himself to sexual enjoyment and secretly goes back to the monastery in the morning. His name «One who is *Śiva* is an amorous sport» is a clear reference to *Śaiva Tantra*. *Śiva* is the great ascetic and licentious lower.[46]

VI.29 A rouge *Śrīgupta* by name is called the *Mūladeva* (a demon) in the arts of the *Kalī*-age. *Tantra* is the religion of the *Kalī*-age, it is as wrong as the *Kalī*-age itself. Kṣemendra himself criticizes the *gurus* of the *Tantra* in the *Kalī*-age.[47]

VI.30. *Caṇḍaghaṇṭā*[48] and *Caṇḍamuṇḍā*[49] represent the fierce form of *Kālī* or *Durgā*. *Caṇḍamuṇḍā*'s teeth crash the bones of the sacrificial animal.

VII.29. *Vetālikā* means a ghost, goblin, but it is also the name of *Durgā*.[50] The nurse *(dhātrī) Vetālikā* by name is a *Śaivite*. J. J. Meyer goes further and takes the word *kālī* as a substantive. In this case, the word bears a

[44] S. Bhattacharji, *op. cit.*, p. 197 correctly observes: «In northern India *Śiva* became associated with *Buddha* in the *Śākta* and *Tantric* magic cults which spread in China and Tibet.» cf. also W. Kirfel, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jinismus*, Stuttgart 1959, p. 29; as to the construction of a *Bhairava* temple cf. K. Mohan, *op. cit.*, p. 289; *Śiva-Bhairava* pursuing a human being appears at the temple of Payer. cf. S. Ch. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[45] J. J. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 39 note 2. cf. W. D. O'Flaherty, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[46] W. D. O'Flaherty, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

[47] Cf. D. N. Lorenzen, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[48] *Caṇḍaghaṇṭā* means «One who has hot bells», this is a name of *Durgā*. cf. M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 383 col. 1. There is a *Tantric* work in Orissa entitled *Prācīmāhātmya* where this name also occurs cf. N. N. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[49] *Caṇḍamuṇḍā* or *Cāmuṇḍā*. As to the origin of the name cf. J. Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Bhattacharji, *op. cit.*, p. 89 mentions a figure of *Cāmuṇḍā* on a seal (Nalanda seals no 9RIA); N. N. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 124 refers to a sculpture of *Cāmuṇḍā* in the Patna Museum from the 12th century A. D.

[50] M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 1014 col. 3.

reference to a mystical ceremony «*wodurch ein Tantrikanovize eingeführt und worin die Göttin Kālī, wie man glaubt, aus dem Wassertopf in den Leib des Neophyten übergeleitet wird. Jedenfalls hat Kṣemendra, der besonders in diesem Kapitel die Teilnahme an den Liebesmysterien als eine geheimnisreiche, heilige Feier darstellt, so etwas im Sinn.*»[51]

VII.33. *Mahāśakti* the *Pāśupata* ascetic[52] arranges the funeral ceremony for *Kalāvatī*'s father. This passage corroborates the traditional view that *Pāśupatas* were regarded as followers of *Āgamānta Śaivism.*[53]

Epilogue 3. The old *Śabara*-woman is the procuress *Kaṅkālī* herself.[54] The word is a synonym of *kirātī* and means the wife of forest dweller, a tribal woman.[55] The question arises how we can reconciliate the two meanings. The key to the solution lays in the *Tantra. Kādambarī*, a Sanskrit play from the seventh century A. D., gives an account of *Tantric* worship by wild *Śabaras* in the Vindhya forest. D. N. Lorenzen correctly says that the religion of tribesmen was Sanskritized and incorporated into Hinduism. In terms of cultural anthropology, this element of Little tradition became a part of the Great tradition. In the place of the text of the *Samayamātṛkā* the word simply denotes a procuress who is familiar with *Tantra.* Then certain aspects of *Tantra* represent the so-called «alienated-syncretistic tradition».[56]

[51] J. J. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 83. Note 2.

[52] Cf. S. Ch. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 172: «Early Kashmir was of the *Pāśupata* sect.» *Mahāśakti* means «very powerful» and it is the name of *Śiva.* cf. M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 801 col. 1.

[53] S. Ch. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[54] J. J. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 105 note 2.

[55] Cf. D. N. Lorenzen, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[56] *Śabarī* is the name of a goddess belonging to the *Gaurī*-group of deities in *Mahāyāna.* cf. N. N. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 115; there is the term *śabarī* in the *Caryā* songs. There it denotes the Female Principle. *op. cit.*, p. 213. I use the terms «Great tradition» and «Little tradition» as formulated by American anthropologists like R. Redfield, M. Singer and others with the modification added by A. Bharati who extended this classification with a term «alienated-syncretistic tradition» cf. A. Bharati, *Great Tradition and Little Traditions: Indological Investigations in Cultural Anthropology*, Varanasi 1978, p. 240; Of course, M. N. Srinivas' terminology «Sanskritization» and «de-Sanskritization» or «parochialization» can also be used. cf. M. N. Srinivas, *The Cohesive Role of Sanskritization*, in: *India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity. A Symposium.* Ed. by P. Mason, London–New York–Bombay 1967, pp. 67–82.

Conclusion: A very colourful picture of popular *Śaivism* and *Tantra* emerges from Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā*. This form of religiosity is characterised by a high degree of magic and superstition. We learn from Marco Polo, who visited Kashmir two centuries later, that Kashmir was famous for witchcraft.[57]

We have a great deal of information about the influence of the Śaivite philosophy of Kashmir in northern India and beyond the borders, but little knowledge about the mechanism of the spreading of the popular religion. The tentative reconstruction of this side of the religious affairs gives certain clues in the research of Hinduism and the religions influenced by Hinduism in and outside India. Ultimately it brings us closer to a satisfactory explanation of Tantra in India. Kṣemendra in his *Samayamātṛkā* somehow gives a considerable contribution to our knowledge and could serve as the basis of a pilot study on the highly complicated subject.

[57] H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, Vol. I. p. 172 and p. 175 note; Vol. II. p. 41.; *Rājatarangiṇī* IV, 88; 112; 114; 124; 686; V, 239 and numerous text places give an account of malevolent practices. *Samayamātṛkā* IV. 9 contains the debated term *abhicārahuta*. J. J. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 37 takes it for «Frauenkeuschheit» while the editors of the *Minor Works of Kṣemendra* p. 56 put it as «offered for exorcising purpose».

KHUBILAI KHAGHAN'S FIRST VICEROY OF TIBET

BY

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The military establishment of political relations between the Mongols and Tibetans in the 13th century has been the subject of various studies and the history of that period is known generally; although not yet in great detail. The Tibetans who had key roles to play in that historic transformation of their country's fragmented polity are also familiar, particularly members of the 'Khon ruling family of Sa-skya, such as Sa-skya Paṇḍita and his nephew, 'Phags-pa Lama; not to mention his other nephew, the lesser known Phyag-na rdo-rje.[1]

Various Tibetan sources record that, in 1244, Sa-skya Paṇḍita was ordered to proceed to the camp of Prince Köden in Byang-ngos, north of the Kokonor region, and that the Mongol troops who came to get him also took along two of his nephews, 'Phags-pa Lama and Phyag-na rdo-rje. In 1253, two years after the death of Sa-skya Paṇḍita in Byang-ngos, the nephews were taken to the camp of Prince Khubilai. When Khubilai became Khaghan in 1260, he appointed 'Phags-pa Lama as a *Kuo-shih* (State Teacher). In the year 1267, Phyag-na rdo-rje died at home in Sa-skya. In 1270, Khubilai Khaghan appointed 'Phags-pa as *Ti-shih* (Imperial Teacher): paramount priest in the Mongol court. Ten years later, 'Phags-pa Lama died (or was murdered) in Sa-skya.[2]

The emphasis of the Tibetan sources on the roles of Sa-skya Paṇḍita and his nephew, 'Phags-pa Lama, with only passing references to the younger nephew, Phyag-na rdo-rje, is a reflection of the religious bias of the sources themselves. It is well-known that Tibetan biographic literature *(rnam-thar)* is in fact «hagiography», since this literary genre deals primarily with the lives of exemplary

[1] An earlier version of this paper titled *Biographical Notes on Phyag-na rdo-rje (1239–1267)* was presented (without footnotes) to the International Association for Tibetan Studies Seminar held in New York in 1982.

[2] The chronology of this paragraph follows that of Turrell V. Wylie, *The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 37 (1977) [hereafter cited as *Wylie*], pp. 103–33. For other studies on this period see, *inter alia*, Herbert Franke, *Tibetans in Yüan China*, in: John D. Langlois, Jr., ed., *China Under Mongol Rule* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981 [hereafter cited as *Franke*], pp. 296–311; Shoju Inaba, tr., *The Lineage of the Sa skya pa: A Chapter of the Red Annals* in: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 22 (1963) [hereafter cited as Inaba]; Dieter Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben Mongolischer Herrscher für Tibetische Geistliche* in: St. Augustin, *Monumenta Tibetica Historica*, III–1 (1977) [hereafter cited as *Schuh*]; and Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 vols, Roma (La Libreria dello Stato) 1949, [hereafter cited as *Tucci*], pp. 8–17, 625–7.

monastics and mystics. Also, Tibetan historiography, generically called *chos-'byung* and rendered literally as «Dharma Events», is by definition preoccupied with the history of Buddhism and tends to minimize, if not ignore, the political roles of laymen.

As examples of this bias relevant to the topic of this paper, the 16th-century *Chos-'byung* by Padma dkar-po records the meeting between Sa-skya Paṇḍita and Prince Köden, and the offering of Tibet by Khubilai Khaghan to 'Phags-pa Lama; but, it completely ignores the layman, Phyag-na rdo-rje.[3] The 15th-century *Deb-ther sngon-po* («The Blue Annals») by 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba relates the events involving Sa-skya Paṇḍita and 'Phags-pa Lama, and then adds in passing that Phyag-na rdo-rje was born in 1239 when his father was 56, and at the age of six, he proceeded to the North in the retinue of Sa-skya Paṇḍita. He died in 1267 at the age of twenty-nine.[4]

The dearth of biographic information in such sources would tend to relegate the importance of Phyag-na rdo-rje to all but historic oblivion. Fortunately, other sources reveal he was not just a mere cypher in the initial stages of the establishment of Mongol-Tibetan relations. Several years ago a passage in the 14th century *Deb-ther dmar-po* («The Red Annals») attracted my attention to the probable political importance of Phyag-na rdo-rje.[5] It said in part: «Prince Köden dressed him in Mongol clothes and gave him Lady Me-'ga'-'dun (as his wife). Se-chen (= Khubilai Khaghan) appointed him to be over all Tibet.»[6] Later on, a different version of these events was found in the 17th-century history written by the 5th Dalai Lama.[7]

[3] *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po: Śata-piṭaka* 75, New Delhi: (International Academy of Indian Culture) 1968, pp. 405–7.

[4] *Deb-ther sngon-po*, composed between 1476–8 by 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal and translated by George N. Roerich under the title *The Blue Annals*, Delhi (Motilal Banarsidass) 1976, [hereafter cited as *BA*], pp. 211–2.

[5] *Deb-ther dmar-po*, composed in 1346 by Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje, is available in at least two printed editions. The first is *The Red Annals Part One*, Gangtok (Namgyal Institute of Tibetology) 1961, [hereafter cited as *RA-1*]; an edition based on a manuscript made available by Athing Tashi Dahdul Densapa of Barmiok (*RA-1* Forward, no page number). The Sa-skya-pa section of this work (*RA-1*, pp. 41–50) was the basis for Shoju Inaba's translation (*Inaba*, p. 122). The second edition, *Deb-ther dmar-po*, Beijing (National Publishing House) 1981, [hereafter cited as *RA-2*], is divided into 26 chapters and annotated with 683 footnotes. Chapters 12–15 (pp. 46–60) deal with the Sa-skya-pa.

[6] *Ra-2*, p. 48. The name of the Mongol «Lady» (*Dpon-mo*) is spelled *Me-'ga'-lung* in *RA-1*, p. 43. This is the source of the *Dpon mo Me hgah lun* [sic! = *luṅ* = *lung*] in Sechin Jagchid, *Meng-ku yü Hsi-tsang Li-shih Kuan-hsi chih Yen-chiu [A Study of Mongol and Tibetan Historical Relations]*, Taipei (Cheng-chung-shu-chü) 1978. The Tibetan title *Dpon-mo* is rendered by Jagchid in Chinese as *Kung-chu*, «Princess» (p. 159). [This study is hereafter cited as *Jagchid*.]

[7] There are two recent editions of the history composed by the 5th Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617–1682). One is edited by Kalsang Lhundup under the English title *The History of Tibet*, Varanasi (Burmese Buddhist Vihar) 1967, [hereafter cited as *Dalai Lama*]. The other is edited by Ngawang Gelek Demo under the English title *Early History of Tibet*, Delhi (Ala Press) 1967.

It records that: «Phyag-na, as an attendant of Chos-rje (= Sa-skya Paṇḍita) went into the presence of the Emperor, who appointed him master of Tibet and caused him to wear Mongol clothes.»[8]

Although cryptic and not in complete agreement, these oblique remarks became the starting point, as well as the motivating force, for this preliminary study of biographic data on Phyag-na rdo-rje. Tibetan sources then available for study offered little if any new information. Some time later the university acquired a copy of the *Sa-skya Gdung-rabs Chen-mo,* («The Great Genealogy of Sa-skya»);[9] the 17th-century work by 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs, himself a member of the 'Khon lineage of Sa-skya. In reading this text for passages dealing with Phyag-na rdo-rje, it became obvious that his genealogy proved to exemplify the usual preoccupation of Tibetan biographic literature with monastic figures at the expense of laymen. This work devotes some 79 pages to the hagiography of Sa-skya Paṇḍita,[10] and about 110 pages to that of 'Phags-pa Lama,[11] both of whom were monastics. Disappointingly, the same genealogy devotes a mere 8 *lines* to the biographic entry for Phyag-na rdo-rje, a layman.[12]

Brief as it is, that entry remains the longest account of his life uncovered so far in this preliminary study and, as such, it is translated here in full.

«'Gro-ba-i Mgon-po Phyag-na rdo-rje, the younger brother of, and having the same mother as, that Great Lama 'Phags-pa, was well born to Ma-gcig Kun-skyid of the Mdog-stod Tshan-ma (family) at (a place) called Mdog-gi-gad-lo-lo in G.yas-ru (in Gtsang province) in the Earth-Female-Hog year (1239); the year his father died at the age of 56. At the age of 6, he went as an attendant of Chos-rje Sa(-skya) Paṇ(ḍita) to the land of the Mongols. From youth, he was able to perform sotereologic ritual union. He listened to many teachings and initiations from the Dharma-lords, the uncle and nephew (i.e., Sa-skya Paṇḍita and 'Phags-pa Lama), and through hearing them, his character was enriched. By means of his occult discipline, he completely vanquished his opponents. He was able to suspend the three weapons (= arrow, knife, and spear) or a sunbeam. He shot an arrow into the ground and water came forth from the hole. Even to this day, it is known as the

[8] *Dalai Lama,* p. 131. This passage is translated: «P'yag na . . . went to China as an attendant on the lord of the Law; he was invested with the dignity of *dPon* for Tibet and adopted the Hor's customs.» in *Tucci* (p. 627).

[9] This is the short title printed on the cover of this edition published by Tashi Dorji. The complete English title inside is *A history of the 'Khon lineage of prince-abbots of Sa-skya by 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zabs* [sic! = *žabs*] *Nag-dban-kun-dga'-bsod-nams,* Dolanji (Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre) 1975, [hereafter cited as *Gdung-rabs*].

[10] *Gdung-rabs,* pp. 93–172.

[11] *Gdung-rabs,* pp. 172–282.

[12] *Gdung-rabs,* p. 282, line 2 to p. 283, line 3.

'water obtained by the arrow', and this very water, superior in many ways to all others, is enjoyed by everyone. He displayed these and inconceivable other signs of his state of spiritual perfection. In short, he was renowned as an emanation of the Lord-of-Secrets, Phyag-na rdo-rje, the greatest in magical power and occult illusion among the three protectors *(Rigs gsum mgon po)*.[13] To this one, the Mongol Khaghan Se-chen (= Khubilai) gave the authority of *Sa len dbang*, a golden seal, *Thong phyi g.yas g.yon gyi khrims ra*, as well as his daughter, Me-kha-bdun,[14] to be his wife. (Khubilai Khaghan) dressed him in Mongol clothes and appointed him Lord-of-the-Law of the Three Regions of the Land (of Tibet) It is well-known that the offices of *Ti-shrī* (= *Ti-shih*; i.e., Imperial Teacher) and *Dbang* first occurred in Tibet in the time of these two brothers ('Phags-pa and Phyag-na rdo-rje); consequently, their kindness to Tibet was very great. After living about 18 years in

[13] *Rigs gsum mgon po*, literally, «Protectors of the Three Classes (of Beings)»; i.e., the gods *(lha-rigs)*, humans *(mi-rigs)*, and serpent demi-gods *(klu-rigs)*. See Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan–English Dictionary*, Calcutta (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot) 1902, p. 1181. The three Buddhist Protectors are: Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara), Bodhisattva of Mercy; 'Jam-dpal (Mañjuśrī), Bodhisattva of Wisdom; and Phyag-na rdo-rje (Vajrapāṇi), Bodhisattva of Magic Power. For details, see *inter alia* L. Austine Waddell, *Tibetan Buddhism*, New York (Dover Publications) 1972, pp. 354–8; Leslie S. Kawamura, ed., *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, Waterloo (Wilfrid Laurier University Press) 1981.

[14] The Tibetan text for Khubilai Khaghan's daughter, Me-kha-bdun, reads: *rgyal po'i sras mo me kha bdun* (*Gdung-rabs*, p. 283, line 1). [The name is spelled Me-'ga'-'dun in *RA-2* (see footnote 6 of this paper).] This short biography claims Phyag-na rdo-rje's Mongol wife was the daughter of Khubilai Khaghan himself; yet, the same text later notes: «Phyag-na rdo-rje had three wives, and among them, Mangga-la, daughter of Prince Köden, and Ma-gcig Ldan-tsha Chos-'bum were childless. His son, Bdag-nyid chen-po Dharmapālarakṣita, was born to his third wife, named Mkha'-'gro-'bum, whose father was Sku-zhang Rnga-sgra, a *Nang-blon* of the Mongol Khaghan, of the Zha-lu region. (Dharmapālarakṣita) was born in the first month of the Earth-Male-Dragon year (1268), six months after the death of his father...» (*Gdung-rabs*, p. 286). [A similar account, except that the name of the Mongol princess is spelled *Mam mgal* instead of *Mangga-la*, is found in *Tucci* (p. 684, note 77).] Franke, citing but apparently misunderstanding *Inaba*, states: «A younger brother of Pags-pa married the princess Me-'ga'-lung in about 1265, and a son from that union, born in 1268...» (*Franke*, p. 309). Inaba's translation makes it clear that: «Phyag na's son by Ma gcig mkhaḥ ḥgro ḥbum was Ddag [sic! = Bdag] ñid chen po Dharma phha la rakṣi ta, who was born in...1268...» (*Inaba*, p. 109). The disagreement between the sources about the principals involved in this matrimonial alliance is not satisfactorily resolved by the following statement: (Phyag-na rdo-rje) «...heiratete später u.a. eine Tochter des Qubilai Khan namens *Mo-me kha-dbun* [= qatun][5] sowie eine Tochter des Göden[6].» (*Schuh*, p. xvii). While both footnotes in this quotation cite appropriate folios in *Gdung-rabs*, number 6 adds: «Als Name dieser Prinzessin wird *Maṅgala* angegeben.» (*Schuh*, p. xxvi). [Note that, according to *Schuh*, the name of the Mongol princess was *Mo-me kha-bdun*. It should be pointed out that *Mo* is not part of her name. *Mo*, a particle indicating female gender, is suffixed to *sras* («son»), changing it to *sras-mo* («daughter»).] Due generally to contradictions found in the Tibetan sources and particularly to the fact that the marriage is not recorded in the *Yüan Shih* (see notes 18 and 19 of this paper); this problem needs further study before a solution can be postulated.

Byang-ngos (north of the Kokonor region), he went at the age of 25 to a religious assembly at the Great Monastery (of Sa-skya in Tibet). Then, for more than 3 years, due to his state of spiritual perfection, he established many beings on (the path to) liberation. On the first day of *Gro-bzhin*, the seventh month, of the Fire-Female-Hare year (1267), when he was 29 years old, (Phyag-na rdo-rje) showed the way in which one passes beyond suffering in the library of the Sgo-rum (temple in Sa-skya).»[15]

This then is the translation of the 8 lines of the biographic entry for Phyag-na rdo-rje in the *Sa-skya Gdung-rabs Chen-mo*. The titles Khubilai Khaghan bestowed on him; namely, *Sa len dbang* and *Thong phyi g.yas g.yon gyi khrims ra*, have been left untranslated here because they are main points in the remainder of this study and will be explored separately.

Before discussing these titles, the different wordings found in the sources to record that Khubilai Khaghan appointed Phyag-na rdo-rje to be the ruler of Tibet will be examined. According to the *Sa-skya Gdung-rabs Chen-mo* just translated, Khubilai Khaghan «appointed him Lord-of-the-Law of the Three Regions of the Land» *(sa chol kha gsum gyi khrims bdag tu bskos)*. The *Deb-ther dmar-po* cited earlier said: «Se-chen (= Khubilai) appointed him to be over all Tibet» *(se chen gyis bod spyi'i steng du bskos)*;[16] while the 5th Dalai Lama wrote: «... appointed him master of Tibet...» (...*bod kyi dpon du bskos*...).[17] Different wordings for his

[15] *Gdung-rabs*, pp. 282–3. The Tibetan sources consulted for this study all agree that Phyag-na rdo-rje died in 1267 in Sa-skya at the age of 29. None of them mentions a date for his return to Sa-skya with the exception of the newly acquired *Gdung-rabs*. My assumption for years has been that he returned to Sa-skya together with his older brother, 'Phags-pa Lama. The Wood-Female-Ox year (1265) is well-attested as the year of 'Phags-pa Lama's return. See, inter alia, *Gdung-rabs*, p. 203, and Sum-pa Mkhan-po's *Re'u-mig* as given in *Dpag-bsam-ljon bzan : Śata-piṭaka* 8, New Delhi (International Academy of Indian Culture) 1959, [hereafter cited as *Re'u-mig*], p. 27. It is said in *Gdung-rabs* that Phyag-na rdo-rje went back to Sa-skya at the age of 25. This would date his return in the year 1263; at least two years earlier than the return of 'Phags-pa Lama. Regrettably, *Gdung-rabs* does not *name* the year in which he is said to have returned; regrettably, because the numbers it does give; i.e., away 18 years, returns at age 25, and dies 3 years later, do not add up chronologically when calculated against the unquestioned dates of his birth and death. The *Re'u-mig* mentions Phyag-na rdo-rje three times: 1239, when he was born (p. 25); 1244, when he went to the land of the Mongols (p. 25); and 1267, when he died (p. 28). The *Re'u-mig* dates the return of 'Phags-pa Lama in 1265 (p. 27), but it makes no mention of Phyag-na rdo-rje returning that year, or any other year. If he had returned to Sa-skya at any time different from the date of 'Phags-pa Lama's return, such information presumably would have been important enough to have been mentioned in at least one of the sources other than *Gdung-rabs*. Lacking corroboration from any other source and due to discrepancies in chronology calculated on the figures given in *Gdung-rabs*, the evidence does not justify a revision of my original assumption that Phyag-na rdo-rje and 'Phags-pa Lama returned to Sa-skya together in 1265.

[16] *RA-1*, p. 43; *RA-2* p. 48.

[17] See note 8 of this paper.

appointment would suggest that they were interpretations of its political intent; rather than a translation of any title. Given the relations then prevailing between the Mongols and Tibetans, if Phyag-na rdo-rje were appointed to rule over all of Tibet, it surely would not be as a sovereign in his own right; but, as a legal representative governing there on behalf of the Mongol Khaghan. Therefore, it is postulated in this study that Phyag-na rdo-rje was appointed to be Khubilai Khaghan's «Viceroy of Tibet».

In view of the apparent political importance of Phyag-na rdo-rje, the next step was to seek corroboration of the assumption by consulting the *Yüan Shih,* the official history of the Mongol dynasty of China.[18] Ironically, I was unable to find any mention of Phyag-na rdo-rje's name, nor even an oblique reference to him, in that historic work.[19] His older brother, 'Phags-pa, is of course well-attested. Not only is he mentioned in various passages; but, a brief biography of him is the first among those of Buddhist and Taoist priests given in *chüan* 202.[20] Equally ironical, two reference to a 'younger brother' of 'Phags-pa Lama were actually located in the *Yüan Shih*; but, in both cases, that younger brother is named *I lin chen.*[21] He is

[18] The edition of the *Yüan Shih* used for this study is titled in English, *The History of the Yuan Dynasty*, 4 vols, printed by The National War College in cooperation with the College of Chinese Culture [Taiwan] in May, 1966. This edition is cited hereafter as *YS* in this study.] The first 3 volumes contain the original 210 *chüan* of the *Yüan Shih*, with consecutive pagination. On the contents of volume 4, see note 19.

[19] Needless to say, I make no pretense of having read the entire *Yüan Shih* in search of data about Phyag-na rdo-rje. I have checked the alphabetical listing of foreign proper nouns given in Mongolian with romanizations, and equivalents in Chinese in the section, *Yüan shih hua chieh* (*YS*, vol. 4, pp. 1–42); the reverse listing of these proper nouns with Chinese given first in the next section, *Yüan shih hua chieh so yin* (*YS*, vol. 4, pp. 1–78); and finally, the index of proper names of non-Han persons, places, and offices in the section, *Yüan shih fei han hua jen ming ti ming kuan ming so yin* (*YS*, vol. 4, pp. 1–176). [Volume 4 of this edition of the *YS* is devoted to indices and maps and each section has its own pagination; thus, the page numbers cited here not inclusive, but exclusive, of those in other sections.] Jagchid rendered Phyag-na rdo-rje's name in Chinese as *Cha-k'e-na to-erh-chih* (*Jagchid*, p. 159). There are 91 entries in the Index of non-Han names beginning with the character *cha* (卡) (*YS*, vol. 4, pp. 31–2). Only two of those had *k'e* as the phonetic second syllable and, even though the Chinese character there was different from the one used by *Jagchid*, those two entries (*YS*, ch. 36, p. 315; ch. 120, p. 1297) were checked. Neither entry had any relation to Phyag-na rdo-rje. Passages that mention 'Phags-pa Lama were checked for references to his younger brother: all this to no avail. I have been unable to find any reference to Phyag-na rdo-rje in the *Yuan Shih*. [Needless to say, there is no mention of his marriage to a Mongol princess either (see footnote 14), so the contradictions found in Tibetan sources remain unresolved.]

[20] In addition to his biography (*YS*, ch. 202, p. 2131 [this is incorrectly given as 2130 in the index of non-Han names]), there are 11 references to 'Phags-pa Lama (with his name rendered in 5 different combinations of Chinese characters) in the index (*YS*, vol. 4, pp. 2–3) and 2 references to his temple (*YS*, vol. 4, p. 24). For details on this, see *Franke*, pp., 310–11.

[21] This name, in romanization, occurs as *I lin chen* (*YS*, ch. 8, p. 56), and as *I lien chen* (*YS*, ch. 202, p. 2131). In both passages he is identified as a 'younger brother' (Chinese: *ti*) of 'Phags-pa Lama.

identified as Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan, who was in fact only a half-brother to 'Phags-pa Lama.[22] Presumably Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan gained mention in the *Yüan Shih* because he succeeded 'Phags-pa Lama as *Ti-shih* (Imperial Teacher) to Khubilai Khaghan.[23] Since Tibetan sources claim Khubilai Khaghan appointed Phyag-na rdo-rje to rule Tibet, failure to find any reference to him in the *Yüan Shih* remains a disappointing enigma.

Returning to the two titles bestowed on Phyag-na rdo-rje (as recorded in the *Sa-skya Gdung-rabs Chen-mo*), the second one, *Thong phyi g .yas g .yon gyi khrims ra,* will be discussed first. Thanks to Professor David Farquhar of UCLA, the first two syllables, *Thong-phyi,* is identified as a transliteration of Chinese *T'ung-chih:* a Yüan title designating the immediate subordinate of a chief officer; i.e., an 'Associate'.[24] Given the political relationships of the period, I purpose the title 'Viceroy' as an appropriate equivalent for *T'ung-chih.* The rest of the title is Tibetan and apparently not a translation of some known Yüan title.[25] Translated literally, *g .yas g .yon gyi khrims ra* would mean 'Law-court of the Right and Left', which

[22] 'Phags-pa Lama was born to Ma-gcig kun-skyid, the first wife of Zangs-tsha bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan (*Gdung-rabs,* p. 172). Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan was born to his second wife, Ma-gcig Jo-'gro [called Jo-grom in *Dalai,* p. 131: a mistake for 'Gro mo according to *Tucci,* p. 683, n. 69], in the Earth-Male-Dog year (1238). He died in the Earth-Female-Hare year (1279) (*Gdung-rabs,* pp. 283–4). According to the *Yüan Shih,* he died in the 19th year of *Chih-yüan* (Khubilai Khaghan's reign title beginning in 1264); therefore, in the year 1283 (*YS,* ch. 202, p. 2131). The 19th year is given as 1282 in the Ti-shih list in *Tucci* (pp. 15; 252, n. 44).

[23] When 'Phags-pa Lama returned to Sa-skya for the second and last time, Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan, his half-brother, succeeded him as Ti-shih in the court (*YS,* ch. 8, p. 56; ch. 202, p. 2131). Chüan 8 incorrectly dates 'Phags-pa Lama's departure in a *Kuei-ssu* (= Water-Serpent) year; i.e., 1293. In *chüan* 202, the departure is dated in the 11th year of *Chih-yüan,* which would be 1274. According to the *Gdung-rabs* (p. 258), he returned to Sa-skya in a Mouse year (= Fire-Male-Mouse); i.e., 1276. This date would correspond to the year Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan became Ti-shih in Peking according to Khetsun Sangpo, who states that 'Phags-pa Lama was the Abbot of the *Gdan-sa* (chief monastery in Sa-skya) for the two years 1265 and 1266, and that he was succeeded as abbot by Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan who served in that capacity for a period of 9 years [i.e., 1267–1275] (Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, Vol. X, The Sa-skya-pa Tradition (Part One),* Dharamsala (Library of Tibetan Works and Archives) 1979, (hereafter cited as *Dictionary*), p. 565). After that, Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan went to Peking to become the Imperial Teacher (Ti-shih) (*cf., Gdung-rabs,* p. 283), when 'Phags-pa Lama returned in 1276 to Sa-skya.

[24] Professor David Farquhar of the Department of History at UCLA kindly supplied me with the identification of Tibetan *Thong phyi* as the Chinese title *T'ung-chih* (通知), which he equated with «Associate», denoting an official immediately beneath the chief official (personal letter dated January 2, 1982). I have chosen to use the title «Viceroy» for *T'ung-chih,* rather than «Associate», in this study.

[25] According to Professor Farquhar, a specialist in Yüan history (see, *inter alia,* his *Structure and Function in the Yüan Imperial Government, Franke,* pp. 25–55), the title *G.yas g.yon gyi khrims ra* does not translate, nor correspond to, any official title known to him for the Yüan period (personal letter, 1–2–82).

may be interpreted as 'jurisdiction of both sides'; i.e., authorization to govern the whole of Tibet.[26] For the full title then, I propose the following tentative rendition:, «Viceroy (with) jurisdiction over all».

The other title, *Sa len dbang*, left untranslated so far in this paper, presumably was the more important of the two since it was listed as the first given by Khubilai Khaghan.[27] The title, if Tibetan, could be translated as «Authority to take up the land.» Such a title would, however, be lexically peculiar because of the verb *len*, «to take up.» Idioms relevant to governance in Tibetan commonly use the verb *'dzin*, «to hold on to.» This peculiarity raised the question of a possible orthographic corruption of the title. Unfortunately, only one edition of the *Sa-skya Gdung-rabs Chen-mo* has been available for this paper; therefore, textual comparisons for spelling variants was not possible. Two specialized sources, *A History of Buddhism and the Sakyapa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism*[28] and the *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, vol. X, the Sa-skya-pa Tradition*,[29] were consulted, but to no avail.

[26] The last part of the title, *khrims ra*, translated in this paper as «jurisdiction», literally means «law court». This term occurs in the Tibetan version of the letter Prince Köden sent to Sa-skya Paṇḍita in 1244 in the following passage: *ngas mtha'i khrims ra blangs dmag dpung chen pos brda ded byas nas...* (*Gdung-rabs*, p. 134). Schuh, who has dealt with variant versions of this letter in detail (*Schuh*, pp. 31–6, 41), used a different edition of the *Gdung-rabs* in which three variants occur in this passage. The spellings in my edition are given in brackets after those variants found in the photographically reproduced folio of an *dbu-med* manuscript in *Schuh* (p. 33, folio 62 recto, line 5). It reads: *ngas mtha'i khrims ra blang [blangs] dmag dpung chen po'i [pos] brda' [brda] ded byas nas...* (for Schuh's transcription, see *Schuh*, p. 34). This passage is a conditional clause in a broader context. Schuh's translation reads: «...werde ich ein das Ende (bedeutendes) Gericht einsetzen (und), nachdem ich einen grossen Kriegshaufen (nach Tibet) getrieben habe...» (*Schuh*, p. 36). Franke, citing the *Yüan Shih*, states that Köden «...was entrusted with the «Western Territories» and took up residence in Lan-chou (Kan-su). It is explicitly said that the territory allotted to him bordered on Tibet.» (*Franke*, p. 300). In view of this situation, and particularly since the expression *mtha'i khrims ra* can be translated literally as «law court of the border,» I propose for the same passage the following translation:» (If)...I, who has taken over jurisdiction of the frontier, were to come after you with a great army,...».

[27] *Gdung-rabs*, p. 282, line 6.

[28] The brief biography of Phyag-na rdo-rje in this work simply states that Se-chen (= Khubilai Khaghan) «made him master of all Tibet's subjects» *(bod 'bangs spyi'i dpon mdzad)* and «presented him with a seal and title» *(ming dang dam ga phul)*. Unfortunately, the name of the title was not given, so a comparison for variants was impossible. See Geshe Thukjhey Wangchuk, *A History of Buddhism and the Sakyapa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism*, Boulder (privately published by the author) 1980, p. 111. The same passage claims Khubilai Khaghan gave his own daughter, *Mam ga lhun bzang*, to Phyag-na rdo-rje as his wife. This is yet another name for the Mongol princess he married, adding further to the contradictions about his marriage (*cf.* footnotes 6 and 14 of this paper).

[29] The entry on Phyag-na rdo-rje in this work is a verbatim extract from the *Gdung-rabs* edition used in this paper and the orthography of the title *Sa len dbang* is the same (*Dictionary*, pp. 242–3). Schuh used a different edition of the *Gdung-rabs* in his study and, even though he refers to Phyag-na rdo-rje by name

The problem of identifying the title, *Sa len dbang*, might well have remained insoluble except for the *Rgya Bod Yig-tshang* («Archives of China and Tibet»), compiled in the 15th century by Śrībhūtibhadra.[30] The brief passage devoted to Phyag-na rdo-rje in that text generally mirrors data on the titles in other sources, but with one critical variation in orthography. The title spelled in the *Sa-skya Gdung-rabs chen-mo* as *Sa len dbang* appears in the *Rgya Bod Yig-tshang* as *Pai len dbang*.[31] Since the syllable *pa'i*, as a suffixed particle in the genitive case and without meaning, shows morphologically it is not Tibetan,[32] it seemed logical to assume it was a foreign word. Thanks to Professor Sechin Jagchid of Brigham Young University, *Pa'i len dbang* has been identified as a Tibetan transliteration of the Chinese title *Pai-lan Wang* («Prince of Pai-lan»).[33] *Pai-lan*, literally «White Orchid», was a pre-Tang Dynasty name for the area described as being south and west of the land of the T'u-yü-hun in the Kokonor region.[34] Such a geographic

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6 times (*cf.* the Index to *Schuh*, p. 201), none of the passages noted mentions the title *Sa len dbang*. Schuh attributes another title to him, stating: «. . . setzte Qubilai den *Phyag na rdo-rje*, den Bruder des *'Phags-pa*, zum ersten Administrator (dpon-chen) von ganz Tibet ein.» (*Schuh*, p. xxiv). For this statement, he cites GTSUG; i.e., *Chos-'byuṅ mkhas pa'i dga'-ston* (*Schuh*, p. 185); not the *Gdung-rabs*. (On the title *Dpon-chen*, see footnote 47 of this paper.)

[30] The edition of the *Rgya Bod Yig-tshang* [hereafter cited as *RBYT*] used in this preliminary study is a 357-folio manuscript, written in *dbu-can* script on high quality paper. This manuscript was acquired from the collection of Dr. Joseph F. Rock (1884–1962) by the University's Asian library many years ago. For a detailed study on this historic work compiled in 1434 by Śrībhūtibhadra, see Ariane Macdonald, *Préambule à la lecture d'un Rgya-Bod Yig-chaṅ* : *Journal Asiatique*, 1963, pp. 53–159.

[31] *RBYT*, folio 199-a.

[32] If the title were Tibetan, the first syllable *pa'i* would be utter gibberish. *Pa*, a particle suffixed to indicate agentive or nominal cases, and to make cardinal numbers into ordinals, is without lexical meaning if used alone. *Pa'i*, therefore, would be a meaningless particle in the genitive case. Such orthography shows that the first syllable is not Tibetan.

[33] *Pa'i len dbang*, which can be rendered phonetically as *Pai len wang*, was identified by Professor Sechin Jagchid of the Department of History at Brigham Young University, a specialist in Yüan History (*cf.* note 6), as a Tibetan transliteration of the Chinese title *Pai-lan Wang* (白蘭王) (personal correspondence, dated November 12 and December 14, 1982).

[34] A brief description of the area of *Pai-lan*: a name said to derive from that of the mountain *Pai-lan shan*, which is situated south and west of the Kokonor region, is found in Tsang Li-ho, ed., *Chung kuo ku chin ti ming ta tz'u tien* (Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Chinese Place Names), Shanghai (Commercial Press) 1930, p. 260. (On the T'u-yü-hun, called 'A-zha in ancient Tibetan documents, see p. 296 of this Dictionary, and *inter alia*, R. A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, Stanford (Stanford University Press) 1972, pp. 29, 31, 57–8, 62–3.) Professor Sechin Jagchid kindly sent a copy of a map depicting China during the Southern and Northern Dynasties (A.D. 420–589) from the *Chung kuo li shih ti t'u* («Historical Maps of China»), translated from the Japanese and printed in Taipei, 1973 (personal correspondence, December 14, 1981). That map has the name T'u-yü-hun across the Kokonor region; and the expanse of Tibet, east to west, is singularly marked with the name *Pai-lan*. This geographical identification corresponds to that found in *Chung kuo li shih ti t'u chi*, Bejing (Chung-hua ti-t'u hsüeh-

description would include part—if not the whole—of Tibet; thus, the title «Prince of Pai-lan», or better, «Prince of Tibet», bestowed on Phyag-na rdo-rje would have been most appropriate for his political role as Khubilai Khaghan's newly appointed «Viceroy» of Tibet.

The *Yüan Shih* was again consulted: this time for the title *Pai-lan Wang*, which was found to occur there twice.[35] However, both times the recipient of the title is identified in Chinese as *So nan tsang pu*.[36] This member of the 'Khon ruling family of Sa-skya was Bsod-nams bzang-po, the first-born son of Bdag-nyid chen-po Bzang-po-dpal, a half-nephew of 'Phags-pa Lama.[37] Bsod-nams bzang-po first received the title of *Pai-lan Wang* in the year 1321. It was rescinded later when he became a monastic; but it was restored to him in 1327 when he returned to secular life.[38]

This investiture of Bsod-nams bzang-po is attested in the *Sa-skya Gdung-rabs Chen-mo* where the title is misspelled *Sa'i len dbang*.[39] The orthography of the *Rgya*

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she) 1975, map 61, labeled: *Northern Dynasty Chou* (i.e., A.D. 557–589). *Pai-lan* is simply equated with «the Kokonor region» in *Franke* (p. 309, n. 47); but the data cited here indicate the name applied to a much larger, bordering area.

[35] *YS*, ch. 108, p. 1045; ch. 202, 2132.

[36] The name, *So nan tsang pu*, occurs in at least one other passage in the *Yüan Shih;* but with a different character for the first syllable and without reference to the title *Pai-lan Wang* (*YS*, ch. 30, p. 262. This passage is quoted in Chinese in *Inaba*, p. 118, n. 75). Citing *Inaba*, but perhaps influenced by the Chinese rendering of the name, Franke spells it «Bsod-nams btsang-po» (*Franke*, p. 309, n. 47).

[37] Bsod-nams bzang-po was the first born son of Bdag-nyid chen-po Bzang-po-dpal (1262–1324) (*RA–2*, pp. 49, 351). [This is the «Btsang-po-dpal (1262–1323)» of *Franke*, p. 311, n. 52.], who was, in turn, a son of Ye-shes 'byung-gnas, a half-brother of 'Phags-pa Lama (*RA–1*, p. 44; *RA–2*, pp. 49, 351). Even though Bsod-nams bzang-po gained particular notice in the *Yüan Shih;* ironically, he receives only brief notices in the usual Tibetan sources. See, *inter alia*, *BA*, p. 213; *Gdung-rabs*, pp. 301–2; *RA–1*, p. 44; *RA–2*, p. 49.

[38] The single entry under the title *Pai-lan Wang* in the *Chu Wang Piao* («Index of All Princes») in the *Yüan Shih* states that So-nan tsang-pu (Bsod-nams bzang-po) was appointed in the first year of *Chih-chih* (reign title of Ying-tsung, 1321–1323). Later he left family life. In the fourth year of T'ai-tsung (i.e., 1327) he returned to lay life and was again appointed *(Pai-lan Wang)* (*YS*, ch. 108, p. 1045). (This is summarized in *Franke*, p. 309, n. 47, where the well-known translation of *chüan* 108 by Louis Hambis is cited as well.) See also the composite sketch on Bsod-nams bzang-po in *Jagchid* (pp. 160–1).

[39] The title is spelled *Sa'i len dbang* in *Gdung-rabs* (p. 301, line 6). Note that when the title was given to Phyag-na rdo-rje it was spelled *Sa len dbang* (*Gdung-rabs*, p. 282, line 6). Two different spellings occur in *RBYT* as well. In the case of Phyag-na rdo-rje the title is spelled *Pa'i len dbang* (folio 199-a, line 4); for Bsod-nams bzang-po; it is *Dpa'i len dbang* (folio 201–b, line 3). I can offer no reason why there are variant spellings within *RBYT* itself; but, I do suggest the variants *sa* and *sa'i* in the chronologically later *Gdung-rabs* are due to the similarity between the consonants *pa* and *sa* when written in *dbu-med* script. If one did not know that *pa'i* was the transliteration of a foreign word, one might well misread *pa'i* for *sa'i* when copying an *dbu-med* text.

Bod Yig-tshang is *Dpa'i len dbang*,[40] and the *Deb-ther dmar-po* refers to it simply as *Dbang*.[41] Although the full title does not occur in the text itself, it appears once, spelled *Sa'i len wang* [sic!] on a genealogical chart found in footnote 261 of the annotated edition of the *Deb-ther dmar-po* recently published in Beijing.[42] There the title appears, not with the name of Bsod-nams bzang-po; but, rather in front of the name Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, a grandson of Bdag-nyid chen-po Bzang-po-dpal.[43] Although beyond the original scope of this study, further research revealed that not only did Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan receive the title *Pai-lan Wang* from Toghon Temür; i.e., Shun-ti, the last Emperor of the Yüan Dynasty (reigned 1333–1367);[44] but, his father, Kun-dga' legs-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, received it from the same Emperor as well.[45]

In the beginning of this study, the main problem was to identify the misspelled title *Sa len dbang* and research led to the spelling *Pa'i len dbang*. This led, in turn, to its identification with the Chinese title *Pai-lan Wang*. According to the *Yüan Shih*, the singular recipient of the title was Bsod-nams bzang-po; however, Tibetan sources now show that four Sa-skya Tibetans got the title *Pai-lan Wang*.[46]

[40] *RBYT*, folio 201-b. The identity of the Mongol Khaghan who gave the title to Bsod-nams bzang-po is confounded here and in *Gdung-rabs*. The latter text claims it was given by *Yub-ta* Khaghan (*Gdung-rabs*, p. 301). *Yub-ta* is an abbreviated corruption of Ayurbarwada; i.e., the Jen-tsung Emperor who reigned 1312–1320 (*cf.*, *Franke*, pp. 8, 467). *RBYT* states even further that the title was given by «Emperor Ayurbarwada, Gegen Khaghan» *(gong ma a yu par pa ta ge gan rgyal po . . .)* (folio 201-b): a statement that compounds the titles of two different rulers. As already noted, Ayurbarwada was the Jen-tsung Emperor; Gegen Khaghan was the Ying-tsung Emperor who reigned 1321–1323. Since the *Yüan Shih* says the title was given in the first year of Ying-tsung (= 1321), the references to Ayurbarwada; i.e., Jen-tsung, in these texts are in error.

[41] The text states tersely «(He was) . . . appointed *Dbang* and dispatched (to Tibet) . . .» *[dbang bskos te btang ba]*, (*RA–1*, p. 44; *RA–2*, p. 49). The Mongol Emperor who bestowed the title is identified as *Go gan rgyal po (RA–1)*, or also *Ge gan rgyal po (RA–2)*; i.e., Gegen Khaghan, reigned 1321–1323.

[42] Curiously, the name of Bsod-nams bzang-po does not appear on this genealogical chart (*RA–2*, p. 337), which was compiled from data found in various sources (*RA–2*, footnote 261, pp. 335–41).

[43] *RA–2*, p. 340.

[44] In addition to the title, *Pai-lan Wang (Pa'i len dbang)*, he is said to have received the title *Thong ji g.yas g.yon gyi khrims ra* («Viceroy with Jurisdiction of the Right and Left») (*RBYT*, folio 206-a), which is the same title Khubilai Khaghan gave to Phyag-na rdo-rje (*cf.* footnotes 24, 25, 26 of this paper). Moreover, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was sent these investitures at Sa-skya. There is no indication he ever went to the Mongol court in Peking (*Gdung-rabs*, pp. 451–2).

[45] Not only did Toghon Temür give Kun-dga' legs-pa'i rgyal-mtshan the title *Pai-lan Wang*, he also gave him as wife his own sister (*Gdung-rabs*, p. 450), who was the widow of Bsod-nams bzang-po, the previous *Pai-lan Wang* (*RBYT*, folio 203-b).

[46] *RBYT*, folio 210-b, line 1. The four were: Phyag-na rdo-rje (1239–1267), Bsod-nams bzang-po (1291–?), Kun-dga' legs-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1308–1336), and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1336–1376) (see, respectively, *RBYT*, folios 199-a, 201-b, 203-b, 206-a; *Gdung-rabs*, pp. 282, 301, 450, 452). Three additional members of the 'Khon lineage of Sa-skya received the title *Dbang* = *Wang*, «Prince», and they

Discussing the data in detail would extend the text of this study beyond prescribed limits, but a general comparison reveals the following interesting parallels: each of the four was a member of the 'Khon lineage of Sa-skya; each was invested with authority to rule Tibet by virtue of the title; each was a layman (the title invalid for a monastic);[47] each of the first three who personally went to the Mongol court received a princess in marriage; [48] and each of the last three were immediate descendants of Bdag-nyid chen-po Bzang-po-dpal himself.[49] In view of these parallels, one might well expect that all four would have received the same historic attention, more or less, in the sources. Nevertheless, Bsod-nams bzang-po is the only one of the four attested in the *Yüan Shih* as a «Prince of Pai-lan». Even more curious, he is the only one of the four who never set foot in Sa-skya; his ancestral home and the administrative headquarters of the «Prince of Pai-lan» as Viceroy of Tibet.[50] Lacking illuminating data, it is pointless to speculate here why

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were successively the son, grandson, and great grandson of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (see the genealogical chart in *RA–2*, p. 340, where their names are preceded by the title *Dbang*). These last three did not, however, receive the title *Pai-lan Wang*. The son, Rnam-sras rgyal-mtshan (1360–1408), was given the title *Rwa rtse dbang* (*Gdung-rabs*, 453–4) or *Ri rtsing dbang* (*RBYT*, folio 208-a) by Toghon Temür, the last of the Yüan emperors. The grandson, Nam-mkha' legs-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1399–1444), in the year 1414, was given the title *Tu kya ho wang* (*Gdung-rabs*, pp. 456–7) or *Hu kya ho dbang* (*RBYT*, folio 209-b) by the Ming Emperor (Yung-lo, reigned 1403–1424). (See also *Tucci*, Genealogical Charts, Table I, Sa skya pa, following p. 706.) The grandson, Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan Bzang-po-dpal (1435–1463), is said to have received the same title as his father from a Ming Emperor (*Gdung-rabs*, pp. 458–60. This was not mentioned in *RBYT; cf.* folio 209-b). Details and identifications of these last investitures are beyond the scope of this preliminary study: they are noted here only as a basis for future study of what might be called «The Seven Princes of Sa-skya».

[47] According to the *Pai-lan Wang* entry in the *Yüan Shih*, it is clear that Bsod-nams bzang-po lost the title when he left the family life for the monastery; but it was restored to him in 1327 when he returned to secular life (*YS*. ch. 108, p. 1045; see also footnote 38 of this paper). From this entry, it is assumed that the title was valid only for a layman.

[48] Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, the fourth *Pai-lan Wang*, received the title while remaining in Sa-skya (*Gdung-rabs*, pp. 451–2). Perhaps he too would have been given a Mongol princess in marriage if he had gone to the court in Peking.

[49] These three are listed in the lineage of the Dus-mchod bla-brang, descended directly from Bdag-nyid chen-po bzang-po-dpal. See the genealogical charts in *RA–2* (p. 340) and *Tucci* (Table I).

[50] A birth year for Bsod-nams bzang-po was found only in *RBYT*, which dates it in the Iron-Female-Hare year (1291) (*RBYT*, folio 201-b). The Tibetan sources agree he was the first born son of Bdag-nyid chen-po bzang-po-dpal; but some do not agree on where he was born. It is said that «. . . when he was young, he went to China. . .» (*Gdung-rabs*, p. 301), or «. . .(he) was born at the Imperial Court (in Peking).» (*BA*, p. 213); or he was born in Sman-rtse, where his father had been sent into exile by Khubilai Khaghan (*Gdung-rabs*, pp. 289–90). This last story is corroborated by the *Deb-ther dmar-po* (*RA–1*, p. 44; *RA–2*, p. 49). Sman-rtse (Man-tzu) is the «Manzi» of Marco Polo's account, referring to south China versus north China which he called «Cathay» (Ronald Latham, trans., *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Middlesex (Penguin Books) 1958; see Index, p. 368 for references to «Manzi»). South China is marked «Mangi» (= Manzi) in Albert Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Cambridge

the other three «Princes of Pai-lan» are ignored in the pages of the *Yüan Shih*.[51]

Returning to the Tibetan sources, the paucity of biographic information they contain about Phyag-na rdo-rje may be blamed, above and beyond the preoccupation of such sources with monastics at the expense of laymen, upon the premature death of Phyag-na rdo-rje at the age of 29. The historical circumstances suggest that the expression «premature death» may well be a euphemism.

Phyag-na rdo-rje was taken away from Sa-skya by Mongol troops when he was but a boy of six. For over 20 years, he lived among the Mongols, wore their clothes, learned their language, and even married a Mongol princess. When he finally returned to Sa-skya as «Prince of Pai-lan» with the authority of a Viceroy of Tibet, he was escorted by Mongol troops sufficient in number to begin the implementation of a centralized government in Tibet. Remembering that his father had had five wives, all of whom bore children, one might surmise that the belated return of this half-brother, more Mongol than Tibetan, was a harsh and unwelcome reality to his blood relatives; not to mention the local proprietary lords of Tibet. Is it not possible, then, that the premature death of Khubilai Khaghan's first Viceroy of Tibet was due to forces other than natural?[52]

Be that as it may, Phyag-na rdo-rje had been appointed to rule Tibet and since no other member of the 'Khon lineage of Sa-skya had been groomed for the role, his death necessitated the inauguration of a new position in the governmental structure to be imposed by the Mongols. The official appointed to this new position received the title of *Dpon-chen* («Great Master»), and he was responsible for the administration of central Tibet which, following the Mongol census of 1268, was divided into 13 myriarchies, each governed by a *Khri-dpon* («Master of 10,000»).[53]

(Harvard University Press) 1935, pp. 47, 49, 51. After Bsod-nams bzang-po was appointed *Pai-lan Wang*, he was dispatched (presumably to take up his new duties as Viceroy of Tibet in Sa-skya); but he died enroute in Mdo-Khams (*RBYT*, folio 201-b; *RA-1*, p. 44; *RA-2*, p. 49).

[51] Although the *Yüan Shih* does not mention Phyag-na rdo-rje, by inference it admits his existence. His older brother, 'Phags-pa Lama; his half-brother Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan; and his son, Dharmapāla-rakṣita, are all named in the *Yüan Shih* (ch. 202, p. 2131). Since these three, all of whom were appointed Imperial Teacher (Ti-shih) by Khubilai Khaghan, are mentioned in that historic text, surely Phyag-na rdo-rje was not unknown in the Yüan court, even if he is ignored by the *Yüan Shih*.

[52] Whether a mere coincidence or not, 1267, the year of Phyag-na rdo-rje's death, is the same year in which the first occurrence of a local lord in Tibet being executed by the Mongols is recorded (*Wylie*, p. 124). That lord was the «Prince of aDam ma ri» (*Tucci*, p. 16). The name is spelled *'Dam pa ri pa* in *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston* (Lokesh Chandra, ed., New Delhi (International Academy of Indian Culture) 1961, Part 3 [hereafter cited as *GTSUG*], p. 796).

[53] See, *inter alia*, *Wylie*, pp. 123–6. *Schuh*, citing *GTSUG*, states that Phyag-na rdo-rje was the «. . . erste Administrator *(dpon-chen)* von Tibet. . .» (*Schuh*, p. xxiv). The passage referred to by *Schuh* does not designate Phyag-na rdo-rje as the first *Dpon-chen*. It reads: *'gro mgon phyag na la bod chol kha gsum shes pa'i lung gnang nas bod tu byon pa lam du gshegs pa dang/dpon chen la dbus gtsang shes pa'i las*

Details aside, it seems Tibet's first *Dpon-chen* is better remembered in some sources than its first Prince of Pai-lan, the Viceroy Phyag-na rdo-rje.[54]

The investitures bestowed on Phyag-na rdo-rje are best summarized in the *Rgya Bod Yig-tshang*, which states: «(Khubilai Khaghan) gave him the title of Prince of Pai-lan, a golden seal, together with (the title of) Viceroy with Jurisdiction of the Right and Left, and appointed him to be over all Tibet. This was the first of the investitures of the office of Prince over Tibet, in general; and Sa-skya, privately.»[55] This summation attests to the importance of the political role Phyag-na rdo-rje was expected to play in the implementation of Mongol governance in 13th-century Tibet: a role cut short by his early death.

In conclusion, this preliminary study of Phyag-na rdo-rje's biographic data suggests that, due to the limited information so far found, any attempt to construct even a skeletal chronology of his life may well have to depend on inference: inference that wherever the famous 'Phags-pa Lama, Imperial Teacher of Khubilai Khaghan, was in any given year between 1239 and 1267; there too was his all but ignored younger brother, the layman Phyag-na rdo-rje, Prince of Pai-lan and first Viceroy of Tibet.

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ka byin pa gsum bzhi byung snang zhing... (*GTSUG*, p. 798). As shown in this study, Phyag-na rdo-rje, as the first «Viceroy» *(T'ung-chih)* of Tibet, was given the special title of *Pai-lan Wang*. The title, *Dpon-chen*, was created after, and due to, the early death of Phyag-na rdo-rje in 1267. The *Deb-ther dmar-po* explicitly states that the «first *Dpon-chen* of Sa-skya» was Shākya bzangpo (*RA–1*, 48; *RA–2*, p. 53; *Inaba*, pp. 112–3).

[54] As an example of the imbalance of historic attention, the *Deb-ther dmar-po* notes only that Phyag-na rdo-rje had been made *Dbang* (= Wang, «Prince») by Khubilai Khaghan (*RA–1*, p. 44; *RA–2*, p. 49); but, it is explicit about the title he gave the first *Dpon-chen* of Tibet. It states: «In the time of Lama 'Phags-pa, by command of Se-chen (= Khubilai Khaghan), [Shākya bzang-po] was given the seal (and title) of *Zam klu gun min dbang hu* of Dbus-Gtsang and appointed *Dpon-chen*.» (RA–1, p. 48; RA–2, p. 53). The title is also spelled *Zam glu gun dben hu* (*RBYT*, folio 214-b). For an early study of this title, where it is spelled *Zam gru guṅ miṅ dben hu*, and the Mongol census taken in Tibet, see *Tucci*, pp. 13–16; 251–2, notes 35–40. The title has been identified as a transliteration of Chinese *San lu chün min wang fu* (三路軍民王府 *Inaba*, p. 113). A brief explanation in Tibetan of this title and its rank in the Yüan administrative structure is given in *RA–2* (pp. 355–6, note 291). In short, a *Lu* (variously spelled *glu*, *klu*, and *gru* in Tibetan) was a unit composed of ten myriarchies; thus, the *San lu* («3 *Lu*») in the title given the first *Dpon-chen* invested him with a region theoretically embracing thirty myriarchies, in spite of the fact that Tibet was divided into only 13 such units. For details on this, as well as other relevant units and titles, see the recent study by Luciano Petech, *The Mongol Census in Tibet: Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1980, pp. 233–8.

[55] The Tibetan text for this last line reads: *spyir bod dang/sgos sa skya la/dbang gi lung las tham kha gnang ba'i sngan ma yin no/* (*RBYT*, folio 199-a). The statement that Phyag-na rdo-rje was invested with authority over Sa-skya «privately» *(sgos)* reflects the fact that Sa-skya was not included among the 13 myriarchies. It was regarded as being politically separate from them and governed privately by the Sa-skya lay ruler.

METHODS OF CHRONOLOGICAL CALCULATION IN TIBETAN HISTORICAL SOURCES

BY

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It was A. Csoma de Kőrös who first introduced to the outside world details of the calendar of the *Kālacakra-tantra* used in Tibet and theories on the date of the Buddha's death current in this country. In memory of the achievements of this pioneer in Tibetan studies, this paper is devoted to the same subject.

1. The Beginning of the Calendar Year at the Time of the T'u-fan Kingdom

If one examines Chinese historical sources in respect to the start of the calendar year during the T'u-fan 吐蕃 Period, one finds for example the following statement in the section relating to Tibet in the *T'ung-tien* 「通典」, 190. 邊防 6.

«They regard the time when barley ripens (mai-shou 麥熟) as the start of the year.»

The same assertion is repeated in other works up to the accounts of T'u-fan in the two *T'ang-shu* 唐書.[1]

In commentating upon this statement in his *T'ang-shu T'u-fan-ch'uan chien-chêng*, Wang-chung writes that «in the Tibetan calendar, the third month is considered the start of the year, and it is so even today».[2] But is this in fact the case? From about the twelfth century until recent times the calendar based upon the *Kālacakra-tantra* was used in Tibet, and the calendar year began on the fifteenth day of the third month. However, the Kālacakra calendar begins in theory from the year A.D. 1027,[3] and therefore there is no guarantee whatsoever that it is directly connected with the calendar of the T'u-fan Period.

Furthermore, as far as the above quotation is concerned, there is no qualification of the term «the time when barley ripens», e.g. where or when, in which case it may be looked upon as referring to *mai-ch'iu* 麥秋 (barley-autumn) as understood by the Chinese in general, i.e. the fourth month of the lunar calendar.[4] The start of the

[1] 「不知節候，麥熟爲歲首」 *Chiu T'ang-shu*. T'u-fan ch'uan. 「其四時以麥熟爲歲首」 *T'ang-shu*, T'u-fan ch'uan.

[2] 王忠：「唐書吐蕃傳箋證」, Peking 1958, p. 16.

[3] v. *CST*, pp. 79–81.

[4] v. Note (11).

year in the Kālacakra calendar is the third month of the lunar calendar, called *Hor-zla gsum-pa*.[5] This is also known by the names *caitra, nag-zla, 'dor-ster, myos-byed, dri-zhim-ldan, yid-subs zla, 'dod-dus-zla* and *ming-gzugs-zla*, and corresponds to the month when the sun is in the sign of Aries *(lug-khyim)*.[6] Thus it is evident that Wang-chung's explanation is wrong.

Examination of the calendars of the T'ang Period brings to light the fact that in almost all cases the first month starts in the month of *Māgha* in the Indian calendar, corresponding to the latter half of the first month and the first half of the second month of the solar calendar.[7] On the other hand examination of the Tibetan calendar in section Ma of the *kLong-rdol bla-ma'i gsung-'bum* (*LSB*, f. 24a; Peking Ed., f. 21a) shows that the same month *Hor-zla dang-po = mchu-zla (māgha) = 'du-byed (cho-'phrul zla-ba)* is given as *dgun-zla tha-cung*, i.e. the last month of winter, and not as the first month of spring as in the T'ang calendars.

In the famous chronological work *Pad-dkar zhal-lung*[8] it is also discussed whether *cho-'phrul zla-ba* should be reckoned from the first day of the last month of winter or from the first day of the first month of spring, and the former view is stated to be correct. As authority for this conclusion, the phrase *cho-'phrul wa'i zla-ba la* (in the month of miracle, *Wa*) is quoted from the *'Phags-pa byams-pa lung-bstan-pa* (Peking No. 1011, Taishō No. 455). The reason given is that *Wa* is the same as *sKag*, i.e. the six stars of the constellation *Āśleṣa*, and together with *mChu*, i.e. the constellation *Maghā*, forms the month of *mchu-zla (māgha)*; thus *Wa* corresponds to the first half of this month (*PKZ*, f. 32a, 1.6-f. 32b, 1.3). The month *Māgha* corresponds roughly to the second half of the first month and the first half of the second month of the solar calendar.[9] That this month is regarded as the last month of winter agrees with kLong-rdol bla-ma's views, but the name *Hor-zla bcu-gnyis-pa* for this month differs from the appellation *Hor-zla dang-po* given by kLong-rdol bla-ma and generally used in later times.

The relationship with the solar calendar is also dealt with separately in the *Pad-dkar zhal-lung*, where it is stated that in general in a case immediately following

[5] v. *CST*, p. 79; *LSB*, f. 18b, 1.1.

[6] *LSB*, f. 17b 1.4; f. 18a, 1.7-f. 18b, 1.1. On the names of the months v. f. 17b, 11.4–6 and the chart on f. 21a.

[7] v. 薛仲三，歐陽頤：「兩千年中西曆對照表」; *IC*. II, pp. 732–733. The *Mahāvyutpatti* (8272) has *māgha dgun zla tha cung mchu*. (i.e. *mchu zla* 季冬 the last month of winter). The Chinese translation 季冬 is a translation of the Tibetan, and does not mean that the month of *māgha* corresponds to the last month of winter in China. The Chinese translations of the names of the other months of the year given in this work must be understood in the same way.

[8] v. Abbreviations; *CST*, p. 91, Note 32.

[9] *IC*. II, pp. 721–722, 732–733. It means that the first day of the month of *cho-'phrul* fell within the latter half of the first month of the solar calendar.

adjustments for the intercalary month, the vernal equinox (twenty-first day of the third month of the solar calendar) falls on about *dpyid-zla ra-ba yar-ngo tshes-dgu*, the ninth day of the first month of spring[10] (*op. cit.*, f. 31b, 1.3-f. 32a, 1.2). An example of this in the T'ang calendar is the ninth day of the second lunar month of the year 655 A.D. Thus the correspondence between the first month of spring in the Tibetan calendar and the second lunar month in the T'ang calendar becomes clear. The *Pad-dkar zhal-lung* adds that «in some Tibetan canonical translations this has been mistakenly given as the ninth day of the second month of spring, but one must not be led astray by this» *(ibid.)*.

The fifth Dalai Lama, as did in fact kLong-rdol bla-ma, equates *mchu-zla* with *Hor-zla dang-po*, and rejects such appellations as *Hor-zla gnyis-pa* and *Hor-zla bcu-gnyis-pa* (*rTsis-skar-nag las brtsam-pa'i 'dri-lan*, f. 32b). In particular he quotes in regard to the latter the same passage of the *'Phags-pa byams-pa lung-bstan-pa* as was given in the *Pad-dkar zhal-lung*. His views are based on the standpoint that Hor-zla dang-po is to be determined in accordance with the Hsia-chêng 夏正 calendar, which places the start of the year in the first month rather than in the eleventh month, in which the winter solstice comes, as does the Chou-chêng 周正 calendar,[11] and use the Chinese calendar as their standard. Therefore, equating *mchu-zla* with *Hor-zla dang-po* reflects a viewpoint based on the Chinese calendar.

In any case, the second lunar month corresponded to the first month of spring in the Tibetan calendar, where the names of the seasons came one month later than the corresponding seasons in the Chinese calendar. Thus it becomes evident that *mai-shou*, «the time when barley ripens,» the fourth lunar month,[12] was called in Tibet *dpyid-zla tha-cung*, i.e. the third month of spring.

In the Chronicles of the Tibetan royal dynasty discovered at Tun-huang (*PT.* 1288, *VP.* 750, *DTH*, pp. 13–27) the events of each year are recorded in the order spring, summer, autumn and winter. There are few examples of the seasons of spring and autumn being stated expressly by name. However, whereas *dpyid*

[10] In this case the first day of the first month of spring falls roughly on the 13th day of the third month of the solar calendar, coming within the month of *phālguna*. The *Mahāvyutpatti* (8261) has *phālgunaḥ*: dpyid zla ra ba gre can. gre-can is probably synonymous with *dbo-can*. Soon after entering the second month of the lunar calendar, the moon moves into the constellation *Citrā*, forming part of the month of caitra. Therefore, there is nothing against the month starting from the first day of the next lunar month being called caitra. The name of the month is determined not by the name of the constellation in which the full-moon occurs but by the position of the moon known by reckoning at the start of the lunar month in Tibet.

[11] *CST*, p. 79b; p. 90a, Note (6).

[12] 「蔡邕月令章句曰，百穀各以其初生爲春，熟爲秋，故麥以孟夏爲秋」(*Ch'u-hsüeh-chi* 「初學記」歲時部上)

「以春日至始數，九十二日謂之夏至，而麥熟」(*Kuan-tzŭ* 「管子」輕重己)

The latter example states simply that barley was ripe by the summer solstice.

(spring) is mentioned at the start of the year in only 675 A.D. and 704, it is given at the end of the year in 701, 708, 725 and 726. This suggests the probability that the «spring» at the end of the year was longer than that at the start of the year. This can be seen as a reflection of the fact that the first and second months of spring came at the end of the year, and the third month of spring, i.e. the fourth lunar month, came at the start of the year.

In Pelliot tib. 1089, 1.50 ff.[13] it is stated as follows:

> «When the basic policy was reached *(gzhi dang gthugs na)* that the great Zhang-lon should (himself) appoint the officials among the Chinese at Shacu, the notification tablet *(phrin-byang)* from sTag-bzher rgod-khyung, the minister in charge of communicating imperial edicts, and others was delivered via Cog-ro Legs-'dus on the fourth day of the third month of spring in the year of the Rat. It was stated that in the summer of (that) year of the Rat the great Zhang-lon would make an official visit to the frontier, and would divide the Chineses in Shacu into two (military) settlements *(rgya-sha-cu-pa sde-gnyis bcad nas)* and determine the official positions and officials *(las-sgo dang dpon-sna)* on the occasion of the conference to be held at Long-chu (隴州?). The officials for Shacu to be appointed from among the Tibetans (at that time) were given in the mandate papers as...»

From this passage it is evident that the third month of spring in the year of the Rat was included from the first day of the month within that year. Since the exact dates for the events of the summer are not given, it is also clear that the passage is describing a prearranged schedule.

Thus it is possible to confirm by means of the Tun-huang documents too that the Tibetan calendar started from the first day of the third month of spring in the Tibetan calendar, which corresponds to the fourth month of the T'ang lunar calendar. Next we shall discuss two or three questions which can be elucidated on the basis of this fact.

[13] v. M. Lalou, *Revendications des Fonctionnaires du Grand Tibet au VIIIe Siècle: Journal Asiatique*, 1955, pp. 171–212; esp. pp. 178, 183. As for tentative corrections of the translation, v. Z. Yamaguchi: *Foundation of two Military Settlements of the Tibetan Army Consisting of Chinese at Shacu, and an Attempt to Locate mKhar tsan* [沙州漢人による吐蕃二軍團の成立と *mkhar tsan* 軍團の位置] Sashū kanjin ni yoru Toban Ni gundan no seiritsu to mkhar tsan gundan no ichi: *Annual Report of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange*, Faculty of Letters, University of Tōkyō, No. 4, 1981, pp. 13–47, p. 29. In the present paper the translation has been further rectified.

2. Confirmation of Some Dates Given According to the Tibetan Calendar

It is stated in the *T'ung-chien* in connection with the marriage of the T'ang princess Wên-ch'êng 文成公主 to the Tibetan king, in the passage for the day of the male Fire Dragon in the intercalary tenth month of the fourteenth year of the Chên-kuan 貞觀 era (A.D. 640), that «with the permission of the emperor, Princess Wên-ch'êng was forced to marry him.» However, in general this is not regarded as the date of the actual marriage. The marriage itself is considered to have taken place on the day of the female Fire Ox in the first month of the following year, which the present writer has for some time insisted to be the date of the report after the marriage by Tao-tsung, king of Chiang-hsia, 江夏王道宗 upon his return to the imperial court.[14] The generally accepted date of the marriage is based upon statements such as that in the T'ung-chien mentioned above and in various other works including the accounts of T'u-fan in the two *T'ang-shu*.

However, as was made clear in our discussions in the previous section, this day of the female Fire Ox in the first month of the fifteenth year of the Chên-kuan Era can not be converted into *lcags-glang*, i.e. year of the female Iron Ox, in the Tibetan calendar (corresponding to 641 A.D.). This is because the period until the end of the third month of the fifteenth year of the Chên-kuan Era falls within the Tibetan year of the Rat.

Dates in Tibetan historical sources are usually only given by the year, and it is seldom that the month and day are stated as well. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion and as a matter of convenience, it is general practice nowadays to convert years in the Tibetan calendar into the corresponding year in the Western calendar. In accordance with this convention, the date of Princess Wên-ch'êng's entry into Tibet and her marriage is 640 A.D., and most definitely not 641.

In the opening passage of the Tun-huang Chronicles (*DTH*, p. 13) it is stated that «Princess Wên-ch'êng, receiving the invitation of mGar sTong-rtsan yul-zung, arrived in the land of Bod.» Judging from what follows, the date of this event must be considered without any hesitation whatsoever as the year of the male Iron Rat, i.e. 640 A.D. It is not 641 as claimed by many scholars,[15] and under no circumstances can it be 642 A.D. (642/643) as suggested by G. Uray.[16]

[14] v. *MHT*, II, p. 47; p. 84, Note (97); p. 87, Note (104).

[15] No small number of scholars have attempted to correctly determine the corresponding Western date in connection with this year only. However, since there are virtually no other dates of which it is possible to ascertain the name of the month, the present writer finds it difficult to approve of such attempts.

[16] *NLO*, pp. 3–35; *L'Annalistique et la Pratique Bureaucratique au Tibet Ancien: Journal Asiatique*, 1975, pp. 157–170, esp. p. 161; *The Annals of the 'A ža Principality* in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium*, Budapest 1978, pp. 541–578 esp., p. 564.

In addition, the fact that Princess Wên-ch'êng entered Tibet and married in (the intercalary tenth month of) 640, as suggested by the contents of the *T'ung-chien*, can also be testified by a passage in the T'ang-Tibetan Treaty Inscription (eastern face, 11.21–26). A translation of the relevant passage follows:

«After the Chinese king Li first ascended the throne, the rule of the Great T'ang Empire reached *(lon)* its twenty-third year, and in the second generation (after the first generation)[17] of the royal dynasty the divine btsan-po Khri-srong-brtsan[18] and the Chinese emperor T'ai-tsung wên-wu-shên 太宗文武神 discussed affairs of state, and in the year of the Chên-kuan Era Princess Wên-ch'êng was married to the btsan-po.»

In the above passage «the year of the Chên-kuan Era» corresponds to the twenty-third year from the first year of the Wu-tê 武德 Era (618), and is clearly the fourteenth year of the Chên-kuan Era. The rulers of the two countries did not actually meet; the main purport of the passage is that they entered into a matrimonial relationship.

Next, let us examine the date of Srong-btsan sgam-po's death. In the Annals of Emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 in Vol. 4 of the *Chiu T'ang-shu* the following passage is to be found:

«In the fifth month of the first year of the Yung-hui 永徽 Era the btsan-po of Tibet died. The commander of the Right Imperial Guards, Hsien-yü k'uang-chi 鮮於匡濟, is entrusted with an imperial message and sent to offer condolence.»

As H. Satō has insisted for some time,[19] it is probable that an envoy of condolence was sent at this time. If one examines the *T'ung-chien*, one finds that

[17] The translation of this passage given in *MHT* (II), p. 6 is incorrect, as are the translations to be found in H. E. Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa and the Mu Tsung/Khri gtsug lde brtsan Treaty of A.D. 821–822 from the Inscription at Lhasa*, London 1952, p. 60 and *SAT* (I), p. 22; (II), p. 924. The period referred to here is the fourteenth year of the Chên-kuan Era of Emperor T'ai-tsung, and actually modifies «in the year of the Chên-kuan Era Princess Wên-ch'êng was married to the btsan po». This construction consists of an adverbial clause of time and an adverbial phrase of time preceded by a long adverbial clause. The adverb of time «in the year of the Chên-kuan Era» included within the modified sentence expresses the same «time» as the preceding adverbial clause and phrase, only the two are separated. This is an example of divided expression in parallel sentences, and is frequently met with in the literature of this period. A simple example is *yul byung sa dod tshun cad* (F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, II, London 1951, p. 93), meaning «since the country appeared». In this case both *yul* and *sa*, and *byung* and *dod* are synonymous, but separated. As regards «the second generation of the royal dynasty», see the example from Stein No. 710 given in Section (4) of the present paper.

[18] Srong-brtsan sgam-po is the eulogistic name for Khri-srong-brtsan. v. *DTH*, p. 118, 11. 23–24.

[19] *SAT*, I, pp. 209, 211. The account in the Annals of the Emperor Kao-tsung gives the date of events in T'ang at the time, and the btsan-po's death is mentioned merely as the cause of those events.

«summer, fifth month, day of the male Water Dog» is mentioned as if it were the date of his death, but this is incorrect. It corresponds to the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar. Even if the envoy had arrived from Tibet on this day, its departure from Tibet would have been at least three months prior to this,[20] i.e. the last day of the second month of the lunar year, which would have corresponded to the first month of spring in Tibet, and therefore the year of the king's death becomes *sa-mo-bya* (female Earth Bird). In accordance with the aforementioned conventions of expression, this must be expressed as 649 A.D.

[20] The only available information on the state of communications between T'ang and Tibet in the T'ang Period is that relating to the route from Shan-ch'êng 鄯城 to Central Tibet. This is more or less identical with the routes taken by the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Third Panchen Lama on their visits to Peking, and is dealt with in detail in H. Satō's research on the subject (*Studies in the Historical Geography of Tibet*, Tōkyō 1978, pp. 5–162). In the case of the Fifth Dalai Lama there were long halts on the way, so that after setting out from bSam-grub bde-chen on April 21st, it took nearly four months to reach sKu-'bum (A5DL, Vol. Ka, f. 175b, l. 6-f. 188a, l. 2). However, on the way back he left dGon-lung on July lst and arrived in Rva-sgreng on the evening of October 8th. This means that, if one subtracts the additional days spent in places where he halted on the way for two nights or more, the return-trip took about 75 days (f. 213b, l. 3-f. 217b, l. 3). In comparison, the Third Panchen Lama was seen off by the Eighth Dalai Lama near Rva-sgreng on July 6th, and took three months and ten days to reach sKu-'bum on October 15th. But if one subtracts the time spent with missionary work on the way, one is left with 74 days (*B3PC*, f. 70b, l. 2–f. 93b, l. 1). As for the itinerary from the two large monasteries of sKu-'bum and dGon-lung in Ch'ing-hai to Ch'ang-an, no explicit information is to be received from the accounts of the routes taken by the Dalai Lama or the Panchen Lama. However, it is probable that of the two routes, that setting out from the above two monasteries and reaching Ch'ang-an via Lan-chou 蘭州, and that passing through Lan-chou to Ning-hsia 寧夏, crossing the Yellow River and arriving in O-lon pu-lag (*=ulayan bulay*), it is probable that the latter was somewhat farther in distance than the former. Therefore, let us examine the route taken by the Dalai Lama. He set out from sKu-'bum on August 21st, passed through Ning-hsia (Yin-ch'uan 銀川), crossed the Yellow River on September 21st, and arrived in O-lon pu-lag on October 3rd (*A5DL*, f. 188a, l. 5–f. 192b, l. 1). On his way back he reached O-lon pu-lag on June 1st, crossed the Yellow River on the 6th, passed through Lan-chou on the 24th, and arrived in sKu-'bum on the 30th (f. 212b, l. 4–f. 213b, l. 2), taking in all thirty days. On the way out he spent twelve extra days on the way, leaving thirty days en route, too. Of course, the above are descriptions of the routes taken by nobility, and not those of an envoy. However, since the envoy bearing the news of the btsan-po's death was in no particular hurry, even if it did not take three and a half months, it would probably have taken at least three months. There is also no reason for assuming that there was any great difference in the travelling conditions in the T'ang and Ch'ing Periods. It seems probable that O-lon pu-lag was situated between the two fords across the Yellow River crossed when going from Ning-hsia to Kuei-hua-ch'êng 歸化城. Messengers in the Ch'ing Period took between three and five months for the trip between Lhasa and Peking, as can be seen from a comparison of the Shih-lu of Ch'ing and the Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama. According to the researches of Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Leiden 1950, pp. 101, 104, news of the death of Khang-chen-nas reached Peking in one month, but this must be regarded as an exception.

Therefore, the year of Khri-srong-brtsan's death given in the passage preceding that for 650 A.D. in the Chronicles[21] also corresponds to the year of the Bird, and it is impossible for it to be any other year than 649 A.D.

Among classical historical works dating from later than the fourteenth century, the year of the female Earth Bird is clearly given as the date of the king's death in the *Deb-ther dmarpo* (*HLD*, p. 17a, 1.4). In the older *rGyal-rabs* by 'Phags-pa (*PBG*, f. 5b, 1.5) it is given as *sa-pho-khyi* (male Earth Dog), but this is the result of having calculated the king's death as coming eighty-two years after his birth, which is given as *me-mo-glang* (female Fire Ox), and need not be considered here. In the *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long* (*GSM*, f. 95b, 1.1) the first year of the Yung-hui Era, which derives from such T'ang works as the accounts of T'u-fan in the two *T'ang-shu* and the *T'ung-chien*, is translated, quite clearly on the basis of the *rGyal-yig-tshang*[22] and without any consideration of the difference in the start of the calendar year in the two countries, as *lcags-pho-khyi* (male Iron Dog). As mentioned above, this is the date when the envoy of condolence was dispatched.

Therefore, the views of H. E. Richardson,[23] who does not adopt 649 A.D. as the date of the king's death, as proposed by H. Satō, also lose any claim to validity.

There is one other fact which is clarified through the confirmation of the start of the Tibetan calendar year, and which I have in fact dealt with previously.[24] It concerns King Khri-srong lde-btsan (742–797)'s wife of his later years, 'Bro-bza' Jo-mo-btsan khri-rgyal-mo-btsan, who was ordained as a nun by rBa Ratna in the middle month of winter *(dgun-zla 'bring-po)* in the year of the Sheep and received the name Byang-chub-rje. This must have taken place at least twelve years after rBa Ratna's own taking of the tonsure in the first month of spring in the year of the Sheep. It is sufficient to take into account the fact that in the Tibetan calendar the «first month of spring» never precedes the «middle month of winter» of the same year, and that rBa Ratna could not have supervised someone else's taking of orders if he himself had not been fully ordained previously. Therefore, if the year of the Sheep in which the «Six Men of Trial» *(Sad-mi mi-drug)*, including rBa Ratna, were ordained is set at 779, the year of the Sheep in which 'Bro-bza' was ordained becomes 791 at the earliest.

[21] The fact that no mention of Srong-brtsan sgam-po's death is made in the entry for 650 in the Chronicles means if nothing else that the Chronicles did not consider his death to have taken place in 650, and so it is natural to assume that it occurred in 649 or before.

[22] v. *GSM*, f. 95a, 1. 4; S. Inaba, H. Satō, *Hu lan deb ther*, Kyōto 1964, pp. 11–14.

[23] H. E. Richardson, *How old was Srong btsan sgam po?* in: *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Gangtok, II–1, pp. 5–8 esp. p. 5. Richardson not only fails to take into account the start of the year in the Tibetan calendar, but is also unaware of the nature of the dates given in Chinese sources and fails to comprehend Satō's views. In addition he seems to be unaware of the fact referred to in Note (21).

[24] v. Z. Yamaguchi, *rin lugs rBa dPal dbyangs: Studies on Buddhist Dharma*, Tōkyō 1975, pp. 641–664, esp. pp. 650–653.

3. Methods of Chronological Calculation in Tibetan Historical Sources

Chronological calculations found in Tibetan historical sources are carried out on the basis of the *lo-ngo*[25] method, also used in Japan and some other Eastern countries. However, this fact has not always been correctly comprehended by Western scholars. In a word, it means that when referring to the link between one event and another event by means of the length of time elapsed, the first and last years touched by that period of time are added to the intervening span of years. For example, in the case of a person's life-span, the year of birth and the year of death are added to the intervening years, without any consideration of the length of those first and last years.

This is a convenient method when only the year and not the month and day of an event are reported in historical materials. However, the length of the first and last «two (lunar) years» can in actually vary from «two days» to as much as «two years and two month» less one day in the case of an intercalary month being included in either side.

It all stems from the fact that «years» marked off by New Year's Eve and each with its own name are used as the basic element in chronological calculations.[26] In other words, one must consider carefully the fact that the passing of New Year's Eve means that «one year has elapsed» from the time of the particular event, but it does not mean that the equivalent of «one (lunar) year» has actually elapsed.

«One year has elapsed» means that one has «entered the second year». This is a most important concept, and as a result the number of years indicated by ordinal numbers and the span of years given (by *lo-ngo*) in relation to a particular event coincide.

Even if it is stated that one year has passed, one must be most careful in noting that the fact that a year is marked off by New Year's Eve means that a «year» can vary in length from one day up to two years and one month less one day if an intercalary month is included.

Let us next examine some actual examples of the theory outlined above. In the following examples New Year's Eve is taken to correspond to the thirtieth day of the twelfth month. Let us suppose for example that a person born on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month of the year of the Rat died on the first day of the first

[25] *ngo* in *lo ngo* means «countenance» or «sign». It refers only to the «year» as determined and distinguished by the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac, and is not concerned with the actual period of twelve months.

[26] This means that periods of time of less than a year are disregarded. In other words, this form of reckoning is based upon *lo ngo* (v. Note (25)).

month of the following year of the Ox. Since the date of birth would be given simply as the year of the Rat and the date of death as the year of the Ox, historians of a later date would have no choice but to say that a person who actually had lived only two days «lived two years» or «died in his second year», and that he «died one year later», when in fact he had died only one day later.

Next, let us suppose that a person was born on the first day of the first month of the year of the Rat and died on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month of the year of the Ox and that there was one intercalary month in this period. As in the previous case, the given data would be «born in the year of the Rat» and «died in the year of the Ox» So although this person did in fact live two full (lunar) years and one month less one day, he too would be said to have «died one year later».[27] This example can be said to fulfill the conditions for the expressions such as «he lived for two years» or «he died at the age of two», used in the West.

If such cases as given above did actually occur, they would no doubt be recorded as «he died the next day» or «he lived a full two years». However, in the case of there being a number of intervening years, a situation similar to that described above is bound to arise in regard to the initial and final years. When expressing «one year later», the phrase *phyi-lo* (the following year) is usually used.

When lengths of time of less than ten years or so are recorded in Tibetan literature, it seems that the *length of years as a period of time* is given in approximate figures.[28] This can be considered as resulting from the fact that the scribe was able to conceive as a whole the period of time in question. For example, if it were from the eleventh month of the year of the Rat until the tenth month of the year of the Tiger, one would not hesitate in recording it as two years, and would not count the year of the Rat as an additional one year. On the other hand, in the case of long periods of

[27] This does not mean that G. Uray considered only the first example and failed to think as far as the second example, but rather it seems that he came to the conclusion that, because Tibetans at the time of the T'u-fan Dynasty did not distinguish between cardinal and ordinal numbers, years recorded in cardinal numbers must also be understood as ordinal numbers. If this really were the case, it seems logical that one would have to consider how to deal with years expressed in a similar manner in later historical material, but Uray does not mention anything about the methods of dealing with materials dating from the period in which he considers ordinal expressions to have been established (*NLO*, pp. 34–35). Even if everything is to be interpreted as ordinal expressions in the manner suggested by Uray, one must not forget that for example in the case of a phrase to be understood as meaning «in the second year thereafter», the length of time referred to can vary from less than one year when reckoning from the end of the year, up to more than two years when the period in question lasts from the start of one year until the end of the following year with an intercalary month included.

[28] In the entry for 649 in the Chronicles, where it is stated that the married life of Srong-brtsan sgam-po and Princess Wên-ch'êng lasted «three years» (*DTH*, p. 13), the period 646–649 is being referred to. The five years given as the length of King Gung-srong gung-brtsan's reign in later records also probably refers to 638–643.

time difficult to grasp as a whole, it is possible that the initial month would no longer be exactly known at the end of the period in question, and in the case of a long period of years the confirmation of the exact length of the initial and final years would lose significance. It was probably due to such circumstances that the *lo-ngo* system described above came into existence in the first place.

Let us next examine some related terms and actual examples.

Srong-brtsan sgam-po was born in 581 and died in 649, i.e. he was born in the year of the female Iron Ox and died in the year of the female Earth Bird. He is said to have lived «69 years», the 67 years from 582 to 648 with an additional initial and final two years. This life-span has been mistakenly transmitted as the length of his reign, and, due to his name Srong-lde-btsan, has also been mistaken by Bu-ston and others for the life-span of Khri-srong lde-btsan.[29] Srong-brtsan sgam-po died in the 69th year after his birth in 581.

There are many expressions found in later historical works for expressing the elapsing of time. Although it contains no small number of mistakes, let us examine a few examples from the *Deb-ther dmar-po'i deb-gsar-ma.*

de nas lo gsum song ba'i chu 'brug la | (*DMS*, f. 72a, l. 6)
«In the year of the male Water Dragon (1352), three years having passed since then (1349).»
de nas nyi shu rtsa gcig na 'bri gung thel btab (*ibid.*, f. 65b, l. 2)
«Twenty-one years there (1158) after the monastery of 'Bri gung thel was built (1179).»

In these two examples, too, it is the New Year's Eve that has «passed». It should be mentioned that it was the custom to add one year to one's age with the passing of New Year's Eve. In these examples, if one regards the initial year as the first year, the final years being expressed here become the «fourth year» and the «twenty-second year» respectively. In the Chronicles from Tun-huang there is a similar passage immediately after the account of the Chinese princess's entry into Tibet in 640.

de nas lo gsum na | *btsan po khri srong rtsan gyi ring la* | (*DTH*, p. 13)
«Three years there (640) after (when it had once again become) the reign of the btsan-po Khri-srong-rtsan.»

This refers to the «fourth» year after 640, i.e. 643, and one should not understand this to mean actually «two years later», as does G. Uray. If one were to follow his interpretation, every time a new reckoning were given, one year would be

[29] *MHT*, pp. 52–57.

subtracted, so that in the case of a hundred calculations there would be a decrease of one hundred years.[30]

When expressing the -th year, the suffix *pa* is added to the numeral expression, forming an ordinal number, as in the following example.

de nas lo bcu dgu pa chu lug la | (*DMS*, f. 54a, l. 6)
«In the nineteenth year there (1325) after, the year of the female Water Sheep (1343).»
This means «eighteen years later».

As was seen above there are several expressions possible for indicating how many times New Year's Eve has passed since the initial year — the particle *na* added immediately after the number of years; the verb *song;* or, as in the next example, the verb *'das*.

chu mo bya nas lo | *nga 'das pa'i sa pho phag* (*DTN*, Chap. Ba, f. 11a, l. 7)
«The year of the male Earth Pig, five years after the year of the female Water Bird.»

In cases including the adverb *yan-la* (until), one sometimes finds that, while using the verbs *song* or *'das* meaning «passed», the final year has been added to the number of years elapsed, due to confusion arising in regard to the meaning of this adverb, but this is incorrect usage. In such a case verbs such as *'gro* (to go) or *lon* (to take) must be used, as will be seen below. Let us first give some examples of the correct usage of these expressions.

de nas deng sang gi sa khyi yan la lo sum brgya dang drug cu 'das so | (*DMS*, f. 65b, l. 2–3)
«From then (1178) until the present year of the male Earth Dog (1538) 360 years have passed.»

This is an example of correct usage in which only the number of elapsed years has been given. However, when the final date is qualified as *'di rdzogs pa yan la* (until this year ends), the *New Year's Eve of the final year* is also included, and therefore it is possible while using *'das* or *song* to add the year including the final date to the number of elapsed years, as in the following example.

[30] As is shown in Section *4* of this paper, there was a distinction in the manner of expressing cardinal and ordinal numbers in the T'u-fan Period. Therefore, chronological expressions identical in both the Classical and T'u-fan Periods must be interpreted in the same meaning. For example, if one were to apply Uray's interpretation to the examples of cardinal numbers in the *Deb-ther dmar-po'i deb-gsar-ma*, a discrepancy of one year would occur each time a calculation were made.

chu lug de nas me stag 'di rdzogs pa yan la lo brgya dang bzhi song (*PKZ*, Ka, f. 12a, l. 2)
«From that year of the female Water Sheep (1343) until this year of the male Fire Tiger (1446) ended, 104 years had passed.»

When *rdzogs-pa* is omitted leaving only *di-yan-la, 'das* and *song* cannot be used for including the year of the final date. Instead *'gro* or *lon* are used.

de nas deng sang gi rnam 'phyang zhes pa sa pho khyi 'di yan la lo brgya dang lnga 'gro | (*DMS*, f. 14a, l. 3)
«From then (1434) until this present year of the male Earth Dog (1538), called Vilamba, 105 years will have passed.»
de'i tshe mdo smad du rje rin po che 'khrungs nas bcu gnyis lon | (*ibid.*, f. 47a, l. 5)
«At that time (1368) twelve years will have passed after Tsong kha pa was born in mDo smad (1357).»

An example of *lon* being to express the inclusion of the final year is also to be seen in the quotation from the T'ang-Tibet Treaty Inscription cited in the second section of this paper.[31]

4. Examples of Incorrect Chronological Calculations

Next we shall examine some examples of incorrect chronological calculations and attempt to determine the correct forms from various angles, whilst at the same time introducing a passage supporting our argument.

In the *Deb-ther dmar-po'i deb gsar-ma* one finds the following passages.
de nas lo bzhi pa shing pho rta la | (*DMS*, f. 54a, l. 2)
«In the fourth year there (1290) after, the year of the male Wood Horse (1294).»
de nas lo gsum pa shing mo glang la (*ibid.*, f. 54a, l. 5)

«In the third year there (1322) after, the year of the female Wood Ox (1325).»
In these two examples ordinal numbers have been mistakenly used for expressing «four years later» and «three years later» by subtracting one year from the correct ordinal expressions, «the fifth year» and «the fourth year». The latter example is immediately followed by an example of correct usage, already cited above.

«In the nineteenth year there (1325) after, the year of the female Water Sheep (1343).»

[31] v. p. 8.

The erroneous expression expresses a period of time shorter than that which actually elapsed.

Therefore, when the expression *de nas lo ~ na* (~ years thereafter), which appears a lot in chronological works,[32] is used such errors do not occur. It goes without saying that there is no need whatsoever to make any corrections to this form of expression as asserted by G. Uray.[33]

Uray regards this expression *de nas lo ~ na* (~ years thereafter) as synonymous with *de nas lo ~ pa na (| pa—la)* (in the ~ th year thereafter | in the ~ th year thereafter, the year of —). Uray seems to have completely failed to comprehend the significance of the *lo-ngo* method of calculation explained above, and having arbitrarily decided that there was a custom of counting incomplete years as complete years, claims that since there was no distinction between cardinal and ordinal numbers in the T'u-fan Period, cardinal numbers, too, must be understood as ordinal expressions.[34]

This view is completely wrong. Although it is true that the form using the suffix *pa* to express ordinal numbers was adopted at some date after the time of the translations of the Buddhist scriptures, the distinction between cardinal and ordinal numbers existed before then.

If one examines the Tibetan translation of No. 710 of de la Vallée Poussin's Catalogue of the Stein Collection, the *Lêng-chia-Shih-tzu-chi* 「楞伽師資記」, one finds that what would have been later expressed as *gnyis-pa* (second) is given as *gcig-gi 'ogs* (f. 25b, l. 2), meaning «after one». A similar expression is found in l. 22 of the eastern face of the T'ang-Tibet Treaty Inscription quoted in the second section of this paper, where «the second generation of the royal dynasty» is expressed as *rgyal-rabs gcig-gi 'og-tu*. Today this would probably be expressed as *rgyal-rabs gnyis-pa la*.

As an example of a different form of expression there is a passage in the imperial edict of Khri-srong lde-brtsan quoted in the *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*. Although the word *dang-po* (first) is also used (*KGG*, f. 110b, l. 4) when describing the events leading up to the king's oath of allegiance to Buddhism, one finds the expressions *gcig-tu na* (firstly), *gnyis-su na* (secondly) and *gsum-du na* (thirdly) being used (*ibid.*, f. 111a, l. 4; f. 111b, l. 1). They correspond to *dang-por*, *gnyis-par* and *gsum-par* respectively.

[32] Bu ston Rin chen grub, *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rtsis kyi bstan bcos mkhas pa rnams dga' bar byed pa*, 1326, Zhol Ed., 122 fols, ff. 84a–85a; *PKZ*, ff. 11a–18b.

[33] v. Notes 27 and 30, and the latter part of this paper.

[34] In *NLO*, p. 34 Uray writes «But in Tibet ⟨current years⟩ are in use, i.e. each calendar year, even if not full, is regarded as a complete year». However, it it not so much a question of whether the year is full or not, but rather of the fact that it is the number of years, which change their names with the passing of each New Year's Eve, which is being dealt with.

In case the reliability of this work be brought into question, it should be noted that similar expressions can also be found in Pelliot tib. 1038 — *gnyis-su ni* (secondly, l. 9) and *gsum-du ni* (thirdly, l. 12). It goes without saying these phrases correspond to *gnyis-pa ni* and *gsum-pa ni*.

It is clear from the above examples that cardinal and ordinal numbers were distinguished in old historical works too, and thus it is not permissible to take for example the phrase *de-nas lo gsum na* in the meaning of *de-nas lo gsum-pa na* (in the third year thereafter).[35] Using the modes of expression cited above, this might have been expressed as *de-nas lo gsum-du na* or *de-nas gsum-du'i lo na*. In any case, the only possible meaning is «three years thereafter».

The above facts become even clearer if one considers them in the light of the phrasing used at the start of the Chronicles. As was shown in the first section of this paper, in the T'u-fan Period the year commenced in the fourth lunar month. Therefore there is no possibility of the dates of Princess Wên-ch'êng's entry into Tibet and Srong-brtsan sgam-po's death having been recorded in Tibetan historical records in any manner apart from the years of the male Iron Rat (640) and the female Earth Bird (649). When considered in the light of this qualification, it is clear that in the phrase *de-nas lo gsum na* at the start of the Chronicles *de* refers to the year of the Rat, and in the phrase *de-nas lo drug na* in the same work *de* refers to the year of the Hare (643), the latter phrase as a whole referring to the year of the Bird. Thus it is obvious that these expressions were used in the same sense as in later chronological works, and were most definitely not used in place of ordinal phrases as suggested by Uray.[36]

[35] In Pelliot tib. 16, f. 71b, l. 3 one finds the expression *de nas lo bcu gnyis 'das te lo bcu gsum la bab pa dang*, meaning «when twelve years had passed thereafter, and the thirteenth year had been reached». It seems safe to regard *lo bcu gsum la* as the earlier form of «*lo bcu gsum pa*». In any case, it is hardly possible to go along with Uray in interpreting the cardinal number in the first half as an ordinal number, so that actually «*eleven* years passed and it became the *twelfth* year». The meaning of the above example is that New Year's Eve has gone by twelve times and it is now the thirteenth year. Since, of the twelve years passed, the first can vary in length from one day up to thirteen months less one day, Uray's interpretation is not applicable. Twelve is a cardinal number and thirteen corresponds to an ordinal number in meaning. Thus it is clear that the claim that all cardinal expressions relating to years should be read as ordinal numbers is invalid. The above mode of expression is frequently encountered in later literature, as indicated in the latter part of this paper. It should be noted that in the same Pelliot tib. 16, f. 72a, l. 14 ordinal numbers with the suffix pa are used, e.g. *phas pham pa bzhi'i dang po* (the first of the four unpardonable sins) and *phas pham pa . . . . . gnyis pa* (the second unpardonable sin). This suggests that although ordinal expressions using the suffix *pa* were used in the translations of Buddhist scriptures, this mode of expression had not yet developed into one of general use.

[36] According to Uray's interpretation, Princess Wên-ch'êng arrived in Bod in 642. However, in his explanation of this he not only fails to take into account the start of the Tibetan calendar, but then also goes on trying to give a show of consistency in the facts by assuming that the princess set out in 641 and

As was mentioned previously, when expressing the number of years elapsed, it is not uncommon to find instances when, even though *rdzogs-pa* in the phrase *'di rdzogs-pa yan la* (until this year ends) has been omitted, the last year has been mistakenly included in the number of years elapsed. It is possible that this was the result of having used *'di yan la* in the meaning of *'di rdzogs-pa yan la* out of carelessness. However, the meaning changes completely since New Year's Eve is included in the latter but not in the former.

To repeat, when adding the final year to the number of years having elapsed in the case of the former expression, the verbs *'gro* or *lon* must be used. As examples of careless usage the following passages may be cited.

de nas deng sang gi sa khyi 'di yan la lo nyis brgya dang bcu bzhi song | (*DMS*, f. 42a, 1. 5)
«From then (*shing glang*, 1325) until the present year of the male Earth Dog (1538) 214 years have passed.»
de nas da lta'i me pho spre'u 'di yan la lo bcu bdun song ngo | (*DTN*, Pha, f. 25a, 1. 3)
«From then (*lcags 'brug*, 1460) until the present year of the male Fire Monkey (1476) 17 years have passed.»
me mo bya de nas da lta'i me pho spre'u 'di yan la lo drug bcu song | (*ibid.*, Ca, f. 31a, 1. 6)
«From that year of the female Fire Bird (1417) until the present year of the male Fire Monkey (1476) 60 years have passed.»

The last example is especially easy to err in since the names of the years are ajoining each other, being separated by one complete sexagenary cycle. However, as long as the New Year's Eve of the final year is not over, one cannot say that «60 years have passed».

In order that wrong views based upon these examples of misusage do not continue to be made public, it is necessary to make quite clear once and for all the difference between what is correct and incorrect, and this we shall proceed to do in what follows.

A. Spanien (formerly Macdonald) too, who has carried out some very exact analyses in this field of research, committed the same error in her study of Śākyaśrībhadra's ideas on the date of the Buddha's death.[37] Śākyaśrībhadra writes that in 1207, A.D. when he was in Sol-nag thang-po-che, 1750 years had passed

spent a year in north-eastern Tibet; but of course no evidence is given to show that north-eastern Tibet was not identical with Bod (*NLO*, pp. 34–35).

[37] A. Macdonald, *Préambule à la lecture d'un rGya bod yig tshang*: *Journal Asiatique*, 1963, pp. 53–159, esp. p. 167.

since the Buddha's death. On the basis of this Spanien gives the date of the Buddha's death as 543. B.C.[38] However, the correct meaning of Śākyaśrībhadra's statement is that 1750 years had passed until the previous New Year's Eve, and that it was then the 1751st year. Therefore the year 1207 A.D. corresponds to the 1751st year, and the year of the Buddha's death becomes 544. B.C.

The expression «one year has passed since the Buddha's death» means that one New Year's Eve has passed since the Buddha's death and that «it is now the second year». This is explained in the *Pad-dkar zhal-lung* (*PKZ*, Chap. Ka, f. 4b, 11. 2–3).

> «It is indicated in the calculations made by Paṇ-chen Śākyaśrībhadra at Thang-po-che in the year of the female Fire Hare (1207) that 1750 years had passed since the Buddha's death until (the end of) the previous year of the male Fire Tiger (1206).»

It is clear from this explanation that, regardless of the day and month of the Buddha's death, the period between his death and the end of that year is counted as one year, as is the period until the end of each successive year thereafter; thus the period until the end of 1206 is included in the 1750 years, but 1207, when the calculation was made, is not because it is not yet over. Therefore the date of the Buddha's death is as follows:

1750–1206 = 544 B.C.
1751–1207 = 544 B.C.

It should be mentioned that when calculating the date of the Buddha's death according to the Western calendar, one should not forget the fact that the years 1 A.D. and 1 B.C. are back to back. Therefore, the correct date is obtained by simply subtracting the date when the calculation was made, according to the Western calendar, from the same date according to the Buddhist calendar.[39]

These errors in chronological reckoning are deep-rooted, and one must take extreme care when carrying out calculations of this type. Even Bu-ston, who was the most outstanding scholar in the field of the *Kālacakra-tantra* and naturally also excelled in chronological studies, committed the error pointed out above.

[38] v. Z. Yamaguchi, *The Author and Date of Composition of the rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long: Tōyō Gakuhō*, Vol. 60, Nos. 1,2, pp. 1–18, esp. p. 17, Note 31.

[39] This point has been dealt with in the paper referred to in Note 38, p. 12, and in Z. Yamaguchi, *Relations between Tibet and Nepal in the First Half of the Seventh Century: Annual Report of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange*, Nos 2.3, Faculty of Letters, University of Tōkyō, 1978, pp. 29–57, esp. p. 37. In the latter paper the fact that bSod-nams rtse-mo's calculations are incorrect has been overlooked.

As has been indicated elsewhere on a previous occasion,[40] since the time of bSod-nams rtse-mo (1142–82) the Sakya Sect has considered the date of the Buddha's death as corresponding to 2133. B.C. The author of the *gSal-ba'i me-long*, bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1312–75), follows this view, but when discussing the year when the Imperial Tutor Kun-dga' blo-gros (1299–1323) returned to Tibet to be fully ordained, 1322 A.D., calculates the date of the Buddha's death in such a way that it corresponds to 2134, B.C. which accords with Bu-ston's views.

Bu-ston's calculations are given three times in the same passage, but the last differs from the first two. A translation of the relevant passage, which is very instructive, follows (*SRD*, f. 92b, l. 7-f. 93a, l. 3).

> «Following the method which claims that Śākyamuni was born in the year of the Dragon, it was, according to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's calculations, the 3349(th) year (after the Buddha's death) when the funeral service was held at the time of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's death in the year of the male Fire Rat (1216). Since it was later reckoned to be the 3410(th) year in the calculations made by bla-ma 'Phags-pa in the year of the female Fire Ox (1277) when the Chu-mig service was held, 3455 years had passed and it was the (345) 6th year when the Imperial Tutor Kun-dga' blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po arrived in Tibet in the year of the male Water Dog (1322) to be ordained. Therefore the (two) eras of the 'Fruit' and the 'Fulfillment' (each composed of three periods), six periods of 500 years each (i.e. 3000 years), and 455 years of the *Abhidharma* period of the era of the 'Teachings' had passed; and 45 years of the same period together with the *Sūtra* and *Vinaya* periods (of the era of the «Teachings» and (the period of) the «Maintaining Signs Only», i.e. three periods of 500 years each, (a total of) 1545 years were said to be remaining.»

According to the first reckoning given in this quotation, the year of the Buddha's death becomes

3349–1216 = 2133 B.C.

and coincides with the second calculation

3410–1277 = 2133 B.C.

However in the third reckoning the date according to the Buddhist calendar is given not as 3455 but as 3456, and as a result the date of the Buddha's death ends up as

3456–1322 = 2134 B.C.

[40] v. Note (39).

This is confirmed in the calculations based on the epochal divisions which follow, and it is clear that the year when these reckonings were made was the 3456th year after the Buddha's death. Accordingly the date of the Buddha's death becomes one year earlier, i.e. 2134 B.C., and differs from the previous two examples which tally with the Sa-kya tradition, 2133 B.C. Perhaps Bu-ston made a mistake in the fact that 3454 years had passed and it was the 3455th year. Or perhaps, since it was correct, the date of the Buddha's death according to this third reckoning was used in the *gSal-ba'i me-long* to indicate the date of the composition of this work.

It should be noted that, presuming that the Buddha died at the age of 80, if one takes the view that the year of his death was 2133 B.C. (the year of the male Earth Rat), the year of his birth becomes the year of the female Earth Serpent and not the year of the Dragon. On the other hand, if one follows the third line of reckoning by which the Buddha's death becomes 2134 B.C. (the year of the female Fire Pig) the date of his birth becomes the year of the male Earth Dragon,[41] and tallies with the expression «following the method which claims that Śākyamuni was born in the year of the Dragon» at the start of the above quotation.

Considered from this angle, it seems that the first and second calculations were rather the result of Bu-ston's having unsuspectingly followed the Sa-skyas' incorrect method of calculation. It goes without saving that bSod-nams rtse-mo's reckoning must be regarded as incorrect if one takes the view that the Buddha was born in the year of the Dragon, an extra year having been added.

Since Bu-ston gives a correct account of Kashmir Paṇḍita's chronological calculations in the passage immediately following the above quotation, conforming with the correct explanations of the later *Pad-dkar zhal-lung*,[42] it is probable that of the above three reckonings Bu-ston's original point of view is represented by the third.

ABBREVIATIONS

A5DL — Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Du kū la'i gos bzang*, Vol. Ka, 364 fols (Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama).

B3PL — 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i sde, *bLo bzang dpal ldan ye shes kyi rnam thar nyi ma'i 'od zer*, 1786 bKra shis lhun po Ed., 375 + 305 fols (Biography of the Third Panchen Lama).

[41] In the second paper referred to in Note 39, p. 37, an incorrect translation was given, creating the impression that bSos-nams rtse-mo regarded this year of the male Earth Dragon (*bSod nams rtse mo'i bka' 'bum*, Vol. Nga, f. 315b, l. 5) as the year of the male Iron Dragon. The writer would like to take this opportunity to amend that error.

[42] Even when Bu-ston employs the date of the Buddha's death given by Śākyaśrībhadra (544), he still pursues the third line of calculation and states that 1322 A.D. corresponds to the 1866th year after Buddha's death, 1865 years having already passed (*SRD*, f. 93a, ll. 3–6).

CST —Z. Yamaguchi, *Chronological Studies in Tibet* [チベットの暦學], *Chibetto no rekigaku: Annual Report of the Suzuki Academic Foundation*, X, 1973, pp. 77—94.

DMS — bSod nams grags pa, *Deb ther dmar po'i deb gsar ma*, 1538, Ms. 103 fols (G. Tucci, *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma*, Roma 1971).

DTH — J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1946.

DTN — gZhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, 1476 Kun bde gling Ed.

GSM — bSod nams rgyal mtshan, *rGyal rabs rnams kyi 'byung tshul gsal ba'i me long chos 'byung*, 1368, sDe dge Ed., 104 fols.

HLD — Kun dga' rdo rje, *Hu lan deb ther*, 1346, Gangtok Ed., 1961, 40 fols.

IC. II — L. Renou, J. Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, II, Hanoi 1953.

KGG — dPa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, Chap. Ja, *Bod kyi rgyal rabs*, 1545 lHo brag Ed. 155 fols.

LSB — kLong rdol bla ma, *kLong rdol bla ma'i gsung 'bum*, (1800), Chap. Ma, *bzo dang gso ba skar rtsis rnams las byung ba'i ming gi grangs*, Peking Ed., 22 fols.

MHT — Z. Yamaguchi, *Moot Points in the History of Ancient Tibet* [古代チベット史考異], Kodai Chibetto-shi kōi I, II, *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Vol. 49, Nos. 3, 4, pp. 1–39; 40–96.

NLO — G. Uray, *The Narrative of Legislation and Organisation of the mkhas pa'i dga' ston: Acta Orient. Hung*. XXVI, 1912, pp. 11–68.

PBG — 'Phags pa, *Bod kyi rgyal rabs*, 1275, sDe dge Ed. (Sa skya bka' 'bum, Vol. Ba, ff. 360a–361b).

PKZ — lHung grub rgya mtsho, *Pad ma dkar po'i zhal gyi lung*, Vol. Ka, 1447, Zhol Ed., 245 fols.

SAT — H. Satō, *A Study of the Ancient History of Tibet* [古代チベット史研究], Kodai Chibetto-shi Kenkyū 2 Vols, Kyōto 1958, 1959.

SRD — Bu ston Rin chen grub, *Chos 'byung gsung rabs rin po che'i mdzod*, 1322, Zhol Ed., 212 fols.

INDISCHER SCHLANGENZAUBER IN UIGURISCHER ÜBERLIEFERUNG

VON

PETER ZIEME (Berlin)

Im Ergebnis seiner zentralasiatischen Forschungsreisen wurde Csoma de Kőrös zum Begründer der modernen Tibetkunde. Wäre ihm damals, als die Möglichkeit eher gegeben war als heute, in einem tibetischen Kloster der legendäre uigurische Tripiṭaka, dessen Existenz G. Tucci nicht bezweifelt,[1] in die Hände geraten, dann sähen heute die uigurischen Studien sicher anders aus. Erst rund 50 Jahre nach dem Tode von Csoma de Kőrös gelangten die Turfan- und Dunhuang-Funde ans Tageslicht. Seither arbeiten Generationen von Wissenschaftlern an der Rückgewinnung der alten buddhistischen Schriften. Den seltenen Fall der Überlieferung desselben Textstücks in drei verschiedenen Versionen möchte ich in diesem kleinen Beitrag zum Gedenken an den 200. Geburtstag des bahnbrechenden Zentralasienforschers vorlegen.

Zu Recht hat vor kurzem K. Röhrborn auf eine «Art Renaissance der Sanskrit-Gelehrsamkeit» in der Mongolenzeit hingewiesen.[2] Als ein Aspekt dieser Erscheinung können die «gelehrten» Entlehnungen aus dem Sanskrit in einer Reihe von uigurischen Texten betrachtet werden. In einem Punkt kann man sogar weitergehen, als K. Röhrborn annahm. Dies betrifft uigurische Formen wie *amogataršini* für skr. *Amoghadarśin* oder *amitayuši* für skr. *Amitāyus*. M. E. sind derartige Formen nicht auf chinesische Vermittlung zurückzuführen, wie K. Röhrborn vermutete, sie lassen sich vielmehr ebenfalls der «gelehrten» indischen Schicht zuordnen. Widerspruchsfrei und überzeugend können so einige Buddhanamen erklärt werden, die in der uigurischen Version des Sugatapañcatriṃśatstotra (*ETŞ* Nr. 10) vorkommen. Das vielleicht klarste Beispiel ist *braxmani*,[3] das sich als in der obliquen Gestalt übernommene und dann verselbständigte Form aus *namo brahmane* «Verehrung dem Brahmā»[4] entpuppt. In derselben Weise können uig.

[1] G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rom 1949, I, 108: «The culture of China and of the peoples who had come in contact with her, also had an echo in the great Sa skya convents, where, two editions of the Tripiṭaka in foreign languages were preserved, one in Chinese and the other in *Uiguric*.»

[2] K. Röhrborn, *Zum Wanderweg des altindischen Lehngutes im Alttürkischen*, in: *B. Spuler Festschrift*, Leiden 1981, 340.

[3] R. R. Arat, *Eski Türk Şiiri (ETŞ)*, Ankara 1965, Nr. 10 Z. 127.

[4] P. Python, *Vinaya-viniścaya-Upāli-paripṛcchā. Enquête d'Upāli pour une exégèse de la discipline*, Paris 1973, 33.

amoga-taršini auf skr. *(namo) 'moghadaršine*[5] und *amitayuši* auf skr. *(namo) 'mitāyuṣe*[6] zurückgehen.[7] Als ein anderer Aspekt der «Sanskrit-Gelehrsamkeit» kann die vielseitige Anwendung der Brāhmī-Schrift[8] genannt werden, die bei den Uiguren der Mongolenzeit eine späte Blütezeit erlebt zu haben scheint.

Die hier zu erörternden Texte, mindestens jedoch A und B, können in dieser Zeit entstanden sein, obwohl bei dem heutigen Stand unserer Kenntnisse sichere Datierungen nicht möglich sind. Abgesehen von Kolophonen sind alle anderen Kriterien der Zeitbestimmung mit äußerster Behutsamkeit anzuwenden. Es ist wohl dem Zufall zu verdanken, daß fast ein und dasselbe Textstück in dreifacher Gestalt wiedergefunden werden kann. Allerdings dürfte der Inhalt als wichtig genug betrachtet worden sein, um vielfach kopiert zu werden.

Während alle drei Texte, die im folgenden unter den Siglen A, B und C genannt werden, die Gemeinsamkeit aufweisen, in uigurischer Schrift geschrieben zu sein, liegen völlig unterschiedliche Sprachen bzw. verschiedener Textaufbau vor. A ist in Sanskrit abgefaßt, B ist ein Fragment aus einer Bilingue (Sanskrit—Uigurisch), und bei C handelt es sich um eine rein uigurische Fassung.

Inhaltlich bieten die Bruchstücke einen Teil aus einem Schlangenzauber, für dessen Sanskritversion E. Waldschmidt eine große Verbreitung in Zentralasien nachweisen konnte.[9] Die neuen Fragmente bestätigen dies nicht nur für den Sanskrittext (A), sondern auch für die von ihm direkt (B) oder vermittelt (C) abhängigen uigurischen Versionen. Letztere folgen eng der Handschrift 1402 des Upasenasūtra[10] bzw. der verselbständigten Fassung S 257.[11] Im Zusammenhang mit anderen Beschwörungsformeln hat J. L. Panglung die Upasena-Erzählung erörtert.[12] Uigurische Fragmente wurden von F. W. K. Müller als «Erzählung von der Macht der Liebe» ediert.[13]

[5] *ETŞ* 10 Z. 86; Python 33.

[6] Die frühere Lesung *amitayusi* ist mit K. Röhrborn (S. 340 Anm. 10) aufzugeben, *amitayuši* geht auf die oblique Form *Amitāyuṣe* (infolge des Wirkens des Zerebralisationsgesetzes) zurück. Merkwürdig ist allerdings, daß im Uig. nur diese Lautung bekannt ist.

[7] Damit entfallen zwar die von K. Röhrborn genannten Beispiele für die These, daß indische Wörter durch chinesische Vermittlung in das Uig. gelangten, doch ist damit noch nicht bewiesen, daß dies im Falle anderer Wörter nicht doch so war.

[8] P. Zieme, *Zur Verwendung der Brāhmī-Schrift bei den Uiguren*, in: *AoF* XI [1984].

[9] E. Waldschmidt, *Das Upasenasūtra, ein Zauber gegen Schlangenbiß aus dem Saṃyuktāgama*, in: *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, Jg. 1957, Nr. 2, S. 36.

[10] Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra 43.

[11] E. Waldschmidt, *Ein zweites Daśabalasūtra*, in: *MIO* 6 [1958], Abschnitt E. Weitere Manuskripte des Schlangenzaubers, S. 403–405.

[12] J. L. Panglung, *Zwei Beschwörungsformeln gegen Schlangenbiß* in *Mūlasarvāstivādin-Vinaya und ihr Fortleben in der Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*, in: *Asiatische Forschungen* Bd. 71, Wiesbaden 1980, 66–71.

[13] F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* III, *Abhandl. der Preuß. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1920, Nr. 2, S. 75–90.

Aus folgenden Angaben kann geschlossen werden, daß der Titel des Werkes *Maitrīsūtra* gewesen ist. Im Kolophon des Textes A steht: *maitri sutur smpda* = (skr.) *maitrīsūtraṃ samāpta* «das Maitrīsūtra ist beendet».[14] Und in der Handschrift C erscheint *maitri sudur* = (skr.) *maitrīsūtra* in der Paginierung.[15] Schließlich sei noch die folgende Passage aus der uig. «Erzählung von der Macht der Liebe» zitiert:[16] *yänä o̤k tng[rï] burxan ïnča tip yrlïqadï*: *amramaq nizvani tïlta-γïnta bo kötürgülük ayïγ qïlïnčïγ upasini a̤rxant käntü özi o̤k qïlmïš ärdi* : *anï üčün ang kinki ažunta tüš birdi*[17] *birök šariput[ri]-a [bo arxa]nt toyïn maitri suduruγ [. . .b]o aγuluγ yïlan [. .]rmiš adasïn [. . .]rdi* : «Weiter nun geruhte der göttliche Buddha zu sagen: Infolge der Liebes-Leidenschaft hatte diese belästende schlechte Tat der Arhant Upasena selbst begangen. Deshalb hat er in der letzten Existenz die Frucht empfangen. Wenn, o Śāriputra, [dieser] Arhant-Mönch das Maitrīsūtra [hergesagt hätte], dann hätte er den von dieser giftigen Schlange [hinzugefügten] Schaden [beheben können].» Unter den Fragmenten dieser Erzählung, einschließlich der noch unpublizierten, gibt es keines, das einen Randtitel enthält.

Obwohl sicherlich eine Beziehung zum Schlangenzauber bestanden hat,[18] steht der parallele Pāli-Text nicht in den Mettāsutten,[19] sondern im Upasenasutta.[20] Allerdings hat E. Waldschmidt darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß der Schlangenzauber selbst auch als ein selbständiges Sūtra vorkommt.[21] Das dürfte auch für die Texte A und B zutreffen.

Die Sanskrit-Handschrift 1402 führt uns vielleicht ebenfalls zu der Annahme, daß der Schlangenzauber einem Maitrīsūtra entstammt. Am Schluß dieser Handschrift, Rückseite Zeile 3, findet sich der sonderbare Schluß *maitrintaḥ*. Auf Anfrage hin teilte mir D. Schlingloff zwei Erklärungsmöglichkeiten mit: «Entweder *Maitrī(ma)nt(r)āḥ* oder *Maitrī(sūtraṃ samā)pta.*»[22] Im Lichte obiger Ausführungen möchte ich selbst der zweiten Deutungsmöglichkeit den Vorrang geben.

Im alten Buddhismus kam dem Begriff (skr.) *maitrī*, (Pāli) *mettā* «Güte, Wohlwollen» eine große Bedeutung zu, wie u.a. K. Seidenstücker nachgewiesen

[14] Text A, Z. 42–43.

[15] Text C Rückseite.

[16] U III 89_{15}–90_{22}.

[17] U III 90_{19}. Auch F. W. K. Müller las *birdi* und übersetzte «empfangen». Sollte man vielleicht *buldï* (unter Auslassung eines *l*-Hakens) lesen können?

[18] K. Seidenstücker, *Khuddaka-Pāṭho. Kurze Texte. Eine kanonische Schrift des Pāli-Buddhismus*, Breslau 1910, S. 28–34.

[19] Vgl. Seidenstücker, 33–34.

[20] Vgl. Seidenstücker, 29–31; Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra.

[21] Waldschmidt; in: *MIO* 6 [1958], 403–405.

[22] Für seine Unterstützung und Hilfe danke ich Herrn Prof. D. Schlingloff.

hat.[23] Die Meditation konzentrierte sich auf die Gruppe der «Vier Unermeßlichkeiten», deren erste *maitrī* war.[24] Eine Stelle aus einem unidentifizierten Turfan-Fragment[25] lehrt uns, wie die Uiguren *maitrī* verstanden haben: *maitri timäk ärsär äntkäkčä til ol munï türkčä yorsär ädgü ögli kongülüg titir* «Was den Ausdruck *maitrī* betrifft, so ist er (aus der) indischen Sprache. Wenn man diesen türkisch erklärt, nennt man (ihn) Wohlgesinntheit[26].»

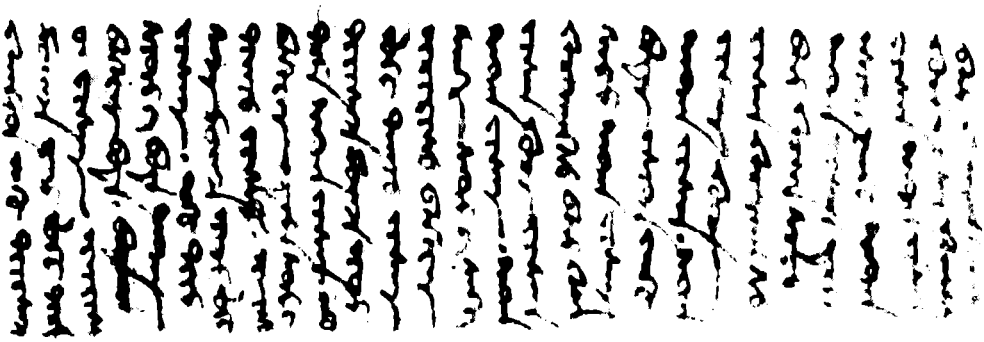

Abb. 1) T II Y 43 (U 5753) recto = A 1–28.

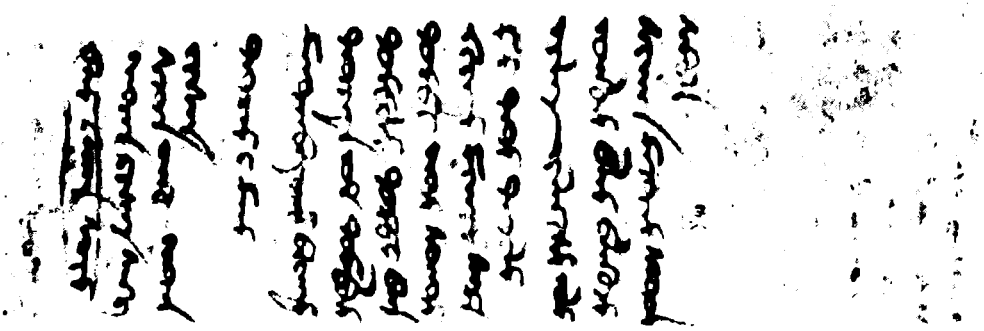

Abb. 2) T II Y 43 (U 5753) verso = A 29–43.

A. T II Y 43 (U 5753).[27] Von der zweiten deutschen Turfan-Expedition in Yarchoto geborgenes, vollständig erhaltenes Blatt. Höhe: 10 ~ 11 cm, Länge: 33 cm, beidseitig in uigurischer Kursivschrift beschrieben. Da der Text beendet war, blieb das letzte Drittel der Rückseite frei. Die Schrift ist zwar deutlich, wäre allerdings ohne die Identfizierung nur schwer zu lesen gewesen.

[23] Seidenstücker, 33–34.

[24] H. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi ³1975, 225, ff.; D. Schlingloff, *Die Religion des Buddhismus*, Berlin 1963, Bd. II, 92 ff.

[25] T II 939 (U 5341) verso (?) 7–10.

[26] *kongülüg* ist m.E. Akkusativ von *kongül* «Sinn», hier fast wie ein Abstrakta bildendes Suffix gebraucht, nicht vereinfachende Schreibung von *kongüllüg*.

[27] Vgl. Abb. 1–2.

Text A	S 527[28]
[ ] (1) *karamit*	*[mā me kāye viṣa] kramet*
rago tivišača (2) *moxača*	*rāgo dveṣaś ca mohaś ca*
iti loki tiry-(3)*-o višan*	*ete loke trayo viṣam*
nirivišo (4) *bagavan*[29] *buda* ·[30]	*nirviṣo bhagavā*[31] *buddha*
(5) *saty-a buda xatan* (6) *višan* ·	*satyabuddhahataṃ viṣam*
rago tivi-(7)*-šača moxača*	*rāgo dveṣaś ca mohaś ca*
iti loki (8) *tirayo višam*[32] :	*ete loke trayo viṣam*
nirvišo (9) *bagavan darma*	*nirviṣo bhagavāṃ dharma*
sty-a (10) *trma xatan višan* ·	*satyadharmahataṃ viṣam*
rago (11) *tivišača moxča*	*rāgo dveṣaś ca mohaś ca*
iti (12) *loki tarayo višan*	*ete loke trayo viṣam*
(13) *nirivišo bagavan* (14) *sanga*	*nirviṣo bhagavā saṃgha*
saty-a snga (15) *xatan višan* ·	*satyasaṃghahataṃ viṣam*
xatan (16) *višan gora višan*	*hataṃ viṣaṃ ghoraviṣaṃ*
(17) *kirtarakšo pari grxa*	*kṛto rakṣāparigrahaḥ*
(18) *srvi xatan višan* (19) *buda-*	*sarve hataviṣā buddhās*
-asita-vargo (20) *xatan višan* ·	*tavorega hataṃ viṣaṃ*
xtan (21) *višan goira*[33] (22) *višan*	*hataṃ viṣaṃ ghoraviṣaṃ*
kirtarakšo (23) *pari garxa*	*kṛto rakṣāparigrahaḥ*
srvi (24) *xatan višan drma-*	*sarve hataviṣā dharmās*
-(25)*asita-vargo xatan* (26) *višan*	*tavorega hataṃ viṣaṃ*
xatan višan (27) *gora višan*	*hataṃ viṣaṃ ghoraviṣaṃ*
kirdarašo[34] (28) *pari garxa*	*kṛto rakṣāparigrahaḥ*
srvi (30)[35] *xatan višan sanga-*	*sarve hataviṣā saṃghās*
(31) *-sita-vargo xatan* (32) *višan*	*tavorega hataṃ viṣaṃ*
(33) *tatr'i-i-mani*	*tattremāni*
(34) *mantrapadani bavandi*	*mantrapadāni bhavaṃti*[36]

[28] Nach E. Waldschmidt, in: *MIO* 6 [1958], 404.

[29] In uig. Schrift ist an allen drei Stellen *bagavan* geschrieben. Im Skr.-Text dagegen zweimal *bhagavā* und einmal *bhagavāṃ*.

[30] Das folgende Wort dieser Zeile ist getilgt worden.

[31] E. Waldschmidt (S. 404 Fußn. 155) weist auf La Vallée Poussins Lesart *bhagavāṃ* hin.

[32] Beachte hier die Schreibung mit auslautendem *-m* gegenüber *-n* an den übrigen Stellen!

[33] Beachte die Schreibung *goira* gegenüber *gora!*

[34] Der Schreiber hat offenbar *-k-* vergessen, vgl. die Schreibungen desselben Wortes in Z. 17 und Z. 22.

[35] Die erste Zeile der Rückseite (Z. 29) wurde getilgt, nachdem der Schreiber gemerkt hatte, daß er diese Zeile schon kopiert hatte.

[36] Zur nachfolgenden Dhāraṇī vgl. Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra 41 (Abschnitt 32). Die mit • versehenen Wörter stehen nicht oder nicht in dieser Form im Sanskrit-Text.

(35) *tatyada om tumbuli*	*tadyathā otuṃbile*
(36) *tumbuli tumbi para-*(37)*tumbi*	*tuṃbile tuṃbe pratuṃbe*
nati sunati	*naṭṭe sunaṭṭe*
(38) *kivadi minayi sama-*(39)*-y-i*	*kevaṭṭe munaye samaye*
tati tatili	*datte *dattile*
(40) *nila nilakiši*	**nīla nīlakeśe*
oli (41) *onkoli*	*ole oṅkole*
bali balakuči (42) *svaxa*	**vāla *vālakuce svāhā*
maitri sutur (43) *smpda*	*maitrīsūtraṃ samāpta*[37]

Dieser Text entspricht den Abschnitten 30–32 bei E. Waldschmidt,[38] allerdings in der Dreiteilung der Beschwörungsstrophen, die sich auch in den Sanskrit-Handschriften Berlin 1402 und S 527 wiederfindet. Die sich anschließende und das Werk beendende Dhāraṇī weist hier folgende Besonderheiten auf:

1. Für skr. *otuṃbile* (Hs. 1402: *odumbile*, chin. 塢牍婆隸 *wu dan po li*)[39] schreibt der Uigure *om tumbuli* (Z. 35). Ob die Schreibung *tumbuli* für zu erwartendes *tumbili* auf eine Unachtsamkeit des Schreibers oder eventuell auf eine andere Skr.-Form zurückgeht, läßt sich nicht entscheiden. Erinnert sei immerhin an den umgekehrten «Fehler» bei *minayi* (Z. 38) für skr. *munaye*. Interessanter erscheint mir jedoch die Aufteilung von *otuṃbile* in zwei Wörter: *om tumbuli*. Da bekanntlich viele Dhāraṇīs mit der Einleitungsformel *(tadyathā)oṃ*[40] beginnen, stellt sich die Frage, ob die Textgestalt in A einen ursprünglichen Wortlaut mit *oṃ* erschließen läßt. Beachtet man den Umstand, daß die Sanskrit- und die chin. Versionen übereinstimmen, ist man eher geneigt, dem Uiguren, dem die häufige Dhāraṇī-Formel *(tadyathā)oṃ* vielleicht vor Augen gestanden haben könnte, eine bewußte Änderung des Textes zu unterstellen.

2. Zwischen *datte* und *nīlakeśe* steht im Text A (Z. 39–40) *tatili nila*, was sich in den anderen Versionen nicht nachweisen läßt. Man kann allerdings vermuten, daß *tatili*, rekonstruiert zu skr. *dattile*, eine Erweiterung aus *datte* (vgl. *tuṃbile tuṃbe*) darstellt, während *nila* = skr. *nīla* eine Vorwegnahme des nachfolgenden *nīla* sein kann. Lag dem Uiguren eine andere als die uns heute aus den Sanskrit-Handschriften bekannte Fassung vor?

[37] Dieser Schluß steht nicht im Skr.-Text, vgl. jedoch in der Handschrift 1402: *maitrintaḥ*.

[38] Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra 41.

[39] Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra 43 (Rückseite Z. 2); *Taishō Tripiṭaka* Bd. II, 61 b 19.

[40] H. v. Glasenapp, ***Buddhistische Mysterien***, Stuttgart 1940, 94: «Om (a + u + m) versinnbildlicht die Trinität: Buddha, Lehre, Gemeinde». Sollte dem Uiguren dieser Sinn gegenwärtig gewesen sein, dann wäre die Hinzufügung von *oṃ* vollkommen verständlich, denn in allen diesen Versen geht es immer wieder um das Vertrauen in das Triratna.

Abb. 3) T II 635 (U 2503) recto = B 1–7.

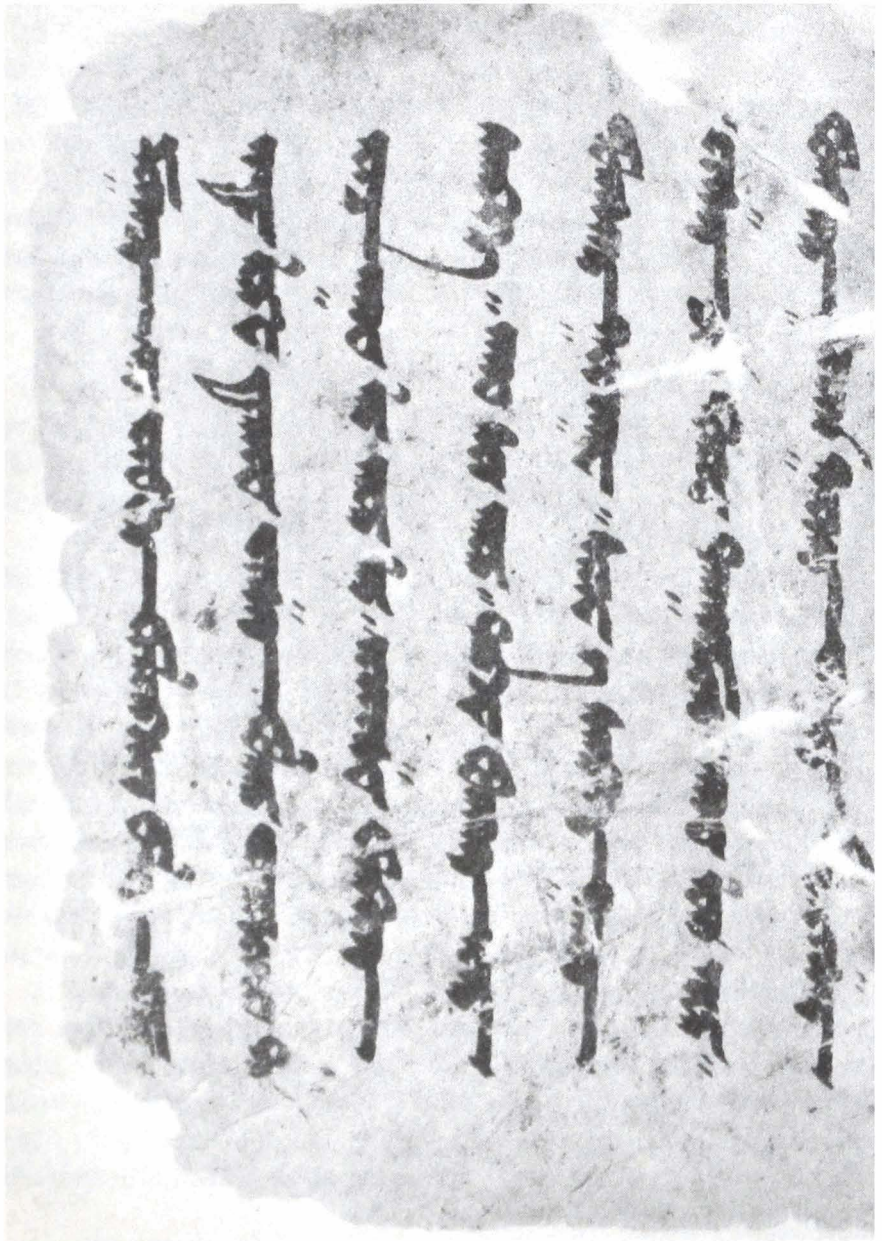

Abb. 4) T II 635 (U 2503) verso = B 8–14.

3. Es fällt auf, daß für skr. *vālakupe* (Hs. 1402: *[..]lakūpe*, chin. 婆羅拘閇 *po luo ju bi*)[41] der Text A eine Entsprechung vermissen läßt. Zwischen *onkoli* und *svaxa* (Z. 41) stehen jedoch zwei Wörter, die sich mit *vālakupe* in Beziehung setzen lassen. Liest man jene *bali balakuči*, könnte man folgende Skr.-Lautung rekonstruieren: *bāla (= vāla?) bālakuce (= vālakuce?)*. Die Erscheinung des Wechsels *b-* ~ *v-* ist im Sanskrit der buddhistischen Texte hinlänglich bekannt. Besondere Schwierigkeiten bereitet die letzte Silbe *-či* = skr. *ce*(?). In der vorauszusetzenden Brāhmī-Schrift des Sanskrit-Textes besteht zwischen den Akṣaras *pe* und *ce* keine Ähnlichkeit, doch sehen die Zeichen *ve* und *ce* zum Verwechseln ähnlich aus.[42] Wenn man annimmt, daß dem Uiguren eine Sanskrit-Form wie **vālakuve* (anstelle des überlieferten *vālakupe*)[43] vorgelegen hat, könnte die Schreibung *balakuči* leicht als Verlesung erklärt werden.

B. T II 635 (U 2503).[44] Von der zweiten deutschen Turfan-Expedition geborgenes, vollständig erhaltenes Buchblatt. Größe: 14,8 × 11 cm. Unmarkierter Rand oben 1,5 cm, unten 2,0 cm. Beidseitig zu je 7 Zeilen in kalligraphischer Schrift beschrieben.

Text B	Übersetzung | Skr.-Text[45]
[čïn kirtü burxan tarqarmiš ayu](1)*-luγ ärür* :	[Der wahre (Hend.) Buddha] ist [giftvernichtend].
rago divišača moẍa[ča][46]	rāgo dveṣaś ca mohaś ca
az öp(2)*kä bilig-[s]iz bilig ymä*	Leidenschaft, Zorn und Unwissenheit:
idi loki (3) *dirayo vi[š]an*	ete loke trayo viṣam
bolar yirtinčü-tä üč (4) *aγu-lar ärür-lär* :	Diese sind auf der Welt die drei Gifte.
nirviṣo bagavan drma	nirviṣo bhagavāṃ dharma
(5) *aγusuz ärür tngri burxan ńomï*	Giftlos ist des göttlichen Buddha Dharma.
satya[47] (6) *ẍatan viṣan* :	satyadharmahataṃ viṣaṃ
čïn kirtü nom tarqar(7)*miš ayu-luγ*[48] *ärür*	Der wahre (Hend.) Dharma ist giftvernichtend.

[41] Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra 43 (Rückseite Z. 3); *Taishō Tripiṭaka* Bd. II, 61 b 21.

[42] F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar*, New Haven 1953, § 2.30 (S. 17).

[43] L. Sander, *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Wiesbaden 1968, Tabelle 35 und 36 (Alphabete *t* und *u*).

[44] Vgl. Abb. 3–4.

[45] Sanskrit-Text nach Waldschmidt *MIO* 6 [1958], 404–405.

[46] *ča*, dem Text zufolge erforderlich, ist verwischt.

[47] Der Schreiber hat nach *satya* das Wort *drma* vergessen, vgl. Skr.-Text.

[48] Vor *-luγ* ist *-suz* getilgt, Korrektur des Schreibers.

rago divišača (8) *moxača*	rāgo dveṣaś ca mohaś ca
az öpkä biligsiz bilig ymä	Leidenschaft, Zorn und Unwissenheit:
(9)*idi loki dirayo vişan*	ete loke trayo viṣaṃ
bolar yirtinčü-tä (10) *üč a̋u-lar ärür-lär* :	Diese sind auf der Welt die drei Gifte.
nirvişo bagavan (11) *sangga* :	nirviṣo bhagavā saṃgha
a̋u-suz ärür : *tngri burxan-nïng* (12) *bursang q̈uvra̋ï* :	Giftlos ist des göttlichen Buddha Gemeinde (Hend.).
saty-a sangga x̌anta[49] (13) *vişan*	satyasaṃghahataṃ viṣaṃ
čï[n] kirtü tarqarmiš[50] *a̋u-lű ärür* :	Wahr (Hend.) und giftvernichtend ist
(14) *bursang q̈uvra̋*	die Gemeinde (Hend.).
x̌atan višan gorvişan	hataṃ viṣaṃ ghoraviṣaṃ

Wie A basiert auch dieser Text auf einem Sanskrit-Text, dessen Strophe 8 die dreifache Ausgestaltung wie die Handschrift 1402 oder S 257 hatte. In dieser Bilingue folgt jeweils auf einen Halbvers in Sanskrit eine wortgetreue Übertragung in Uigurisch. Trotz dieser strengen Abhängigkeit von der Wortfolge der Vorlage ergibt sich ein sinnvoller Text, weil die syntaktischen Mittel richtig angewendet wurden.[50a]

C. T II S 12 (Mainz 777).[51] Ein zu den Funden der zweiten deutschen Turfan-Expedition in Sängim gehöriges, vollständig erhaltenes Blatt im Pustaka-Format. Das Schnürloch unterbricht die Zeilen 7 bis 9. Auf der Rückseite links vor dem Text steht der Titel und die nicht mehr erkennbare Paginierung: *maitri sudur* [...] «Maitrīsūtra, [...]».

Text C	Übersetzung[52]
[munču]-(1)-*layu tört ygrmi űuš-lű*	[In solcherlei Weise] den vierzehn
[tör]t (2) *törlüg orun-lű qama̋*	Stämmen zugehörigen, den [vierer]lei
b[ir]gärü (3) *säkiz ygrmi törlüg a̋uluy*	Orten zugehörigen, gleichermaßen allen

[49] Lies *x̌atan*.

[50] Die zunächst vergessenen Wörter *bursang quvra̋* hat der Schreiber am Beginn der folgenden Zeile hinzugefügt.

[50a] Der uig. Übersetzer hat skr. *bhagavān* «erhaben» so aufgefaßt, daß es immer den «Erhabenen», Buddha also, bezeichnen müsse. Dies würde allerdings im Skr.-Text *bhagavatah* erwarten lassen. Für diesen Hinweis wie auch für die Klarstellung der Übersetzung der Sätze mit *tarqarmiš a̋uluy ärür*, mir brieflich am 24. 2. 1984 mitgeteilt, danke ich Herrn Dr. D. Maue. Im übrigen vgl. die Übersetzung mit derjenigen des Textes C.

[51] Vgl. Abb. 5–6.

[52] Die Gliederung in Abschnitte und Verszeilen erfolgte nach dem Sanskrit-Text.

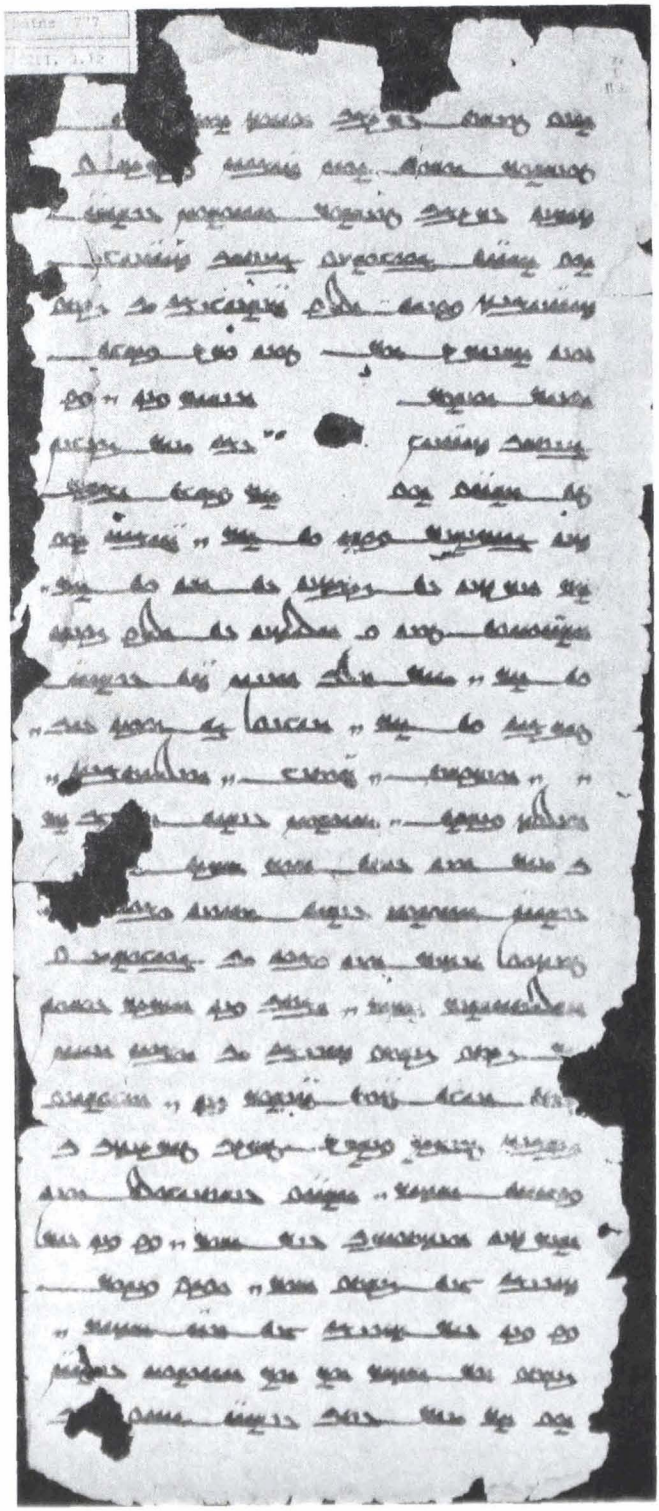

Abb. 5) T II S 12 (Mainz 777) recto = C 1–29.

Abb. 6) T II S 12 (Mainz 777) verso = C 30–58.

yvlaq̈ (4) *luu-larq̈a*[53] *munčulayu maitri saq̈ïnč* (5) *saq̈ïnmiš buyan ädgü q̈ïlïnčïmznï kntü* (6) *özläringä o̧k tüzükä barča* (7) *öng ülüg ävirär-biz* :

achtzehn Arten von giftigen, schlechten Drachen wenden wir unser Verdienst, in solcherlei Weise den Maitrī-Gedanken gehegt zu haben, ihnen selbst, allen insgesamt (zu) Anteilen (Hend.) zu.

bo (8) *maitri saq̈ïnč-ïmznïng küčin*(9)*tä alq̈u luu-lar barča ämgäk-* (10)*siz mängilig bolzun-lar* :

Kraft dieses unseres Maitrī-Gedankens mögen alle Drachen gänzlich leidlos und freudig sein!

q̈amaɣ luu(11)*lar igsizin kämsizin ärzünlär* :

Sämtliche Drachen mögen krankheits- und gebrechenlos sein!

(12) *alq̈uɣun tüzü adasïzïn ädgü körz*(13)*ün-lär* :

Insgesamt mögen sie gänzlich ohne Not Gutes sehen!

näng idi ayïɣ-q̈a yvlaq̈[54] (14) *tägmäzünlär* :

Keinesfalls mögen sie in Schlechtes, [in] Böses geraten!

inčip mn upazini[55] : (15): : *ögürt* : *q̈otič* : *üdrätmiš* : (16) *ödüš birlä* : *aɣuluɣ yïlan a[. .]čï-lar*(17)*ï-ning*[56] *özintä ärür ärkän y[t]i* (18) *yvlaq̈ aɣuluɣ yïlan ät'özümüz [üz]ä*[57] (19) *tüšüp isig özümüzni munčulayu* (20) *ar̤datɣalïr ärsär* : *a̧mtï biz angar yu̧rün*(21)*[t]äg kntü kirtü savïmznï umuɣ ïnaɣ* (22) *[t]uta ïnča q̈ut q̈olur-biz* :

Während nun ich, Upasena, und Ögürt, Qotič, Üdrätmiš (oder) Ödüš in Selbsten von [Fängern?] giftiger Schlangen sein sollten, werden wir, wenn Schlangen mit sehr starkem Gift [auf] unsere Körper fallen und unser Leben in solcherlei Weise vernichten sollten, jetzt (als) Heilmittel dagegen unsere eigenen wahren Worte (als) Hoffnung und Zuflucht nehmen und so flehen:

ančulayu (23) *kälmiš tükäl bilgä tngri tgnrisi-i* (24) *burxan ärsär* :

Was den Tathāgata, den vollkommen weisen Göttergott Buddha, betrifft,

alq̈u yirtinčüdä üz(25)*äliksiz üstünki yig ärür* :

(so) ist er auf der ganzen Welt der vortrefflichste und allerhöchste.

bo bizing (26) *savïmz čïn kirtü ärür* :

Dieses unser Wort ist wahr (Hend.).

a̧pam birök (27) *bo bizing savïmz čïn oq̈ ärsär* : (28) *kirtü o̧k ärsär*

Wenn aber dieses unser Wort wahr ist, wenn es richtig ist,

[53] Die Lesung von *lww* «Drache» (Äquivalent von skr. *nāga*) ist umstritten: *lü, lö* oder *lu, lo*. Die hier vorliegende velare Form des Suffix zeigt, daß eine velare Aussprache, wenn nicht die einzige, so doch auch eine mögliche war.

[54] Ergänze *[qa]?*

[55] In den Fragmenten der Erzählung von der Macht der Liebe (U III 75–90) wird der Name immer mit *-s-* geschrieben, wie man nach Skr. *Upasena* erwarten würde. Vielleicht liegt nur eine graphische Variante vor.

[56] Es ist mir nicht gelungen, eine einwandfreie Ergänzung der Lücke zu geben.

[57] K. Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, 209a ergänzt zu *[kä]*.

ol ol ayuluγ yvlaq̈ (29) *luu-larnïng yti yvlaq̈ ayu-[s]ï*	dann möge das sehr starke Gift jener giftigen, schlechten Drachen
(30)*biz[ing ä]t'özümüzkä idi singmäz*(31)*ün* :	keinesfalls in unsere Körper dringen!
[nä] üčün tip tisär :	Warum?
alq̈u (32) *yirtinčü yir suvda čïn kirtü ayu*	Was auf der ganzen irdischen Welt das
(33) *ärsär* :	wahre (Hend.) Gift betrifft, (so) sind es
az övkä biligsiz ärür : :	Leidenschaft, Zorn und Unwissenheit.
(34) *ančulayu kälmiš tükäl bilgä tngri*	Der Tathāgata, der vollkommen weise
(35) *tngrisi burxan*	Göttergott Buddha,
ol ayu-larïγ (36) *barča arïḍï arïtïp birtäm*	hat diese Gifte alle völlig beseitigt, total
(37) *üzmälämiš ärür* :	vernichtet.
alq̈u (38) *yirtinčü yir*[58] *suvda čïn kirtü ayu* (39) *ärsär*	Was auf der ganzen irdischen Welt das wahre (Hend.) Gift betrifft, (so) sind es
az övkä biligsiz ärür :	Leidenschaft, Zorn und Unwissenheit.
ančula(40)*yu kälmiš tükäl bilgä tngri tngrisi* (41) *burxan-nïng nomlamïš nomï alq̈u ayu*(42)*larïγ barča arïḍï birtäm üzmälätdür*(43)*däči ärür* : :	Der vom Tathāgata, dem vollkommen weisen Göttergott Buddha, gepredigte Dharma beseitigt alle Gifte völlig und total.
alq̈u yirtinčü yir (44) *suvda čïn kirtü ayu ärsär*	Was auf der ganzen irdischen Welt das wahre (Hend.) Gift betrifft,
az övkä (45) *bilig[si]z ärür* :	(so) sind es Leidenschaft, Zorn und Unwissenheit.
ančulayu kälmiš tükäl (46) bil[gä] tngri tngrisi burxan-nïng (47) *[tözü]n bursang q̈uvrayï*	Die [edle] Gemeinde (Hend.) des Tathāgata, des vollkommen weisen Göttergotts Buddha,
ol ayu- (48) *larïγ barča arïḍïp birtäm üzmälägü-* (49) *kä q̈atïγlandačï ärür* :	ist bemüht, diese Gifte gänzlich zu beseitigen und total zu vernichten.
bo munčulayu (50) *angsïz uluγ ädgülüg ädrämlig anču*(51)*layu kälmiš tükäl bilgä tngri tngri-*(52) *si burxan* :	Dieser so außerordentlich große Güte und Tugend besitzende Tathāgata, der vollkommen weise Göttergott Buddha,
üč äsanki-lïγ uzun (53) *ödtinbärü maitri ädgü ögli saq̈ïnč-*(54) *lïγ agat rasayan üzä*:	hat seit den langen Zeiten von drei Asaṃkhyeyas durch den Agada und das Rasāyana des Maitrī-, des Wohlgesinntheit-Gedankens

[58] *yir* wurde nachträglich zwischen die Zeilen geschrieben.

övkä (55) *nizvanilïγ ayuγ arïḍï tarḳarïp*	das Gift der Zorn-Leidenschaft gänzlich vernichtet,
(56) *antïrdïn ötgürü üč tamu ämgäki-*(57) *nin[g] tözi yïltïzï bolmïš ḳamaγ* (58) *ḳ[a]d[γu]luγ ayu-larïγ ḳalïsïz kitärip* :	von daher (= dadurch) alle drei leidvollen Gifte, die die Wurzel (Hend.) von Höllenqualen sind, restlos entfernt.

Dieser Text C hat abweichend von den zuvor behandelten Fassungen folgenden Textaufbau:

Z. 1–7 Verdienstübertragung auf die 18 Nāgas der 14 Familien und der 4 Orte. Diesem Teil entsprechen in gewissem Maße die Strophen, in denen der Maitrī-Gedanke gegenüber allen Lebewesen, insbesondere den Schlangen, dargelegt wird.[59]

Z. 7–14 Mit Abschnitt 28 (Strophe 6)[60] übereinstimmende «Verse», die in ihrer uigurischen Übertragung keine metrischen Merkmale haben.

Z. 14–22 Einschub mit der Ankündigung, daß gegen Schlangenbiß die nachfolgenden «Verse» dienen.

Z. 22–31 Mit Abschnitt 29 (Strophe 7)[61] übereinstimmender Teil. Entsprechend den 6 chin. Halbversen (im Skr. 4) läßt sich der uig. Text in 6 Einheiten gliedern, ohne daß ein besonderes metrisches Prinzip sichtbar würde.

Z. 31 Zwischenfrage.

Z. 31–49 Mit Abschnitt 30[62] übereinstimmender Teil, allerdings mit der in einigen Sanskrit-Handschriften ebenfalls zu beobachtenden Auffächerung zu drei vollen Stanzen à 4 Zeilen für die Behandlung der drei Glieder des Triratna: Buddha, Dharma und Saṃgha.

Z. 49–58 Mit Abschnitt 31 (Strophe 9)[63] übereinstimmender Teil.

Eine besondere Erwähnung verdient der Einschub (Z. 14–22). Neben dem Mönch Upasena der alten Überlieferung[64] treten hier vier Personen mit uigurischen Namen auf, die möglicherweise die Spender oder die Auftraggeber der Handschrift waren. Sie bezeugen eine Aktualisierung des Textes. Ähnliches ist sonst vor allem aus den Sündenbekenntnistexten bekannt, wenn man einmal von den Kolophonen absieht.

[59] Abschnitte 23–26 bei Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra.

[60] Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra 40.

[61] Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra 41.

[62] Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra 41.

[63] Waldschmidt Upasenasūtra 41.

[64] G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London 1938, Bd. I, 404–406; J. L. Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung*, Tokyo, 1981, 128.

Für zwei der vier Personennamen lassen sich Parallelen aus bereits publizierten Texten nennen, ohne daß jedoch der Sinn der Namen klar wäre: *Qotič*[65] und *Ödüš*.[66] Im Falle von *Ögürt* kann man vermuten, daß eine Imperativform des Verbs *ögirt-* «erfreuen»[67] vorliegt. Beachtenswert ist jedoch der ungewöhnliche Vokalismus, der uns schon in dem aus recht früher Zeit stammenden Namen *Ögürtmiš*[68] begegnet. Letzterer dürfte sicherlich «Der, der erfreut hat» bedeuten.[69] Der Name *Üdrätmiš* kann als «Der, der vermehrt hat» verstanden werden.[70] In einem unveröffentlichten Kolophon findet sich die Form *Üträtmiš*.[71]

[65] W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, Leningrad 1928, Nr. 67 Z. 6.

[66] P. Zieme, *Materialien zum uigurischen Onomasticon*. I., in: *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 1977, Ankara 1978, 83 Anm. 67.

[67] M. Erdal, *Voice and Case in Old Turkish*, phil. Diss., Jerusalem 1976, 315–316.

[68] F. C. Andreas, W. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* II, *Sitzungsber. d. Preuß. Ak. d. Wiss* 1933, S. 333 Anm. 1; W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts: Berliner Turfantexte* XI, Berlin 1981, S. 81. Ein weiterer *Ögürtmiš* ist in dem Fragment Ch/U 6414 belegt, vgl. bei G. Schmitt, Th. Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente: Berliner Turfantexte* VI, Berlin 1975, S. 83.

[69] Zu den Namen, die auf *-miš* enden, vgl. L. Rásonyi, *The Psychology and Categories of Name Giving Among the Turkish Peoples*, in: *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*, Budapest 1976, S. 222.

[70] R. Dankoff, J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, Harvard 1982, S. 225.

[71] U 2477.